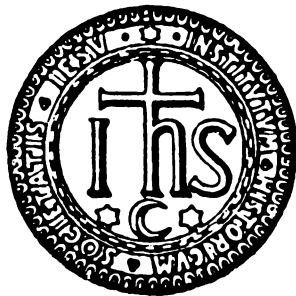


INSTITUTUM HISTORICUM SOCIETATIS IESU

JESUIT HISTORICAL INSTITUTE (ROME)



Founded by Father General Ledóchowski on 11 February 1930, the Jesuit Historical Institute (IHSI) promotes research on the history of the Society of Jesus. Its members in Rome, with the assistance of other Jesuits (“corresponding fellows”) throughout the world, oversee the publication of the *Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu* (MHSI) and the monograph series *Bibliotheca Instituti Historici Societatis Iesu* (BIHSI).

Giovanni Sale, S.J.
Director

Thomas M. McCoog, S.J.
Editor-in-Chief

Robert Danieluk, S.J.
James F.X. Pratt, S.J.
José Antonio Yoldi, S.J.
Permanent Members

Francisco de Borja Medina, S.J., *emeritus*
László Szilas, S.J., *emeritus*

ARCHIVUM HISTORICUM SOCIETATIS IESU

Thomas M. McCoog, S.J.

Editor

Advisory Editors

| | |
|------------------------------------|--|
| Sibylle Appuhn-Radtke (Munich) | Julius Oswald, S.J. (Augsburg) |
| Paul Begheyn, S.J. (Amsterdam) | Ulderico Parente (Naples) |
| Robert L. Bireley, S.J. (Chicago) | Antonella Romano (Florence) |
| Francesco Cesareo (Worcester, Ma.) | Flavio Rurale (Udine) |
| Kathleen M. Comerford (Statesboro) | Lydia Salviucci-Insolera (Rome) |
| Marek Inglot, S.J. (Rome) | Nuno da Silva Gonçalves, S.J. (Lisbon) |
| Jeffrey Klaiber, S.J. (Lima) | Nicolas Standaert, S.J. (Leuven) |
| Mark A Lewis, S.J. (Spring Hill) | Robert Trisco (Washington, D.C.) |
| Antonio Maldonado, S.J. (Córdoba) | M. Antoni J. Üçerler, S.J. (Oxford) |
| Martín M. Morales, S.J. (Rome) | Agustín Udías, S.J. (Madrid) |

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | | |
|--|-----------------------------------|-----|
| Circulating and Compiling the <i>Litterae Annuae</i> . Towards a History of the Jesuit System of Communication | <i>Markus Friedrich</i> | 3 |
| Die <i>Litterae Annuae</i> der Jesuiten. Berichterstattung und Geschichtsschreibung in der alten Gesellschaft Jesu | <i>Jörg Zech</i> | 41 |
| Gaspar Barzео: el hombre y sus escritos | <i>Eduardo Javier Alonso Romo</i> | 63 |
| La missione segreta dei Gesuiti fra gli Uniani di Podlachia (1878-1904) | <i>Robert Danieluk, S.J.</i> | 93 |
| Richard Smith versus Robert Persons, S.J.: A Double Denunciation of <i>The Judgment of a Catholicke English-Man</i> at the Holy Office | <i>Ginevra Crosignani</i> | 115 |
| Esclavos y Jesuitas: el Colegio de Asunción del Paraguay | <i>Ignacio Telesca</i> | 191 |
| Bibliography on the History of the Society of Jesus: Additions to the 2007 Edition | <i>Paul Begheyn, S.J.</i> | 213 |
| Reviews | | 221 |
| Jesuit Historiographical Notes | | 253 |
| Books Received | | 275 |

CIRCULATING AND COMPILING THE
LITTERAE ANNUAE.
TOWARDS A HISTORY OF THE JESUIT
SYSTEM OF
COMMUNICATION

Markus Friedrich*

It is generally agreed that, from its very inception, the Society of Jesus established a remarkable network of communication, comparable to the governmental as well as to the mercantile long-distance-networks of early modern Europe. So far however, this network has not received the thorough analysis it deserves. Through discussing a previously neglected type of letters, the European *litterae annuae*, this paper is meant to be a first contribution to a fuller understanding of the Society's "system of communication." This term is meant to comprise all the different forms of internal exchange through letters that were an object of normative control and standardization. Even though new studies have appeared recently and older approaches are not lacking, the order's correspondence is still awaiting a detailed survey that extends beyond the missionary reports. So far, scholarly studies have dealt almost exclusively with the value of the missions' letters as sources for particular places, peoples, or

* Dr. Markus Friedrich is currently Assistant Professor (Wissenschaftlicher Assistent) at the University of Frankfurt, Germany, Department of History. This essay presents first results of an ongoing research project on the Jesuit system of communication in general which will finally be submitted as Habilitation. Many aspects that are only touched upon here will be elaborated in the future. Earlier stages of the projects have been funded by the Sonderforschungsbereich 573 "Pluralisierung und Autorität in der Frühen Neuzeit," sponsored by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG) at the University of Munich. Amy J. Buono not only encouraged me to write in English but also edited my language and helped with many ideas.

persons¹ or addressed the spiritual dimension of the Society's correspondence.² Others examine bibliographical questions or give general overviews.³ Recent works have broadened our understanding by addressing the narrative intention of these letters, yet they still remain almost exclusively on the level of content and its function.⁴ Regarding the European *litterae annuae*, only broad overviews have appeared recently.⁵ When at all examined in detail, they have been used mostly as sources for popular religion or culture.⁶

Much neglected in recent research, however, is the bureaucratic structure that

¹ Léon Pouliot S.J., *Étude sur les Relations des Jésuites* (Montreal/Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1940); John Correia-Afonso S.J., *Jesuit Letters and Indian History 1542-1773* (Bombay/London: University of Oxford Press, 1969); André Rétif S.J., "Brève histoire des Lettres édifiantes et curieuses," *Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft* 7 (1951) 37-50.

² See most recently Robert Danieluk S.J., "Ob communem fructum et consolationem: La genèse et les enjeux de l'historiographie de la Compagnie de Jésus," *AHSI* 75 (2006) 29-62. Father Danieluk generously allowed me to work with his paper before it appeared in print.

³ Josef Wicki S.J., "Von den gelegentlichen Veröffentlichungen der Missionsbriefe aus Übersee zu den offiziellen *Litterae annuae* der Gesellschaft Jesu (1545-1583)," *Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft* 32 (1976) 95-129; Durval Pires de Lima, "As Cartas Dos Jesuítas," *Revista da Biblioteca Nacional* 3 (1983) 215-43.

⁴ The only discussion on a more general level is Jean-Claude Laborie, *Mangeurs d'Homme et mangeurs d'âme. Une correspondance missionnaire au XVI^e, a lettre jésuite du Brésil, 1549-1568* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2003); Charlotte Castelnau-L'Estoile, *Les Ouvriers d'une Vigne stérile. Les jésuites et la conversion des Indiens au Brésil* (Lisbon/Paris: Centre Culturel Calouste Gulbenkian, 2000); Ines G. Županov, *Disputed Mission: Jesuit Experiments and Brahmanical Knowledge in Seventeenth-Century India* (Oxford/Bombay: University of Oxford Press, 1999). See also Takao Abé, "What Determined the Content of Missionary Reports? The Jesuit Relations Compared with the Iberian Jesuit Accounts," *French Colonial History* 3 (2003) 69-84. Steven Harris, "Confession-Building, Long-Distance Networks, and the Organization of Jesuit Science," *Early Science and Medicine* 1 (1996) 287-318. See also Nicolás R. Verástegui S.J., "The Importance of Archives in the History and Spirituality of the Society of Jesus according to 'Our Way of Proceeding,'" in "*Scriptis Tradere et Fideliter Conservare*": *Archives as 'Places of Memory' within the Society of Jesus* (Rome: General Curia, 2003) pp. 25-48. The last reference was provided by Thomas M. McCoog, S.J.

⁵ The best, albeit short introduction in the sources so far is Gernot Heiss, "Die '*litterae annuae*' und die '*historiae*' der Jesuiten," in *Quellenkunde der Habsburgermonarchie (16. bis 18. Jahrhundert). Ein exemplarisches Handbuch*, ed. Josef Pauser, Martin Scheutz, and Thomas Winkelbauer (Wien/München: Böhlau, 2004) pp. 662-74. See also Fred G. Rausch, "Die gedruckten *litterae annuae* S.J., 1581-1654. Ein meist übersehener Quellenschatz zur Jesuitengeschichte," *Jahrbuch für Volkskunde* 20 (1997) 195-210. Important are also the remarks in Edmond Lamalle S.J., "L'Archivio Generale di un grande ordine religioso: Quello della Compagnia di Gesù," *Archivum Ecclesiae* 24 (1981) 89-120, here esp. 102-06.

⁶ Hans Commenda, "Die *litterae annuae* des Linzer Jesuitenkollegs als Quelle der Volkskunde," *Historisches Jahrbuch der Stadt Linz* (1961) 119-38; Ludwig Remling, "Fastnacht und Gegenreformation in Münster. Diarien, Chroniken und *litterae annuae* der Jesuiten als Quellen," *Jahrbuch für Volkskunde* 5 (1982) 51-77.

produced the *litterae annuae*. It is this aspect that will be explored in the following pages. Both the content and production of archival documents deserve the historian's attention and merit exploration. The *litterae*, accordingly, must not only be seen as narratives about places and people, or as spiritual texts, but also as results of a bureaucratic effort. Their production testifies to the existence of an enormous administrative exertion that has so far not been adequately studied. The following questions arise: How was the administrative system organized that sustained the production of the *litterae*? How were the regulations of normative texts like the *Constitutions* transferred into daily practice? What kind of content was seen as important and how was it provided for? How does the actual content of the *litterae* relate to its bureaucratic origin and how was this relationship assessed? In short, the *litterae* urge us to inquire about the value of information and the structure of its management within the order. By utilizing examples from the provinces in the German speaking lands, this article, therefore, is less concerned with what the texts actually say and why but inquires about the order's practices of organizing information. In this regard, however, the history of the *litterae* and the history of the Jesuits in general become part of broader historical developments.

For convenience, we can divide the Jesuit system of communication into two central components. First, there is the administrative correspondence proper, the regular exchange of letters between the local officials and the curia in Rome dealing with the everyday concerns of administration. The edifying letters can be classified as the second group, a bulk of texts in itself highly diverse, falling at least in two big groups, the missionary reports (*Relations*) and the *litterae annuae*. Both relied on the idea that Jesuit communities should report once yearly about relevant events. Following early modern Jesuit terminology,⁷ however, in this paper "*litterae annuae*" refers more narrowly only to the reports from all the provinces that were sent to Rome, edited, and compiled to form the general annual letters of the Society. The most prominent examples of *litterae* are the series of printed compilations from around 1600 and later on from the 1650s (see appendix).

While this paper focuses on the second pillar of Jesuit communication, the edifying correspondence, this is not meant to indicate a firm separation from the administrative network. Rather, it is of fundamental importance for any attempt at evaluating Jesuit communication in general to view the two forms together, as influencing each other, and as developing with constant respect to one another. Accordingly, at several points, this paper will come back to connect the annual letters and their development to changes and mechanisms pertaining to the field of administrative correspondence. From this follows also

⁷ See the references below in n. 9.

that the spiritual dimension of Jesuit communication is not the main focus of attention in this study. Instead, the following essay will, by drawing on examples from the German speaking provinces, (1) point out some historical episodes crucial for the history of the genre. Two problems, in particular, will be discussed afterwards, circulation (2) and compilation (3) of the letters. A final section (4) will interpret these developments and place them in the broader horizon of early modern European attitudes towards knowledge.

Crucial Episodes in the History of the *Litterae Annae*

The basic distinction that guides the Jesuit system of communication since its origins is the one between strictly internal letters and writings suitable for wider dispersion. While the first group comprises the administrative correspondence in its different forms and levels of secrecy, the *litterae annuae* as well as the missionary relations fall under the second category. Distinguishing between *litterae annuae* and missionary reports can, however, be a vexing task, since they developed into separate forms only gradually over time. Both equally favor descriptions of the deeds of individual Jesuits over general and abstract evaluations of the province's condition. Both ground edification in reporting everyday events and facts, rather than in meditation or extensive theological discourse. Both are forms of annual accounts and both are rooted in Ignatius' original ideas concerning Jesuit communication, both share the high value attached to a systematic conveying of information, both also combine the edifying intention with a strong gesture of factual reporting. Exhortation, self-fashioning, and specific information about concrete situations and events go hand in hand in both these forms. However, differences also can be easily observed. Firstly, whereas the missionary reports often used the vernacular, the *litterae annuae* remained written in Latin. Secondly, the length differed enormously. Thirdly, whereas the overseas reports usually included a broad range of information concerning peoples and nature—and are thus often valued as early “ethnographical” sources—the *litterae annuae* from Europe hardly ever comprise observation on nature, flora, or fauna. At least, no systematic transmission of knowledge about the botany, zoology, or peoples of Europe can be found in these texts. Details on local habits or customs are given from time to time, and appreciated by local historians, but this never developed into a systematic description of European peoples. It is clear that sometimes specific information necessary for understanding particular occurrences in a local setting is given, yet this is far from reaching the explicit and elaborate description of the peoples overseas. Almost exclusively, thus, the *litterae annuae* present the deeds of the Jesuits, their behavior towards the internal and the external world, as well as the current relations of the Jesuit residences with the secular world. Whereas the *Relations* from overseas do share many aspect with contemporary choreographic literature or travel writing, this does not hold true for the Latin *litterae annuae* of Europe. Finally, the audiences of both the *litterae* and the

Relations gradually came to be more sharply distinguished.⁸ By around 1600 it seems to have been clear that the annual letters, in contrast to the *Relations*, were not necessarily meant to be circulated without restriction. They were now intended to be public only within the Society, but not for the reading public in general.⁹

Further important differentiations cluster around the separation of “internal” and “public” writing, e.g. the one between “administrative information” and “edification” conveyed in the writing or the one between “careless enumeration of details” and “thorough composition of a narrative.”¹⁰ While these distinctions as well as the development of accordingly separated types of letters go back to Ignatius, a more systematic layout of the whole system was given for the first time in Juan Alfonso de Polanco’s¹¹ circular letters from 1547.¹² In this document also the *litterae annuae* have their origin as an intentionally organized type of communication.

As is well known and documented in the *litterae quadrimestres* series of the *Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu*, the edificatory letters started out as a four-monthly enterprise. It was Polanco in 1547 who ordered the Jesuits abroad to report not only edifying matters with every letter they write (though on distinct sheets), but also to compile these matters into a separate document to be sent to Rome every four months. These special letters had to be written at the

⁸ See e.g. Correia-Afonso, *Letters*, p. 8. The gradual evolution of such a precise distinction between “general public” and “Jesuit public” might be seen as a nuancing of the more universal claim concerning the publicity of the edifying letters as seen e.g. in Ignatius to Peter Faber, Rome 10 December 1542, MHSI, *Epp. Ign.*, I, 236.

⁹ See the explicit passage in MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, XVI, 1043: “Alterum ne annuas Societatis in futurum ulli externo quavis occasione communicare liceat, seu ostendere, ita ut nec ipse Provincialis facultatem habeat ad id concedendum. Esta obediencia anda impressa as pag. 39. Porem dispensou N. Padre nesta ordem nhuma de 14. de Janeiro de 97, como se vee nestas palavras: La prohibición nuestra que se hizo y estampó pero se no mostrar las annuas a personas de fuera, no se entende generalmente de todos las annuas assý del Japón como de la India, como V.R. colligió de la nuestra en que le avisamos deste orden, mas solamente se entiende de las annuas generales de la Compañía que se suelen estampar, por particulares inconvenientes que en esto avía. Y assý no ay que tener scrúpulo por esta prohibición pera dexar de mostrar las cartas del Japón o de la India a los superiores, Arçobispo y Virrey, advirtiendo pero siempre que antes que se le comuniquen se vean diligentemente no levar cosa que pueda offender o causar desedificación a sus señorías.” This point is made abundantly clear also in a long passage by Giulio Negrone S.J., *Tractatus Ascetici, qui ab auctore recogniti, et aucti, nunc primum in unum collecti, in gratiam Magistrorum Spiritualium, omniumque projectus spiri[tu]alis amantium, prodeunt in Germania, cum Indice quadruplici* (Köln, 1624) pp. 130f.

¹⁰ E.g. Loyola to Nicolás Bobadilla, Rome, n.d. [1543], MHSI, *Epp. Ign.*, I, 278.

¹¹ *24.xii.1517 Burgos; SJ 1541 Rome; †20.xii.1576 Rome (*DHCJ*, IV, 3168).

¹² Circular letters by Polanco to the Society, Rome 27 July 1547, MHSI, *Epp. Ign.*, I, 536-41, 542-49.

beginning of January, May, and September. Polanco's motive for this request seemed to be rather mundane: too many letters tend to get lost, so the *litterae quadrimestres* functioned almost as a security copy.¹³ This, however, was more than just a regulation of frequency. In fact, it established a new form or type of correspondence, since the *litterae* were an additional tool of communication not meant to replace the traditional, irregular transmission of edifying news. From the beginning, the *litterae* thus had the function of compiling and summarizing, of providing the quintessential events of the months elapsed.

It seems as if Jesuits throughout Europe—and our main concern is not with the Jesuits overseas and their *Relations*—did not immediately fulfill the new task to the complete satisfaction of the curia in Rome. Several letters to prominent members, urged better compliance with the new system and tried to explain the central points. Antonio de Araoz¹⁴ received such a clarification in 1552 as did Cesare Helmi¹⁵ in 1554.¹⁶ The directives for Helmi are particularly interesting since here we can get the first glimpses into the practice of reworking the provincial letters at the curia. Polanco points out to Helmi that it is thought to be the curia's, and not the provincial's task, to decide which pieces of information are relevant and which are not. Furthermore, the Roman prerogative in further processing the letters is stated clearly.¹⁷ Even though no central compilation existed at this point, the Roman Jesuits clearly insisted on the crucial place of Rome in the order's system of edifying correspondence.

After Polanco's norms of 1547, particularly the *Constitutions* and the *Formula scribendi* provided additional normative grounding for Jesuit correspondence. There is no need here for an account of the development of the *Formulae*

¹³ Circular letter by Polanco to the Society, Rome 27 July 1547, MHSI, *Epp. Ign.* I, 548f.: "Para las nuevas de edificación, cada vez que se escribiere puede darse aviso de lo que se haze de presente; pero, porque se pierden muchas cartas, cada quatro meses se escriba una, donde se dirán en summa las cosas que son de edificación desde la otra embiada quatro meses antes."

¹⁴ *1515 Vergara; SJ xii.1541 Rome; elected Father General 19.ii.1581; †13.i.1573 Madrid (*DHCJ*, I, 215).

¹⁵ *1523 Foligno; SJ 11.ix.1549 Rome; †31.vii.1576 Venice, MHSI, *Xavier*, I, 81; MHSI, *Mon. Paed.*, I, 394; Josephus Fejér S.J., *Defuncti primi Saeculi Societatis Jesu 1540-1640. Pars I Assistentia Italiae et Germaniae (cum Gallia usque ad 1607)* (Rome: Curia Generalitia S.J.) p. 118.

¹⁶ Loyola to Araoz, Rome 2 January 1555, MHSI, *Epp. Ign.*, VIII, 232; Lainez to Helmi, Trent 2 June 1563, MHSI, *Lainez*, VII, 114.

¹⁷ Polanco to Helmi, Rome 10 November 1554, MHSI, *Epp. Ign.*, VIII, 33: "Di qua [sc. in Rome] si vede puoi se si devono mandar ad altri o non, decti quatrimestri, o metter insieme dui, o etiam tre." Furthermore, Helmi is called upon to refrain from writing lengthy introductions to his *litterae* since these passages would be deleted in Rome anyway.

scribendi, the official norms regulating the system of communication.¹⁸ Suffice it here to mention the crucial steps and focus on the regulations for the *litterae*. A first *Formula* was issued in 1560,¹⁹ followed by important circular letters in 1563²⁰ and a new *Ratio scribendi literas* in 1564.²¹ 1580 saw the printing of the *Formula*,²² based on a decree of the third General Congregation. Claudio Acquaviva,²³ in 1594, issued important additions to the text that—with several changes—were over the years blended with the *Formula* to form a unified text.²⁴ Francesco Sacchini²⁵ finally authored a very well organized manual on letter-writing in 1620 that is quite detailed, except for the sections on the *litterae*.²⁶ As it seems from these documents as well as from a myriad of other norms and instructions, exhortations and reprimands, four topics needed regulation in particular: rhythm of writing, style/content with regard to their function, circulation, and compilation. The rhythm of letter writing was modified several times, changing from four monthly to twice a year in 1564 and then finally to a yearly writing in 1565, just one year later.²⁷ Until the suppression of the old Society, the annual letters did not change their frequency again.

¹⁸ See Mario Scaduto S.J., *L'epoca di Giacomo Lainez, Teil 1: Il Governo 1556-1565* (Rome: La Civiltà Cattolica, 1964) pp. 217-25 and João Pedro Ferro, "A Epistolografia no Quotidiano dos Missionários Jesuítas nos Séculos XVI e XVII," *Lusitania Sacra*, 2^a série, 5 (1993) 137-58, here 142f. for some norms concerning the Indian letters. Danieluk, "Ob communem fructum," 38f. also mentioned briefly the decrees of the general congregations.

¹⁹ "Qua ratione uti debent scribendi qui extra Urbem in Societate nostra versantur," ARSI, Inst. 117, ff. 179^v-182^r. Scaduto (*Lainez*, p. 218) refers wrongly to ARSI, Inst. 118. Sections of this document were published in Otto Braunsberger S.J., *Beati Petri Canisii Societatis Jesu, Epistolae et Acta*, 8 vols. (Freiburg: Herder, 1896-1923) IV, 142, 279.

²⁰ Polanco to Canisius, Trent, April/August 1563, Braunsberger, *Epistolulae*, IV, 278; Polanco to Canisius, Trent, June/August 1563, Braunsberger, *Epistolulae*, IV, 280f

²¹ Polanco to Canisius, Rome, 9. December (?) 1564, Braunsberger, *Epistolulae*, IV, 750-52; Láinez to the provincials, Rome, 30 November 1564, MHSI, *Lainez*, VIII, 320-22.

²² *Formula scribendi*, Rome 1573, MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, IX, 717-22.

²³ *14.ix.1543 Atri; SJ 22.vii.1567 Rome; elected Father General 19.ii.1581; † 31.i.1615 Rome (DHCJ, II, 1614).

²⁴ *Ordinationes Praepositorum Generalium communes toti Societati. Auctoritate V. Congregationis generalis recognitae & contractae* (Rome, 1595). For the merging of the texts see e.g. *Institutum societatis Iesu. Auctoritate Congregationis generalis XV/III*, 2 vols. (Prague, 1757) II, 125-29. A comparison of the additions of 1594 with the 1757 version shows Acquaviva's comments on organizing local acquisition of information, have been shortened but not completely abandoned.

²⁵ *10.x.1570 Paciano; SJ 8.x.1588 Rome; †16.xii.1625 Rome (DHCJ, IV, 3458).

²⁶ This text exists in numerous versions, see for instance *codex latinus monacensis* of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Munich (henceforth: Clm), 26490 or ARSI, Inst. 117, # XLIII (no pages).

²⁷ *Institutum Societatis Jesu*, 3 vols. (Florence, 1892-1893) II, 203.

While I will not deal here extensively with the envisioned spiritual functions of the letters, one characteristic feature concerning style and content merits a brief mention. With the genre of *litterae annuae*, edification was meant to be achieved *through*, not *beyond* or *outside* every-day Jesuit life. Realistic, historical facts and events—according to early modern standards—comprise the bulk of the letters. The edifying role of the *litterae annuae* rested neither on extensive theological discourse nor on pious meditation, but was instead achieved by presenting factual knowledge. A simple, observation-based style should be used. Even though the content and the narrative structure of the texts were molded carefully, this does not imply that they were not meant to work as reports of “facts,” “historical” events, and specific situations.²⁸ This factual or empirical gesture also helped to achieve a second goal of the *litterae* that I have discussed more fully elsewhere. These texts were not only meant to edify and console but were also geared towards moral emulation.²⁹ In fact, the *litterae* fulfilled a very specific function in guiding Jesuit behavior. Since the Jesuits were involved in a wide range of different ministries and worked in the most diverse sets of circumstances, general rules for behavior could never cover the whole range of possibilities. The *litterae*, on the other hand, provided a growing stock of role models that were presented as factual descriptions of concrete, “historical” events. Hence, they provided an archive of sanctioned adaptations of general ideas to the uncountable number of very specific situations, fleshing out the Society’s normative framework within a chain of case studies. On a large scale and through systematic collection, the *litterae* supplemented general norms by concrete examples. Through reporting about every-day situations with “factual” narratives, they showed the many ways in which the general commitment to *nuestro modo de proceder* had been and could potentially again be transformed into concrete action. Finally, the factual gesture had a third dimension. The *litterae* were also meant to simply document the provinces’ status quo, thus circulating basic knowledge about the order. It seems plausible to attribute an edifying intention to such a documentation since it presented the grandeur of the order and provided a means of putting any individual province’s situation in perspective. However, the *litterae*’s documenting function shall be separated here from the moral dimension since this function was particularly prone to dramatic development in the 1640s and 1650s. The style of narration and the choice of content both worked together to guarantee the “factual gesture” of the letters that was seen as suitable to achieve the manifold goals of the genre.

²⁸ “Factuality” itself is now understood as a certain form of narrative molding, see e.g. Barbara Shapiro, *A Culture of Fact: England, 1550-1720* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2000).

²⁹ I discuss this point more fully in Markus Friedrich, “Beispielgeschichten in den *Litterae Annuae*. Überlegungen zur Gestaltung und Funktion einer vernachlässigten Literaturgattung,” in *Das Beispiel. Epistemologie des Exemplarischen*, ed. Nicolas Pethes, Jens Ruchatz, Stefan Willer (Berlin: Kadmos, 2007) pp. 143-66.

After Polanco had initiated the *litterae* and the following norms had specified their production, the next decisive moment in the history of the genre was certainly 1581, when the fourth General Congregation decided to issue a central, unified annual letter for the whole Society.³⁰ The complexities that triggered this decision and the ways in which this task was accomplished will be discussed below. Suffice it here to mention that from then on, for almost 40 years, a more or less constant stream of *litterae annuae Societatis Iesu* were produced and appeared in print (see appendix). By then these publications had lost all resemblance with letters and took the form of impersonally reported overviews. The volumes contained reports from all the Jesuit provinces, including the overseas missions. This attempt to survey the whole Society in one unified book distinguished these volumes from the usually far more exhaustive missionary reports that were also printed throughout the early modern period. From 1583 until 1591, each year saw the production of one volume, usually lagging two years behind. After that, publication became more fragmentary and the manuscripts waited longer and longer to be published. Around 1598, the last publication being five years ago, Acquaviva urged the order to resume printing. An instruction from 5 December 1598, can be seen as an attempt to initiate such a renewal, now urging to take more care while producing the letters.³¹ In fact, the years 1600 and 1601 saw new publications. Regularity, however, soon dwindled again. Only in the year 1607 did another, final exertion of Acquaviva's generalate produce the three volumes for 1597, 1598 and 1599.

Only after the initiative of the seventh General Congregation did the publishing enterprise resume again. In 1615, the general congregation convened after the death of Acquaviva urged for a new approach to printing the *litterae annuae*.³² Once more, the initiative succeeded. Though with some chaos, the years 1618/9 saw the whole period between 1600 and 1614 to appear in print.³³ The work was equally distributed between five provinces that were to receive

³⁰ Decree 38, *Institutum* (1892), II, 256.

³¹ Acquaviva to provincials, Rome 5 December 1598, ARSI, Rom. 205, ff. 18^vf.

³² Decree 19, *Institutum* (1892) II, 322: "Placuit deinde Congregationi: annuas praetoriorum annorum litteras per varias Provincias primo quoque tempore imprimendas distribui. In sequentium vero annorum Patri Nostro commendandas censuit, ut certum aliquem totius Societatis sumptibus, si aliter commodè fieri non possit, alendum illi operari praeficere dignetur, ne diutius tanto spiritualium narrationum fructu universa Societas careat." Referred to in *Litterae Annuae Societatis Iesu, Anni 1606. 1607. & 1608 datae de more ex Provinciis Ad R.P.N. Generalem Praepositum, ejusdemque auctoritate typis expressae* (Mayence, 1618) f. 2^r.

³³ *Litterae Annuae Societatis Iesu, Anni 1606. 1607. & 1608*, ff. 003^v mentions that not all provinces had sent manuscripts. The letters of the province of Lyon do not appear in this volume but appear in the Lyon-based edition: *Litterae Societatis Iesu annorum duorum, 1613, et 1614* (Lyon, 1619) p. 757.

full coverage of their expenses through the general procurator.³⁴ The provincials of these five provinces were now also responsible for distributing the printed volumes. After 1619 the situation deteriorated quickly. By 1629 the whole system was in its deepest crisis. Between 1616 and 1629, this complex system had continued and the manuscripts had been sent out to several places. Some of these manuscripts had been prepared and were ready for printing.³⁵ For example, the Jesuits in Lyon, who had been responsible for publishing some of the last volumes, were carrying on their work.³⁶ No publication, however, resulted. But after 1629 even this preparatory stage ceased. We know this from a consultation held in Rome in 1643 that attempted to reinvigorate the enterprise.³⁷ The final years of Muzio Vitelleschi's generalate³⁸ thus saw yet another attempt to reorganize publication. This new impact towards printing was combined with an alteration of the organizing structure for the information contained in the volumes. The main proposition of this new scheme (Method III), that will be discussed more fully below, was the switch to a topical, thematic ordering of the information. Ultimately, Vitelleschi did not see his project's completion. The debate about how precisely to reorganize the circulation and compilation lingered on. A letter from General Vincenzo Carafa³⁹ in 1646 took up the wishes of the seventh General Congregation and tried to promote the publication further.⁴⁰ Around 1650 intense discussions were held concerning how to best proceed with the publication of the *litterae annuae* and what should be done with the manuscripts and information that had

³⁴ These were the provinces of Gallo-Belgica (Antwerp), Gallo-Flandrica (Douai), Rhineland (Mainz), Germania Superior (Dillingen), and Lyon (Lyon), see ARSI, Inst. 117, f. 567^r. The general's order to the five provinces can be found as a standardized form in ARSI, Inst. 186a, ff. 273^{r-v}. The appendix shows how each province in fact saw three years through the press. It seems as if the task of compiling the central edition had already been delegated to the provinces under Acquaviva, see Acquaviva to provincials, n.p., n.d., ARSI, Inst. 117, ff. 568^r-69^r.

³⁵ See "Dubia Quaedam Resolvenda Circa Annuarum scriptionem et impressionem," ARSI, Inst. 186a, f. 252^r (ad 2); Andreas Judocj, S.J., Provincial of Flandro-Belgium, to Vitelleschi, n.p. 9 January 1643, ARSI, Inst. 186a, ff. 264^{r-v}.

³⁶ The manuscripts at least for 1624/5 had been sent to the editor Philibertus Monetus, see ARSI, Inst. 186a, f. 265^r. For the role of the provinces see also "Regulae Secretarii Societatis" IX, § 55, in *Institutum* (1892) III, 62.

³⁷ See e.g. the note (1652) in ARSI, Inst. 186a, ff. 275^{r-v}.

³⁸ *2.xii.1563 Rome; SJ 15.viii.1583 Rome; elected Father General 15.xi.1615; †9.ii.1645 Rome (*DHCJ*, II, 1621).

³⁹ *9.v.1585 Andria; SJ 4.x.1604 Naples; elected Father General 7.i.1646; †8.vi.1649 Rome (*DHCJ*, II, 1626).

⁴⁰ See an instruction from Caraffa, n.p. [Rome?] 11 August 1646, ARSI, Rom. 205, f. 93^r.

accumulated since the last publications in 1618/9. Issues of not only prices and work, but also quality of the extant manuscripts played a role. Should a complete printing of all the letters be the goal? Or was a selection and summary of the whole period more appropriate? What, after all, was Ignatius' original intention?⁴¹

A large number of draft concepts document an extensive, renewed editing during the 1640s and 1650s. A unique sort of "sketchy excerpts" of the incoming provincial *litterae annuae* starts with the letter from 1615 for the Rhineland province.⁴² These series of notes have to be understood as intermediaries, documenting the process of transforming the original incoming provincial manuscripts according to Vitelleschi's new standards. As intermediary forms these excerpts could be sketched on scratch paper⁴³ and bear heavy marks of further reworking.⁴⁴ At least for certain periods this forceful editing successfully led to clean copies of summarizing overviews that most likely were meant to close the gap in circulation since the late 1620s.⁴⁵ Altogether, this substantial material documents the renewed interest in the Society's edifying reports of the 1640s. At the same time it illustrates the still lively Roman tradition of a centralized reworking, aiming at a controlled and unified overview of the Jesuits' spiritual status quo. Ultimately, publication was resumed in 1658. The *litterae annuae* for the period between 1650 and 1654 were printed according to the new organizational scheme.⁴⁶

After the 1650s, documentation about the *litterae annuae* is scarce. Certainly, the provinces did continually produce letters and send them to Rome. The series in the Roman Archives are mostly complete and still extant. After the 1650s, printing the *litterae annuae* was discussed only rarely. The printing of the missionary reports, a distinct yet somewhat parallel phenomenon, did continue

⁴¹ See the different positions in ARSI, Inst. 186a, ff. 254-260, 269^r, 270, 272 ("Sensus Provinciarum Assistentiae Germaniae De Annuis, an et quomodo imprimendae" and "Circa quaesitum de annuis litteris imprimendis" from Milan in 1652, and additional statements from the provinces).

⁴² These texts are in ARSI, Rhen. Sup. 29, 30, and 31. Nothing similar exists for other German provinces.

⁴³ See e.g. ARSI, Rhen. Sup. 31, ff. 196^r, 198^r-202^r, 204^r.

⁴⁴ Traces of further editing are on all these sheets. The changes between these drafts and a clear copy (compare e.g. ARSI, Rhen. Sup. 29, ff. 191^r-218^r with *ibid.*, ff. 155^r-190^r) also indicate this intermediary position.

⁴⁵ See especially the final version of ARSI, Rhen. Sup. 29, ff. 155^r-190^r containing the years 1626 to 1644. This is also the basic reason to date the texts in the 1640s or early 50s.

⁴⁶ Extant e.g. in ARSI, Inst. 186a, ff. 250^r-251^v.

and adopted new forms with the *Lettres édifiantes* of the 18th century. Most likely, however, no parallel efforts were made to accommodate also the *litterae annuae* to the new media-forms of enlightened Europe. It is only with the modern Society of Jesus that the tradition of regularly printed news about the Society has been continued, at least for the local and regional levels.⁴⁷

Circulating the *Litterae Annuae*

Two elements of the *litterae's* evolution shall be treated in detail here, the system of circulation and the practices of compilation. Both aspects influenced one another. The fourth General Congregation in 1581 thoroughly reformed the first and thus triggered a development in the second area. Until then the rule was that every province should provide as many copies as there were provinces.⁴⁸ Some of these copies were sent to Rome for redistribution throughout the Jesuit world. Already the letter to Helmi quoted above alluded to the practice of distributing the *litterae annuae* within the Society. The *Constitutions*, only shortly afterwards, also name Rome as a central information hub.⁴⁹ From there, copies of the provincial letters would be redistributed throughout the Society. Later norms also mentioned the distributing role of Rome.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ I am particularly grateful for the comments of two anonymous readers about this point. They mentioned, among other publications, the *Woodstock Letters* and *The National Jesuit News* as modern equivalents to the ancient *litterae annuae*. See also Verástegui, "Importance of Archives," pp. 37-42 and Danieluk, "Ob communem fructum," 53f. on the continuity from the "old" to the "new" Society in this respect. In 1669 the provincial congregation of Upper Germany [Germania Superior] asked that the publication of the *litterae annuae* be restarted. See Hauptstaatsarchiv Munich (henceforth: HStA), Jes. 258, f. 22^r.

⁴⁸ *Institutum* (1892) III, 292. See also Braunsberger, *Epistulae*, IV, 752 for 1564: "della quale farà fare otto copie. Una per Generale, un'altra per Brasile, la 3^a. per l'Indie, la 4^a. per Portogallo et Spagna. La 5^a per Francia 6^a per Germania inferiore. La 7^a per la Germania superiore. La 8^a per Italia, Sicilia, et Sardegna; " and *Formula scribendi*, Rome 1573, MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, IX, 721: "Conscribantur tot exemplaria, quot sunt in universa Societate Provinciae."

⁴⁹ MHSI, *Constitutiones*, III, 225f.

⁵⁰ *Formula scribendi*, n.d., Braunsberger, *Epistulae*, IV, 142: "Generalis autem Praepositus praeter provinciarum litteras alijs transmittendas, quae ad se destinabuntur, curabit etiam ut litterae quadrimestres de domo et de Collegio jtem Romano scribantur. Quibus addentur litterae Quadrimestres Amerinae Tiburtinae et Tusculanae et tot exempla et eadem ratione mittantur ac de alijs superius dictum est." See also the curia's central position even during Father General Láinez's absence in Trent (Láinez to Christopher de Madrid, Trent 9 April 1563, MHSI, *Láinez*, VII, 29): "La letra edificativa que aquí va de Tornay, se podrá embiar a Nápoles y Sicilia, y retenerse otra copia para essa provincia y la de Toscana, comenzando desde Génova: otra que queda aquí, se embiará a la de Lombardiá." See also Láinez to Francesco Petrarca, Trent 7 October 1563, MHSI, *Láinez*, VII, 390: "Qui [sc. to Trent] vanno tre lettere quadrimestri di Vienna: una per Napoli et Sicilia, altra per Roma, altra per Toscana."

However, the distribution through Rome was not the only way to circulate *litterae annuae* within the early Society. The direct “peripheral transmission” from province to province was also officially sanctioned.⁵¹ Two letters from Polanco to Peter Canisius⁵² detail these ways of communication for the case of the Upper German province. Certain routes were established that combined Jesuit infrastructure with the broader networks of (epistolary) communication in early modern Europe.⁵³ From all of Upper Germany’s edifying correspondence, Rome was meant to receive only the letters for the other Italian provinces in the south. On their way south to Rome, these letters were read en route in the communities through which they passed.⁵⁴ While Polanco thus was well informed about the basic pan-European communication networks, he was obviously less acquainted with the more local systems of distribution: “For those that go to Lower Germany and Austria, and also for Upper Germany, you know better how to send the letters.”⁵⁵ While being knowledgeable on the general schemes of the European networks, the Roman curia left the local circulation to the discretion of the Jesuits on site.

The constant flow of information was further guaranteed by the special position of the *litterae annuae* of the Roman province. These Roman epistles more often than not contained considerable information about the areas beyond Rome and Italy. Supplementing the direct peripheral transmission, the *annuae* of

⁵¹ Ferro, “Epistolografia,” 146-51 provides fragmentary information about the *viae* from India to Europe.

⁵² *8.v.1521Nijmegen; SJ 8.v.1543 Mainz; †21.xii.1597 Fribourg (*DHCJ*, II, 633).

⁵³ Polanco to Canisius, Trent 12 April 1563, Braunsberger, *Epistulae*, IV, 139-41; Polanco to Canisius, Trent June/August 1563, Braunsberger, *Epistulae*, IV, 280ff. All letters going out to the Iberian peninsula, as well as beyond Europe, were forwarded to Antwerp. Alternatively, the letters for Spain could also be directed via Genoa to their Iberian destination. Through Antwerp, the Portuguese letters would be sent to the provincial in Lisbon. The letters for Spain could be either sent to the Society’s *Commissario* in Spain, to the rector of the college in Medina del Campo, or to the court directly. From there the *litterae* would be distributed to the four Spanish provinces. The letters for France were going directly to Paris, and Lombardy was to receive the *litterae* either through Venice or Bologna. For the infrastructure of communication between Spain and Germany see e.g. Arno Strohmeier, “Kommunikation und die Formierung internationaler Beziehungen: Das österreichisch-spanische Nachrichtenwesen im Zeitalter Philipps II,” in *Hispania-Austria II: Die Epoche Philipps II*, ed. Friedrich Edelmayer (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1999) pp. 89-108.

⁵⁴ See e.g. the signs on the letter from provincial of the Rhineland in 1575: “Loreto +, Macerata +, Perugia +, Siena +, Firenze +” (ARSI, Rhen. Sup. 29, f. 7^v). Next year’s letter was read in Siena and Florence (ARSI, Rhen. Sup. 29, f. 13^v).

⁵⁵ Polanco to Canisius, Trent 12 April 1563, Braunsberger, *Epistulae*, IV, 141: “Quelle che saranno per la inferior Germania, e per l’ Austria, e per la istessa Superior Germania meglio saprà la Reverentia V. come si han da mandar.”

the Roman province did provide some summarizing information about the Society as a whole. An annual letter coming from the Roman province, such as the one for 1573 or 1574,⁵⁶ thus contained details not only on the different establishments in the Eternal City and central Italy, but also on Spain, Brasil, India, and Japan. Parallel ways of distributing edifying information thus existed before 1581: either through circulation of the provinces' letters themselves, be it peripheral or via Rome, or through the summarizing function of the Roman letters. In any case, a province like Upper Germany did receive a constant influx of edifying information from throughout the Jesuit world.⁵⁷

However, the system of distributing the manuscript letters did not work everywhere so well. The ideal picture of the normative texts did often enough not match reality. Already in 1574 the system had been in such bad shape that several provinces had not seen any letters in five years. The numbers of copies to be produced were high, the time schedules tight, and not all participants complied with the rules.⁵⁸ In 1581, this complex system was therefore changed once more, the number of handwritten annual letters arriving in Rome was reduced drastically.⁵⁹ Only one letter would be sent by each of the 22 provinces. These letters were then centrally compiled and reworked into one text, producing an authoritative overview over all the existing provinces that then had to be copied 22 times and sent out to the provinces. Copying was immediately replaced by printing. One central, uniform, printed annual yearbook, coming from Rome and delivered to the whole Society, was the

⁵⁶ HStA, Jes. 100, ff. 11'-19'.

⁵⁷ See e.g. the Brazilian or Mexican annual letters in HStA, Jes. 100. See also Jes. 580-598.

⁵⁸ See Mercurian to all provincials, Rome 30 September 1574, ARSI, Inst. 40, ff. 37'''. Ever more detailed rules were given in this instruction to force the local superiors to comply with the ideal time schedule.

⁵⁹ Decree 38, *Institutum* (1892) II, 256: "Propositum etiam fuit, moderationem aliquam videri adhibendum annalibus litteris, quae in Societate quotannis scribuntur. Ea autem videbatur fore ad rem, si ex quadringentis et quadringinta duabus, quae scribuntur, duae tantum et quadringinta scriberentur: viginti et una quidem ad Urbem ex omnibus Provinciis, hoc est, a singulis singulae, totidem vero ad easdem Provincias ab omnibus annuis confectae; idque per aliquem ex Patribus, qui in Collegio resideat, et sumptibus Provinciarum alatur cum scriptore suo, quemadmodum Procurator cum suis Sociis. Et auditis rationibus in medium allatis, placuit Congregationi praedicta moderatio. Unum vero tantum alendum esse in hunc finem in Collegio Romano sumptibus Provinciarum, qui ad hanc rem perficiendam idoneus sit: quae Provinciae sumptus etiam suppedient ad exempla annuarum per externos describenda." The *formula scribendi*, in its post-1581 printed versions changed the relevant paragraphs accordingly and dropped §30 (MHStA, *Doc. Ind.*, IX, 172), see e.g. *Institutum* (1757) II, 128.

product. This procedure solved several problems at the same time.⁶⁰ With this newly installed regime, the concern so clearly visible in the above letter to Helmi found its ultimate solution. Superimposing one single, authoritative piece on the abundance of local *litterae annuae* that were floating around the Society not only enhanced efficiency but also boosted Roman control over the system. Only then was the curia able to assure that the content and style were of a quality that matched its expectations. Distributing printed volumes also reduced the number of necessary forwards and helped thus to contain the vicissitudes of circulation. Speed was increased, too. Finally, books could be more easily produced in necessary numbers: 1000 copies of the first volume were printed to make sure that enough texts would be available.⁶¹ Through printing, then, a certain general level of knowledge about the Society as a whole could be maintained much more effectively throughout the order. Printing the *litterae* thus can be seen not only as an attempt to standardize quality and content, but also to safeguard a minimum amount and completeness of information. Even though it is not yet clear to what extent this uniformity did actually replace the earlier variety of local or regional letters, the attempt of the Roman curia to monopolize the genre is highly significant. With establishing such a system, the order further strengthened the curia as a centralized institution that systematically acquired, controlled, re-organized and transmitted information (or, as Bruno Latour would call it, as a “center of calculation”).⁶²

The circulation of the order’s *litterae annuae* was not only regulated on the global level, but also organized regionally for each province. Already in 1560 a system existed that facilitated equal access to the incoming letters for every Jesuit community.⁶³ The *annuae* were meant to wander around the province from establishment to establishment before finally being stored and archived in

⁶⁰ For this and the following see the letter from Acquaviva that was sent along with the first printed volume, 16 April 1583, ARSI, Inst. 40, f. 87r.

⁶¹ See the reference in n. 60. In 1618/9 the number of printed copies was reduced to 600 (ARSJ, Inst. 186a, ff. 273r-v).

⁶² See Bruno Latour, *Science in Action* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1987). By this term, Latour understands places (or institutions etc.) to which distant things (people, representations in literary and other forms, etc.) are brought in a *stable* and *combineable* way for intellectual recombination. The center’s ability, through certain intellectual means to *combine* the incoming material, is crucial

⁶³ *Formula scribendi*, n.d., Braunsberger, *Epistulae*, IV, 142: “tam autem suam quam eas quas acceperint ex alijs provincijs epistolas [sc. litteras quadrimestres], quivis provincialis suae provinciae domibus, et Collegijs, ac etiam ijs qui in missionibus versantur ita distribuet, et cum ad unum miserit praepositum vel Rectorem vel praeffectum ille rursum ad alium mittat donec peragrata tota provincia remittantur literae ad Provincialem.”

the provincial's residence.⁶⁴ The writings were not to be kept too long in each house,⁶⁵ and differing periods of one or two weeks per station were officially decreed.⁶⁶ In the communities the letters were read during meals, they could be copied, or excerpts could be extracted. If we take a look at the ways in which annual letters were received and treated in the provinces, it seems as if this system was often working adequately. An abundance of fragments, excerpts, and further compilations of *litterae annuae*, both European and from overseas, still exist in the various archives. Several volumes in Munich, for instance, document the amount of annual letters that arrived in the German province every year.⁶⁷ Many of these letters bear the marks of their "reading tour" throughout the province. On the back or front of the text every house or community "signed in and out" and marked the day of arrival and forwarding. The order in which the houses received the letters is not entirely consistent, but shows clear patterns. Geographical and infrastructural factors played an important role. More often than not, Augsburg was the first station for the *litterae annuae*, most likely due to the city's central position in Europe's postal network.⁶⁸ Almost always the documents went next to Dillingen. Innsbruck and Hall/Tyrol would also forward the letters to each other, though without any clear sequence. The position of Ingolstadt, on the other hand, was a little less stable in the provincial system of circulation. Sometimes the town received the *litterae* rather early, coming most often from Dillingen. On several occasions, however, Ingolstadt received the *litterae* only at the very end of the circuit, sometimes directly from Innsbruck. The same holds true for Munich, sometimes standing at the beginning of the list, while sometimes receiving the *litterae* at later dates.

From time to time, these traces of the internal circuit are even more detailed, as can be seen from the list on the back of a copy of the 1577 *litterae* of the

⁶⁴ Storing these letters was explicitly called a task for the provincial; the *formula* 1573/80 speaks of "asservare," *Formula scribendi*, Rome 1573 MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, IX, 722.

⁶⁵ Braunsberger, *Epistulae*, IV, 142 quotes Nadal: "Sit certa ratio constituta, inde ad quod Collegium sint transmittenda literae quadrimestres, et magna cura adhibeantur, ne diucius hereant in uno Collegio, sive illae sunt transcribende, quod de literis indicis fieri necessum est, sive tantum praelegende. [...] Literae Jndiae, quae recens adferuntur, legantur in prima et secunda Mensa, a quibus si qui absunt, dari eis possunt literae, ut legant."

⁶⁶ The *Formula scribendi* of 1573/80 has one week (MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, IX, 721f.); a later version of *Institutum* (1757) II, 128 allows for two weeks, a point not coming from Acquaviva's 1594 addition.

⁶⁷ See e.g. HStA, Jes. 100, 101. The following remarks rely primarily on Jes. 100.

⁶⁸ See Wolfgang Behringer, *Im Zeichen des Merkur. Reichspost und Kommunikationsrevolution in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003).

French province (*Francia*) for Germany Superior.⁶⁹

| [Place] | Received ("Receptae") | Read ("Lectae") | Forwarded ("Missae") |
|---------|--------------------------|--------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| Mayence | 1. June | 3. June | |
| Speyer | 6. June | 8. June "[forwarded to] Augsburg" | |

The following is set apart from the above by a turn of 90°.

| | | | |
|------------|---------------|-------------|------------|
| Augsburg | 4. July | 5. July | 6. July |
| Munich | 7. July | 9. July | 15. July |
| Innsbruck | 20. July | 22. July | 23. July |
| Hall/Tyrol | 23. July | 25. July | 26. July |
| Landsberg | 7. August | 9. August | 11. August |
| Dillingen | 14. August | 17. August | 19. August |
| Ingolstadt | 23. August | 25. August | 31. August |
| Luzern | 12. September | 1. October. | 7. October |

This list is an excellent example from the above mentioned Munich volumes. It nicely shows how the French letters came into Upper Germany. Since our example begins with Speyer and Mainz, we can conclude that the letters came directly from Paris and not via Rome, thus demonstrating the peripheral transmission. Furthermore, the table demonstrates how well the provincial system of circulation initially functioned. The treatment of the letters generally seemed to have been very prompt, almost urgent. No location, except Luzern at the end, went beyond the one week that was allowed for in the official documents. Other similar lists of the period show more or less the same picture.⁷⁰ Even though it is clear that sometimes the letters did rest for more than only a few days in one place, it seems fair to assume that the system of distribution could work fairly well and efficiently. Problems, however, did exist. The proliferation of Jesuit communities, and thus the number of stations for the letters, made it difficult to circulate the annual correspondence throughout the province within a reasonable amount of time.⁷¹ The multiple usage of one single

⁶⁹ HStA, Jes. 100, ff. 334^r-339^r.

⁷⁰ See e.g. HStA, Jes. 100, ff. 310^r-318^r, 345^r-348^r.

⁷¹ For the following see the instruction by the provincial Otho Eysenreich c. 1600 in Clm 24077, f. 51^r. This document obviously refers to the circulation of the houses' annual letters within the province: "Annuae nostrae Provinciae cum non solum tardius quam oporteat ordinarie circumferantur (Helvetij enim nostri ut plurimum ante finem anni vix illas accipiunt) sed praeterea etiam ita mutilatae & laceratae domum redeant, ut vix usui esse amplius possint, neque appareat quo modo huic malo occurrere possit quamdiu unum tantum exemplar illarum circumfertur, ideo visum est operae precium omnes Superiores monere, ut singuli post hac duo Annalium exemplaria eodem

piece of correspondence also worsened the material condition of the letters so badly that they finally were hardly usable anymore. Additional copies of the circulating letters had to be made to solve this problem. Accordingly, the Upper German province was divided into two distinct circles of distribution, one comprising Tyrol and the Swiss regions of Upper Germany, and the other consisting of the Jesuit communities further to the north (“extra montes”).

Altogether, these highly complex practices of circulating this correspondence on the global as well on the regional level demonstrate the importance that was placed on the distribution of information within the order. Even though the distribution did not always work properly, the Jesuit communities were part of an effective network that circulated relevant information and was structured by one universal and several regional information hubs. Elaborated mechanisms were established to guarantee at least a certain degree of valid and up-to-date knowledge about the Society for most of its members. The distribution was meant to achieve this goal with a minimum of effort, i.e. with a minimum of copies of the letters. By relying on contemporary infrastructure and taking into account the order’s geographical organization, a rather stable and constant flow of information could be maintained. However, where needed, the system could also react flexibly to new challenges and thus remain effective. Both the ordering of extra copies for Upper Germany and the printing of the letters in Rome are examples of such an adaptation of the system, albeit on very different scales.

Compiling and Structuring the *Litterae Annae*

The *litterae annuae* worked on the basis of accumulated information about spiritually relevant events. The very early *annuae* were still based on the idea of communicating these edifying news directly from the local level to the superior general and to other Jesuits. Soon afterwards, however, the order’s hierarchy began to influence the compilation of the *litterae*.⁷² Accordingly, the provincial became installed as a clarifying and correcting filter of the local information. He was supposed to complete or rewrite what he received from the individual communities. While the *Constitutions* focused on his collecting role, later on he

modo scripta et descripta ad Provincialem statuto tempore mittant, quorum unum nostris Tyrolensibus cum Helvetijs commune sit, alterum vero reliquis Collegijs extra montes & Helvetiam serviat. Et illud postea Bruntrutum tanquam in ultimo Collegio ad quod deveniet hoc vero Augustae servetur. Ita enim singula exemplaria ad destinata sibi loca citius pervenient, ac minus praeterea vitata domum revertentur.”

⁷² Thus, the *litterae annuae* soon acquired also a strong “vertical” dimension and hardly remained completely “horizontal” as Verástegui (“Importance of Archives,” p. 37) perhaps too optimistically assumes.

was also called upon to correct the letters from the local site.⁷³ Throughout the normative development sketched above, the role of the provincial remained of crucial importance. He clearly played a major role in the whole system as a secondary “center of calculation” that helped to steer the flow of information according to central, Roman concerns. The provincial’s role was somewhat ambivalent however. On the one side, his work of putting the local letters together and clearing them of any problems was conceived of as creating a unified, new literary product.⁷⁴ On the other side, his letters are like anthologies, presenting community after community. This dilemma between relying on existing texts and creating a new unified text is in fact structural to the modes of compiling the *litterae annuae*; it will accordingly also prove to be significant for the centralizing Roman efforts.

In many ways the provincial’s work had indeed to rely on the work of the local superiors. After all, the local information was the backbone and the starting point of the whole system. The principal motivation for the *litterae annuae* was edification not through meditation or pious contemplation beyond everyday matters, but more through concrete information about the highly particular and localized deeds of the order’s members and their circumstances. Thus, the credibility of the whole enterprise ultimately depended on the trustworthiness of the data and stories contained in the texts. Whatever “trustworthiness” meant for the 16th and 17th century, it is clear that the accumulation of information had to be controlled accordingly. A formal or procedural organization of the information-gathering was ultimately inevitable to guarantee the quality of information and keep the *litterae* alive. Complaints about “unrealistic” stories told in the letters show that there was a high sensibility concerning this point.⁷⁵ It is no surprise, then, that in his 1594 additions to the *formula sribendi* Acquaviva finally, after the complete

⁷³ Polanco to Canisius, Trent April/August 1563, Braunsberger, *Epistulae*, IV, 278: “così Nostro P. volendo proveder” à questo ordina che per l’avenire tutte le quadrimestri le reveggia il Provinciale, et li accomodi in modo che non habbiano cosa che possa offendere.” For the printed *formula* see MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, IX, 720f. In the *Constitutions*, the provincial’s role is detailed in Part VIII, chapter 1, annotation M (MHSI, *Constitutiones*, III, 225).

⁷⁴ Polanco to Canisius, Rome 9 December [?], 1543, Braunsberger, *Epistulae*, IV, 752: “Le cose d’edificatione doveranno esser scritte dalli Rettori et Superiori di sei in sei mesi alli loro Provinciali: I quali di tutte le semestri di suoi Collegij ò case, insieme ne componghino ò faccino una sola, che contenga tanti capitoli, quanti sono li luoghi di sua Provincia. [...] Et per fare queste lettere più facilmente, potrà il Provinciale, (se le parerà) imporre alli Superiori di sua Provincia, che insieme con la semestre mandino un summario breve di essa; del qual summario si possa egli valere nel fare le sue *generali semestri* [...]” (my italics, to indicate this new understanding of the provincial’s letter).

⁷⁵ See e.g. ARSI, Inst. 186a, f. 248r: “De literis annuis P. Roberti Bellarmini a Congr 5 generali 1593.”

reorganization of the system in the previous decade, also tried to regulate this local dimension of the *litterae*.⁷⁶ Even though the *formula* of 1573 had already called for careful observation of daily events in terms of their edifying usefulness,⁷⁷ only Acquaviva's regulations adequately provided a means for the necessary systematic control of local information-gathering. The superiors were urged to not neglect the collection of pertinent information.⁷⁸ Each Jesuit community should name one person as "Investigator" who was responsible for the accumulation of edifying news. Taking up an idea already mentioned in Polanco's 1547 instruction, this Jesuit was asked to keep a daily diary for relevant entries.⁷⁹ He was also encouraged to talk with individual Jesuits or other persons about whom he was writing. In particular, the confessors were considered to be valuable sources of information that could and should be mined, albeit instructions were especially careful to curtail any leaking of confidential knowledge.⁸⁰ Local norms, here again for Upper Germany, specify the rector's task to "extract the content for the annual letters" every three months.⁸¹ They also provided further mechanisms of controlling the trustworthiness of the raw material. The rector could, for instance, be asked to also consult with his consultors before sending off the *litterae*.⁸² Only afterwards were they allowed to be sent to Rome or to be read even within the province. All the norms made it clear that the local superior was in charge of balancing the system on the local level. He was to not only verify and clarify what the investigator had compiled, but also to check its suitability for circulation.

The curia's concern for the quality of the local information was shared by Jesuits throughout the world. Rather spectacular is the case of India's first provincial congregation in 1575. The Jesuits in the Far East insisted on strengthening the provincial's role in the process of compiling the *litterae annuae*

⁷⁶ *Ordinationes* (1595), ff. A'-A2'.

⁷⁷ *Formula scribendi*, Rome 1573, MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, IX, 720f.

⁷⁸ *Ordinationes* (1595), ff. A': "Nec inter postrema, & levia reijciatur cura punctorum colligendorum pro Annalium materia: quin potius studium, & diligentia non modica in eo ponatur."

⁷⁹ The diary was dropped later as lacking e.g. in *Institutum* (1757). See Polanco to the Society, Rome 27 July 1547, MHSI, *Epp. Ign.*, I, 547f.

⁸⁰ Positively mentioned, e.g. in an instruction from the provincial Georg Bader, Augsburg 11 March 1585, Clm 24077, ff. 45'f., more critical is Sacchini in 1620, Clm 26490, p. 25, probably for very good reasons (see e.g. Bellarmine's statement in n. 75).

⁸¹ See an undated compendium of provincial norms in Clm 27440, I, f. 384': "Exigenda sunt puncta pro Annuiis." This is part of the section on three-monthly routines, beginning *ibid.* f. 383'.

⁸² The post-provincial congregation memorial from 1606 can be found in HStA, Jes. 84, without pagination (for the provincial congregation 1606), #13. See also ad anno 1628, #I, 14.

and even asked Father General Everard Mercurian⁸³ that the provincials officially sign and authorize their *litterae* after they were corrected.⁸⁴ This procedure would help to marginalize letters consisting of less reliable and less controlled information. Mercurian followed this suggestion in 1578.⁸⁵ It might very well be that the Indian reports seemed to be particularly in need of such mechanisms for verification given their occasionally “exotic” content that was probably stretching the European imagination. However, the question was of general importance. Thus, also the provincial of Upper Germany sent out a similar instruction in 1585 to improve control of the information.⁸⁶ Throughout the Jesuit world, Acquaviva’s 1594 instruction only reenforced an ongoing and dynamic effort to guarantee, on the local level, the quality of the information transmitted in the *litterae annuae*. Since it was through “empirical” information that the *litterae* should provide edification, the period’s concern with securing and stabilizing observation also left its traces in the annual letters. The process of acquiring, of interpreting, and of transmitting knowledge had to be monitored carefully.⁸⁷

If the gathering of information on the local level was thus of utmost importance as the basic first step of the whole system, the final step, compiling a unified text in Rome, was equally crucial. It was the 1581 system of distribution that pushed this question to center stage. At least three different modes of producing these bulky compilations were used at various times after 1581 (Methods I, II, III). This distinction is based not so much on normative texts but on a close analysis of the extant manuscripts in Rome, as well as on a comparison of the provincial manuscripts with the printed versions of the Roman compilations. Doing so means venturing into almost uncharted terrain.⁸⁸ In fact, such a comparison between the different manuscripts and the printed volumes has hardly been ever undertaken by historians of the Jesuits. It should,

⁸³ *1514 Marcourt; SJ 8.ix.1548 Paris; elected Father General 22.iv.1573; †1.viii.1580 Rome (DHCJ, II, 1611).

⁸⁴ MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, X, 280f. (Pregunta 33).

⁸⁵ MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, X, 342.

⁸⁶ Instruction by Georg Bader, Munich, 11 March 1585, Clm 24077, ff. 45ʳf.

⁸⁷ The seminal work is Steven Shapin, *A Social History of Truth. Civility and Science in Seventeenth-Century England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994).

⁸⁸ Rosario Romeo, “The Jesuit Sources and the Italian Political Utopia in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century,” in *First Images of America. The Impact of the New World on the Old*, ed. Fredi Chiappelli (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976) pp. 165-84, here 172-74 compares the *litterae* to the original versions. Also, on a very limited scale, Abé, “Content of Missionary Reports.” These authors, however, are concerned only with contents and not with modes of compiling per se.

however, form the basis for any detailed future investigation into the *litterae annuae* as well as the missionary reports. Checking the publications against the manuscripts is mandatory to assess adequately the role of the printed texts in what can aptly be called Jesuit “image-politics.” Since this task is vast because of the complexity of the sources involved, my remarks only provide preliminary observations and are focused predominantly on the formal aspects of the correspondence.

Producing an encyclopedic summary of the yearly Jesuit activities must have been an enormous challenge. “Res est asininj laboris,” said a Jesuit involved in the process, “it is donkey”’s work.”⁸⁹ That the task called for a highly efficient system of information-management is evident. What, however, the most efficient way would be, was not immediately clear to the Society. For the time around 1600, two different modes of compiling the Society’s annual letter can be discerned (Methods I and II). Both modes rely on the same basic organizing principle of the whole collection, a strictly geographical structure, reflecting the basic territorial organization of the Society. The basic narrative unit was the city or village in which Jesuit communities flourished. It was mandated that cities with two or more Jesuit communities should only send out one letter for all the Jesuits in that particular location.⁹⁰ The “chapters” dealing with single locations were separated by a visual demarcation, usually the graphically highlighted name of the city or village. Only within these “chapters” can a narrative coherence be observed. The narratives of all the locations within one province were printed successively, usually prefixed by a very short general overview of the province in question. The provinces were finally grouped into assistancies. Unlike the provinces, however, there was no general unifying overview of the assistancies. Differing from the assistancies, the provinces thus also were treated and understood not only as structuring units, but as acting unities whose status quo deserved a general overview. The Third Method, especially linked to the printed volumes of the 1650s, drastically altered this structure. It abandoned the geographical ordering for a thematic one, at least within the provinces. Below the geographical units of the provinces, chapters on ministries, deaths, and confessions now ordered the information. The individual communities did not have any structuring function anymore. Thus, the new organizing structure was a compromise between a geographical macro- and a topical microstructure. If

⁸⁹ “Ratio quae videntur persuadere non esse imprimendas literas annuas,” Andreas Jodoci to [Father General], n.p. 2 April 1649, ARSI, Inst. 186a, f. 268r

⁹⁰ Polanco to Canisius, Trent June/August 1563, Braunsberger, *Epistulae*, IV, 280: “Quando in eadem urbe domus est et Collegium ut Romae et Ulisponae vel duo Collegia ut Coninbricae satis est unas conficiant quadrimestres quae complectantur quae pertinent ad utroque.”

the macrostructure remained constant—province reported after province, grouped into assistancies—then the microstructure was changed dramatically.

While sharing the same organizing principle, Methods I and II differed radically regarding their compilation. Method I consisted of a complete rewriting of the incoming texts.⁹¹ The Jesuits working according to this scheme in fact produced an entirely new narration that was printed as the *litterae annuae*. No manuscript of this new version has appeared so far, but the direct comparison of the incoming provincial texts and the printed version makes the procedure entirely clear. The topics discussed in the printed *litterae*, their order, and sometimes even the choice of words indicate that these new texts strongly followed the original provincial reports. The printed version relied heavily on the received information and narrative structure, but not on the text itself. Method II proceeded quite differently, falling in the other extreme. Now the compilers did almost no own work on the incoming letters except shortening them and adding single sentences. The only real intrusion in the original was the collecting of all the statistics (size of the Jesuit population etc.) at the beginning of the province, thus decontextualizing these sections from the individual Jesuit locations to which they were attached in the manuscripts. The manuscripts that are treated according to Method II are marked painstakingly so that the processed manuscripts could (and most likely did) directly function as printer's copies.⁹² The printed versions follow the handwritten corrections meticulously.

⁹¹ The following discussion is based on the examination of the manuscripts in ARSI, Rhen. Inf. 48, Rhen. Sup. 29, Germ. Sup 65-66, and the printed volumes available in the Bibliotheca Historica Societatis Iesu, Rome. Since there are significant *lacunae* both in the manuscripts preserved and the prints available, Method II can be identified so far only for the years 1604 and 1605 without doubt; Method I is most clearly visible for 1593. Karl Heinrich von Lang, *Geschichte der Jesuiten in Baiern* (Nürnberg: Riegel und Wießner, 1819) p. 84 thought that Method II started in 1597. This, however, seems highly unlikely since this volume was the last one done by Sebastian Berettarius. More likely, this procedure might have started with the volume for 1598 (printed in 1607, the same year as the one for 1597, but in Lyon), because a) from this year on, the *litterae* are not signed anymore, thus perhaps being “mere compilations,” not the work of any individual; b) this would coincide with the change of the place of publication to Lyon; c) a passage in Acquaviva's letter mentioned above (ARSI, Rom. 205, ff. 19^v) asked the provincials in 1598, perhaps alluding to the new procedure, to produce manuscripts “ad eam formam, quae in impressis hactenus cerni potest, sic n. fiet ut, aut nulla, aut p[er] exigua mutatione, statim ac venerint recognitaque fuerint, simul omnes imprimi et transmitti possint.” In ARSI, Hist. Soc. 20, f. 18^v, it is furthermore stated: “Propositum est a Provincia Lusitanae ut fiat ex omnibus annuis q. veniunt ex provincijs una annua epistola non mutato stilo” (28 May 1598).

⁹² In the manuscripts treated according to Method II someone plotted the pagebreak and noted the folio on the margins. Since several times these indications are not quite correct, the calculations must have been done in advance. The best explanation is that this was done in the printing house, most likely during the process of printing. This would imply that the edited and marked manuscripts coming from the provinces were directly used as printers copies.

It seems, as if the task of preparing the incoming manuscripts in this way had been assigned to the assistants themselves.⁹³

Both approaches, Methods I and II, fulfilled the task of compiling a unified yearbook of Jesuit deeds in opposite ways. In fact, they might be said to represent alternative understandings of what “compiling” could mean in early modern Europe. According to Method I, compiling meant not only editing and pasting the incoming texts but also creating a truly unified new and yet dependent narrative. If we turn to Method II, however, compiling was understood as producing an anthology of consciously edited, original pieces, thus being an edition of original sources controlled, but not formulated, by the Roman curia. Both methods, however, relied on the same fundamental organizing principle: a strict geographical order.

Method III, particularly well established with the printed volumes of the 1650s, blends this geographical macrostructure with a very different, topical microstructure. However, there have been experiments with a topical ordering of the *litterae* long before the 1650s. This leads us back into the time around 1600 and especially into the period of crisis for the *litterae*. Certainly, the need for an alternative, topical reading of the narratives did exist from early on. A manuscript of the provincial of Upper Rhineland in 1596, for instance, bears underlinings in the text that mark certain topics.⁹⁴ Other rudimentary means to structure the narrative flow topically and make the manuscripts more accessible do exist, e.g. simple glosses or marginalia.⁹⁵ In fact, even one of the printed compilations of the Society’s *litterae annuae* followed the topical order (1592, printed in 1600). Giovanni Francesco Caretoni,⁹⁶ responsible for compiling this volume, elaborated on the advantages of the topical system.⁹⁷ Not only does this

⁹³ Instruction to the German assistant, no date, ARSI, Inst. 117, ff. 568^r-569^r.

⁹⁴ ARSI, Rhen. Sup. 29, ff. 27^r-29^v.

⁹⁵ E.g. the systematical marking of new topics with letters on the margin, that might possibly allow for a simple form of indexing, in ARSI, Rhen. Sup. 29, ff. 19^r-26^r (*litterae annuae* 1592). See also ARSI, Rhen. Sup. 29, ff. 52^r-72^r (*litterae annuae* 1611), where the system, now using Roman numbers, however is less easily accessible.

⁹⁶ *1556 Rome; SJ 1575 Rome; †21.vii.1639 Rome (*Sommervogel*, II, col. 746).

⁹⁷ See the introduction in *Annuae Litterae Societatis Iesu, Anni MDLXXXXII, ad Patres, et Fratres eiusdem Societatis* (Florence, 1600), n.p.: “Cum mihi sit demandatum a Superioribus, ut referam in Annale millesimi quingentesimi nonagesimi secundi res gestas earum Provinciarum, quarum ad nos in Urbem commentarij pervenerunt; ea explicare institui non per domicilia, sed per capita rerum. Quoniam id propius accedit ad leges, morem historiae, commodius accedit ad usum exemplorum, magis implet aures argumentum totum sub uno titulo comprachensum, quam idem in incisa rerum diversissimarum connexionе sparsum locis plurimis; ex multo maxime ut experiemur, dum non e singulis Collegijs, sed e singulis Provincijs unum corpus efficitur, utrum sine ulla offensione vitari

comply with the habits of historiography [*more historico*] and prevents repetition, but it makes the examples more easily accessible. The geographical organization is explicitly perceived of as impeding a theme-oriented reading, thus reducing the persuasive power of the *litterae*. How Carretonius managed to rearrange the incoming letters remains unclear. The extant manuscripts do not bear any marks of reworking.⁹⁸ In any case, at the time this remained a forward-looking yet singular exception. The next printed volume (for 1593, published 1601) did not continue this way and used again the traditional, strictly geographical structure. The alteration of the previous volume now seemed more like an aberration than as a promising experiment.⁹⁹ Carretonius was no longer entrusted with the task of compilation.

Preserving the original narrative structure was not an issue for the Jesuits involved with the manuscripts, after publication finally ceased in 1619. The short, drafted reworkings of the Rhineland *litterae* from 1615 to the 1640s mentioned above are a huge step towards the later practice of the 1650s. These scribbled excerpts, themselves again highly reworked with editing marks, may look unappealing compared to the clean copies of incoming manuscripts, yet they get us as close to the process of compiling as possible. The incoming provincial letters still use the strictly geographical standard order. Our drafts, however, already condense these letters into a set of statistics at the beginning and numbered paragraphs of selected excerpts that are pulled together from throughout the original narrative. Even though a clear topical grouping of these excerpts is still lacking, the basis for such an order is laid by pulling together single fragments that apparently had been shortened from longer accounts.

It seems as if a clear and systematic introduction of thematic categories (“chapters”) only happened from 1650 onwards. This might be no accident since the first year to be printed was the annual letter of 1650 (published 1658). Fortunately for 1650 and 1651 the original incoming manuscripts of Upper Rhineland, albeit still organized according to strict geographical principles, and the Roman notes that rearranged them according to topics still exist.¹⁰⁰

posset ingrata illa prolixitas, quae nasci solet e repetitione rerum leviorum, atque communium.”

⁹⁸ No manuscripts for Rhineland survive for 1592; the ones for Germany Superior are not reworked (ARSI, Germ. Sup. 65).

⁹⁹ See *Annuae Litterae Societatis Iesu, Anni MDXCIII, ad Patres, et Fratres eiusdem Societatis* (Florence, 1601). The preface mentions explicitly that this compilation resumes the “*annalium consuetudo*” that had in the previous volume been temporarily abandoned (“*non tam ommissa, quam casu quodam intermissa*”).

¹⁰⁰ ARSI, Rhen. Sup. 31, ff. 174^r-195^r (provincial letter) and Rhen. Sup. 31, ff. 196^r, 198^r-202^r, 204^r (draft of Roman reworking into topical order) for 1650; Rhen. Sup. 31, ff. 205^r-218^r and 197^r, 203^r for 1651.

Comparing these versions further clarifies the process of compilation: The original manuscript was first of all glossed with marginalia related to the envisioned topical chapters. Also relevant numbers, e.g. of deaths or of confessions, were noted on the margins. Relying on these marginalia, then, the process of topical compilation started. Single areas of a sheet or different pieces of paper were used for each topical “chapter.” On these areas or sheets the pertinent excerpts were noted. More often than not this excerpting also implied rewriting. Textual comparison clearly shows that the process of rewriting first and foremost was meant to shorten the original narration drastically. As a result, events or deeds are reduced to a mere factual account devoid of narrative elaboration. Glossing the original versions on the margins, portioning the information into topically coherent collections on single pieces of paper, transforming these intermediaries into clean copies of *litterae annuae* in a topical order—these are the basic steps necessary to mold the geographically organized, narrative letters into topically structured, fragmentized enumerations of rather isolated facts.

The examples of 1650 and 1651 as well as the earlier and still somewhat less elaborate drafts of the 1640s, show that the topical organization (Method III) was more a specific Roman than a general concern. The documents cited illustrate the rigor and the fierceness that needed to be employed to transform the incoming letters according to Method III. Only for a short period, 1653 and 1654, did the new system have an effect on the provinces. These incoming *litterae* employed a topical order.¹⁰¹ Now divided into thematic “chapters,” they complied with the new Roman style of conceiving of the *litterae annuae*. Even though they did not use exactly the same topical categories as Rome—as was clearly marked on the manuscripts¹⁰²—they shared the same structural intentions. They also reduced narratives to small statements; spiritually noteworthy events were now squeezed into a few lines. The paragraphs of each chapter were numbered, but no other connecting tie existed between them. At least for a brief moment, the renewed efforts of the 1650s thus had an impact also on the provinces’ practice of compiling the *litterae annuae*. Soon afterwards, however, this topical system fell into oblivion, once again. The volume for 1654 was the last text to be printed. Furthermore, not every province had complied at all or

¹⁰¹ ARSI, Rhen. Sup. 31, ff. 289^r-294^r and 322^r-336^r (1654); ARSI, Germ. Sup. 70, ff. 183^r-210^r.

¹⁰² A Roman reader/editor thus again glossed the manuscripts on the margins with symbols indicating the Roman categories. For example he must have thought of a special category “Sacr[amenta]” not available in the original, see the marginal notes to “§2. Missiones fructuosae a Nostris institutae” in ARSI, Rhen. Sup. 31, ff. 289^r-290^r.

had done so only reluctantly.¹⁰³ In many ways the topical composition seemed to be more connected with the concerns of the Roman curia than with provincial interests. Such an arrangement of edifying information had been an option from very early on and was certainly promoted strongly in the late 1640s and 1650s. The provincial practices, however, were hardly affected by this new procedure except for the heydays of 1653 and 1654. Generally speaking Rome was more concerned with the topical organization of the material than the provinces were.

From Narration to Statistics?

The significance of introducing Method III has to be seen against the background of much broader trends in the early modern history of knowledge. Even though the reorganization might have originated in rather pragmatic intentions, it documents or parallels general shifts that affected most areas of human life from science to politics. The Scientific Revolution and the growing emphasis on autopsy in medicine or geography are only the most prominent features of these changes within the European matrix of knowledge. In politics a parallel development is closely related to a new form of administrative action and thus to the emergence of the state. Here, these dynamics center around the increased grounding of decision-making in facts and “intelligence.” Documenting the state’s status quo, “knowing what one has,” became the indispensable basis for this new understanding of political action. New forms of investigating and processing information were needed and installed. Accordingly, historical research has lately provided massive and convincing evidence about the mechanisms that allowed for “seeing like a state.”¹⁰⁴ Research focuses on several aspects: cartography, demography, commissions, the rise of statistics. Two of the big consequences of these developments were a generally increased role of figures and numbers in politics/administration and a growing emphasis on “facts,” understood as decontextualized empirical information about situations.¹⁰⁵ It shall be argued in this final section that not

¹⁰³ This holds true e.g. for Austria, whose letters are devoid of any chapter-structure, be it geographical or topical, see ARSI, Austr. 141. For an interesting counter-example, see Jörg Zech’s article in this issue. Also the *litterae annuae* for Upper Germany followed the new scheme for one year (1653); the letter for 1654, is once more strictly geographically organised (ARSI Germ. Sup. 71, ff. 1^v-67^r). As late as 1656 topical reworkings of geographically ordered texts exist. Compare ARSI Germ. Sup. 70, ff. 268^r-329^r with the “Versio exarata” in ARSI Austr. 141, ff. 367^r-390^r. This might indicate that publication was intended to go on longer than it actually did.

¹⁰⁴ James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State. How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1998).

¹⁰⁵ See Shapiro, *Culture*, Mary Poovey, *A History of the Modern Fact: Problems of Knowledge in the Science of Wealth and Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998).

only the Society of Jesus in general was partaking in these changes, but that they affected also the *litterae annuae* especially through the topical reorganization.

Method III organized edifying information into a set of theme-oriented chapters, e.g. dealing with deaths, ministries, or schooling. Under these headings, excerpts from throughout the province were pasted, often in numbered paragraphs. The incidents mentioned in these paragraphs were reported as pertinent facts without narrative elaboration. Beyond the common content no connection between the different pieces of information was established; certainly there was no narrative coherence. Each "chapter" opened with a brief statistical overview. This topical system of organizing the pertinent information thus destroyed the narrative coherence of the texts. It furthermore altered significantly the role of the events or facts mentioned. Now they were not meant to incite moral emulation through an exemplary narrative but were transformed into evidence for a general accounting. They documented or illustrated, but hardly convinced anymore through the power of narration. Exemplary narrations, geared towards emulation, are turned into fragmentized, decontextualized, and briefly recounted facts, into specific cases subsumed under a generic category, into "probes of reality"¹⁰⁶ for abstract numbers.

This fragmentizing trend is paralleled by an increasing importance of "statistics" within the *litterae*. It is important to distinguish two concerns here, the one being with representing the status quo of the Jesuit personnel, the other focusing on documenting Jesuit pastoral ministries and their success.¹⁰⁷ Jesuit interest with numbers and counting in both dimensions has early roots. Missionaries provided figures when they were talking about the improvement of Christianization.¹⁰⁸ The *litterae quadrimestres* are also full of numbers and figures of persons baptized or confessed. Furthermore, the annual letters always

¹⁰⁶ Peter Assion, "Das Exempel als agitatorische Gattung. Zu Form und Funktion der kurzen Beispielgeschichte," *Fabula* 19 (1978) 225-40, here 231: The German word is "Wirklichkeitsproben." Examples, according to Assion, are used not only as proof of general statements (or statistics) but are intended to add some concrete colour to the account.

¹⁰⁷ Sometimes the two issues were merged into one place, but usually both statistics are separated. The separation becomes explicit in the text for 1622 (ARSI, Rhen. Sup. 29, ff. 129^v-132^v), where the transfer of the success-numbers from the beginning to the later position is demanded in a marginalia: "NB quae duabis his lineis clauduntur post duo folia interseri debent signo ibidem notato." At its appropriate place (131^v), after the necrologues, we read: "NB huc spectat quid supra notatum sunt."

¹⁰⁸ Georg Schurhammer S.J., "Die Taufen des hl. Franz Xaver," in *Gesammelte Studien III: Xaveriana* (Rome/Lisbon: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1964) pp. 271-304 mentions an obsession with counting ministries, yet is only interested in discussing the trustworthiness of the numbers, not in the habit of counting per se. In the same "positivistic" direction goes Alexandre Brou S.J., "Les Statistiques dans les anciennes Missions," *Revue d'Histoire des Missions* (1929) 359-384.

had, at their beginning, contained a survey of the province's or the community's status quo. In both dimensions, serious problems with counting and calculating could arise at times. Pedro Doménech¹⁰⁹ had difficulties counting his ministries in Sicily and obviously felt embarrassed about this failure.¹¹⁰ A note from the Rhineland deplores that the exact numbers of Jesuits belonging to the provinces could not be calculated for the past decade, since the division of the province into Upper and Lower Rhineland in 1626, made retrospective counts impossible. Also the documentation of ministries had been neglected, letters furthermore had been destroyed in the Thirty Years' War. Basically, no statistics were possible, desirable as they might have been.¹¹¹

For the moment,¹¹² these examples will suffice to indicate that the 17th century's increasing reliance on numbers in the *litterae* was no break with the order's tradition. Yet this old concern with "statistics" was much intensified. Here the annual letters parallel the general developments of the early modern culture of knowledge very directly. Also special and appropriate visual forms of display were used more and more in the *litterae*, again mirroring general shifts. Numbers and figures ultimately needed special forms of display, since flowing prose was not adequately able to present them. One of the basic advantages of numbers was their power to provide summarizing, yet abstract overviews that allow to overcome the abundance of local particularities.¹¹³ Accordingly, they need forms of presentation that guarantee easy accessibility and enhance the evidence of figures. List and tables were the most prominent ways of displaying numbers in the ages before charts and diagrams.¹¹⁴ Lists and tables abounded in 17th century *litterae annuae* from the provinces. Indeed they began to appear

¹⁰⁹ *c. 1525 Barbens ; SJ 15.v.1551 Barcelona; †14.i.1606 Barcelona (DHCJ, II, 1136).

¹¹⁰ E.g. MHSI, *Litt. Quad.*, II, 513, 669.

¹¹¹ This summarizes a note in ARSI, Rhen. Sup. 29, f. 75^r.

¹¹² In a future article I hope to address the Society's contribution to Europe's increased preoccupation with numbers and statistics.

¹¹³ See Scott, *Seeing like a State*.

¹¹⁴ On the tables in general see the two seminal studies by Arndt Brendecke, "Tabellenwerke in der Praxis der frühneuzeitlichen Geschichtsvermittlung," in *Wissenssicherung, Wissensordnung und Wissensverarbeitung. Das europäische Modell der Enzyklopädien*, ed. Theo Stammen and Wolfgang E. J. Weber (Berlin: Akademie 2004) pp. 157-89; "Tabellen und Formulare als Regulative der Wissenserfassung und Wissenspräsentation," in *Autorität der Form – Autorisierungen – Institutionelle Autoritäten*, ed. Winfried Schulze, Gerhard Regn and Wulf Oesterreicher (Münster Hamburg: LIT 2003) pp. 37-53. The connection of tables with the *topoi of evidentia* and *ante oculos ponere* is complex, see especially Rüdiger Campe, *Spiel der Wahrscheinlichkeit. Literatur und Berechnung zwischen Pascal und Kleist* (Göttingen: Wallstein 2002).

in the early 1620s.¹¹⁵ Occasionally the rows and columns were not separated graphically, but usually the tables provide the visual aid of a grid of lines, explicitly dividing the sheet.¹¹⁶ Regarding the Jesuit population, distinct columns separated the different grades and functions with each row devoted to a single community. Thus, a typical table such as that for Upper Germany in 1630, had six columns: identification by location; sum total; priests; regents; scholastics; and brothers. These were arranged in thirty-eight rows. The first was devoted to the provincial curia and the remaining for the Jesuit communities from Ingolstadt to Landberg.¹¹⁷ Usually, these tables fit on one folio-page.¹¹⁸ An important feature of these tables was the sum total of Jesuits that could be either displayed at the very top of the table as sort of a general overview subsequently broken down into its constituencies, or at the very end of the table, thus being a real summing-up at the end of a complete inventory.¹¹⁹ Especially if related to the long established system of personnel catalogues, these tables form part of an impressive tradition of systematic self-evaluation within the Society.

The situation changes if we turn to the lists and tables that summarized the Jesuit ministries. The systematic gathering of these data into unified lists or tables began slightly later and seems to be connected to the manuscript reworkings of the letters in the 1640s. The drafted topical compilations analyzed above often provided not only statistics of the Jesuit personnel but also a numerical overview over the year's successes. Those "sketchy excerpts" also featured lists that contained numbers on preaching and confessions, among other things. The categories for counting and classifying were not yet fully established: the relevant table for 1617 had thus to be adjusted twice, once with a completely different approach to the calculation of ministries.¹²⁰ These however were tentative experiments compared to the detailed and meticulous statistics found in the thematically structured 1654 *litterae annuae* of Upper Rhineland. By this year there was not only a unified set of statistics broken

¹¹⁵ See the *litterae* for 1625, 1626, and 1630, ARSI, Germ. Sup. 66, ff. 147^r, 165^r-166^r, 186^r. See also the *litterae* for 1625, 1626, 1627, Rhen. Inf. 48, ff. 257^r, 324^r, 332^r.

¹¹⁶ E.g. ARSI, Rhen. Inf. 48, ff. 291^r.

¹¹⁷ However, the table for 1625, ARSI, Germ. Sup. 66, f. 147^r, contains "magistri/Scholasticij" in one single column. The letter for Upper Rhineland for 1650 omits the breakdown into houses (ARSI, Rhen. Sup. 31, f. 174^r).

¹¹⁸ ARSI, Germ. Sup. 66, f. 186^r. Exceptions do exist, but depend more on the length of the work than on the amount of information contained therein, e.g. ARSI, Germ. Sup. 66, ff. 165^r-166^r.

¹¹⁹ See ARSI, Germ. Sup. 66, ff. 147^r and 165^r-166^r for examples of both.

¹²⁰ ARSI, Rhen. Sup. 29, ff. 79^r, 111^r.

down into general categories (“confessions,” “communions,” etc.) but most of the categories were sub-divided.¹²¹ For example, the 36 Jesuit sermons were subdivided into sermons in the cathedral; sermons in the Jesuit church; sermons in the collegiate church. Similarly the make-up of the sodalities were divided according to social strata. These particular tables were located within a text that became more and more punctuated with tables. This may be considered an extreme and excessive attempt to document Jesuit successes. However, even though the level of detail is extraordinary, it can also be understood as an effort to counterbalance the high degree of abstraction and generality of the categories usually used in the prelude statistics. Thus, breaking down the sum total of sermons into more nuanced categories or providing specific figures for each of the sodalities, helped to represent the internal diversity of the province with all its different communities, tasks, and circumstances. Statistics necessarily tend towards the general; in fact, therein lies their ultimate appeal and power. Yet, our example shows that the appropriate level of abstraction was not immediately clear. Whereas many statistics in the *litterae* relied on rather universal categories, the example from 1654 tried to provide figures on a less generalized level.

If for some of the earlier compilations a strict separation of the numbers of Jesuits and the figures of their successes was an issue, later tables merged the two aspects enthusiastically. By doing so, a complete visual overview was created, integrating the province’s status quo and successes. Such a graphical masterpiece can be found for instance in Upper Germany’s *litterae annuae* of 1678.¹²² The double-page table contains columns for the different types of Jesuits *and* for the different ministries,¹²³ with the column containing the sum total of each community’s personnel being graphically highlighted. The rows are again reserved for the communities; the bottom line of the page provides the sum total for each column. Altogether the table specified that the Jesuits of the province had “1,266,437” communicants and “6,388” general confessions. Concerning the personnel statistics, a table like this one perfectly resembles the graphical overviews in strictly administrative documents of the same time,¹²⁴ thus illustrating once more, how closely connected both parts of the Jesuit system of communication were.

¹²¹ The two examples are both in ARSI, Rhen. Sup. 31, ff. 329^{r-v}.

¹²² ARSI, Germ. Sup. 71, ff. 68^r-148^r, here ff. 68^r-69^r.

¹²³ The headings of the columns are: “Domicilia, Sacerdotes, Magistri, Studiosi, Coadjutores, Novitij Stud., Novitij Coad., Summa, Admissi, Defuncti, Dimissi, Conversi, Exercitij exculiti, A tota vita confessj, Communione refectj.”

¹²⁴ Compare e.g. the relevant tables of the *Catalogi Breves* (1679-1699) in ARSI, Germ. Sup. 48.

With a table like the one from the *litterae annuae* of 1678, all pertinent information about the province should be accessible on one page. With regard to presentation and detail, it is far removed from earlier *litterae annuae*. Regarding many other aspects, for example, a preference for figures and statistics in general, it is, however, only part of a long tradition of the Jesuit edifying correspondence. It also followed the tradition of placing statistics and narrative side by side without really connecting them. Only the topically structured *litterae* of the 1640s and 50s, by transforming the narrative of events into factual memos, had given the textual components a clear functional connection with the statistics. They were exemplifying the figures and providing illustration, they were numbered “probes of reality,” anchoring the abstract counting in a selection of examples. Before and afterwards, the statistical opening of the province’s reports—be it textual or in a table—had never really been connected with the rest of the text. Nor had the structure of the narrative been geared towards the opening summary. Thus, in 1678, the table is again unrelated to the rest of the letter. The textual bulk of the *litterae* and the statistics at the beginning were separated elements, more thoroughly intertwined only for a short period.

In many ways, the topical rearrangement of the 1640s and 50s tried to bring the *Zeitgeist* to the *litterae annuae*. This rested on the two developments mentioned above, specifically fragmenting coherent knowledge into factual, a-narrative information, and the reliance on numbers. These trends are closely connected: Counting is based on homogenous, serial, and simple data or facts while decontextualized facts devoid of narrative embedding are hardly meaningful anymore if not aggregated into abstract numbers. Both of these trends lie at the heart of Europe’s slow but constant readjustment of political action towards institutionalized accumulation of information as mentioned above. Information became a major concern and new forms of presentation like tables and statistics became widespread. That the Society of Jesus took part in these shifts is not surprising, but one should not ignore how a genre for edification such as the *litterae annuae* was changed by these shifts. Obviously, at the heart of the *litterae* lay practices of information-gathering and representation that resembled the more mundane workings of administration. Narration and tables within the *litterae* both relied on information gathered through organized bureaucracy, and they both shared an empirical, factual quality. Paralleling administrative developments, also the *litterae* of the 17th century featured more traditional textual narrative along with the new documentary tools. To different degrees the edifying letters were able and willing to integrate tables and narrations. Early modern Europe still saw both forms as being valid means for dealing with information. In fact, narrative and statistics only slowly came to be

considered as alternatives.¹²⁵ Accordingly, the *litterae* combined tables and narration without hesitation in order to provide information as well as edification. An increasing attention on statistical self-evaluation is thus clearly visible in the old Society, even though it can hardly be said that the Jesuits already fully grasped the power of statistics for political decision-making.¹²⁶

Appendix: Printed *Litterae annuae*¹²⁷

| Year of publication | Year reported | Time elapsed | Place of Printing | Compiler |
|---------------------|---------------|--------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| 1583 | 1581 | 2 | Rome Valtrino | Giovanni Antonio |
| 1584 | 1582 | 2 | Rome Valtrino | Giovanni Antonio |
| 1585 | 1583 | 2 | Rome | Niccolò Orlandini |
| 1586 | 1584 | 2 | Rome | Niccolò Orlandini |
| 1588 | 1586 | 3 | Rome | Niccolò Orlandini |

¹²⁵ Jacques Revel, "Knowledge of the Territory," *Science in Context* 4 (1992) 133-61.

¹²⁶ This is a modernist phenomenon anyway, see e.g. Scott, *Seeing like a State*, and Lars Behrisch, "Politische Zahlen'. Statistik und Rationalisierung der Herrschaft im Späten Ancien Régime," *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung* 31 (2004) 551-77.

¹²⁷ The table relies on László Polgár S.J., *Bibliographie zur Geschichte der Gesellschaft Jesu* (Rome/ St. Louis: Jesuit Historical Institute, 1967) pp. 130f. and *Sommervogel*. See also, for German libraries, Rausch, "Litterae annuae." Finally, this information was checked against the volumes extant in Rome (BHSl) and Munich (University-Library, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek). Rausch (p. 195) is puzzled by the Latin place name "Duaci," placing it in Ireland. However, this clearly refers to Douai and the seminary there. Biographical data for the editors follow: Francesco Benci: *21.x.1543 Acquapendente; SJ 18.5.1570 Rome; †6.v.1594 Rome (*DHCJ*, I, 405); Sebastiano Berettari: *1543 Florence; SJ 1565; †22.vii.1622 Rome (*Sommervogel*, I, col. 1325); Giovanni Francisco Caretoni, see above n. 96; Philibert Monet: *1569 Bona; SJ 20.viii.1591; †31.iii.1643 Lyon (*Sommervogel*, V, col. 1207); Jan Nádas: *12.i.1614 Trstin; SJ 24.x.1628 Leoben; †3.iii.1679 Vienna (*DHCJ*, III, 2796); Niccolò Orlandini: *10.iv.1553 Florence; SJ 7.xi.1572 Rome; †17.v.1606 Rome (*DHCJ*, III, 2924); Orazio Torsellino: *xi.1544 Rome; SJ 15.viii.1562 Rome; †6.iv.1599 Rome (*DHCJ*, IV, 3827); Giovanni Antonio Valtrino: *13.vii.1556 Rome; SJ 18.x.1574 Rome; †31.viii.1601 Loreto (*DHCJ*, IV, 3881).

| | | | | |
|------|------------|-------|----------|------------------------------------|
| 1589 | 1586, 1587 | 3, 2 | Rome | Francesco Benci |
| 1590 | 1588 | 2 | Rome | Francesco Benci |
| 1591 | 1589 | 2 | Rome | Francesco Benci |
| 1594 | 1590, 1591 | 4, 3 | Rome | Francesco Benci |
| 1600 | 1592 | 8 | Florence | Giovanni Francesco Carettoni |
| 1601 | 1593 | 8 | Florence | Orazio Torsellino |
| 1604 | 1594, 1595 | 10, 9 | Naples | Sebastiano Berettari |
| 1605 | 1596 | 9 | Naples | Sebastiano Berettari |
| 1607 | 1597 | 10 | Naples | Sebastiano Berettari |
| 1607 | 1598 | 9 | Lyon | |
| 1607 | 1599 | 8 | Lyon | |
| 1618 | 1600 | 18 | Antwerp | |
| 1618 | 1601 | 17 | Antwerp | |
| 1618 | 1602 | 16 | Antwerp | |
| 1618 | 1603 | 15 | Douai | |

| | | | | |
|------|---------------------|------------|-----------|-----------------|
| 1618 | 1604 | 14 | Douai | |
| 1618 | 1605 | 13 | Douai | |
| 1618 | 1606, 1607, 1608 | 12, 11, 10 | Mayence | |
| n.d. | 1609 | | Dillingen | |
| n.d. | 1610 | | Dillingen | |
| n.d. | 1611 | | Dillingen | |
| 1618 | 1612 | 6 | Lyon | Philibert Monet |
| 1619 | 1613, 1614 | 6, 5 | Lyon | Philibert Monet |
| 1658 | 1650 | 8 | Dillingen | Jan Nádasi |
| 1658 | 1651 | 7 | Dillingen | Jan Nádasi |
| n.d. | 1652 | | Prague | Jan Nádasi |
| n.d. | 1653 | | Prague | Jan Nádasi |
| n.d. | 1654 | | Prague | Jan Nádasi |

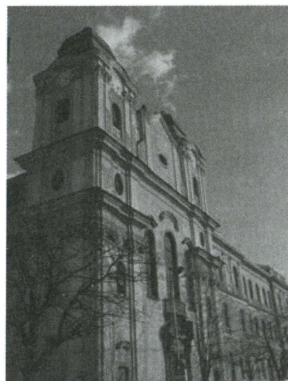
Zusammenfassung

Der Beitrag beruht auf ersten Ergebnissen eines laufenden Forschungsprojekts, das sich dem “Jesuitischen Informationssystem” in seiner ganzen Breite zuwendet und die verschiedenen Formen der Ordenskorrespondenz als parallele und aufeinander bezogene Phänomene betrachtet. Entsprechend werden die *litterae annuae* hier weniger unter spirituellen Gesichtspunkten oder nach ihrem quellenkundlichen Wert für ethnographische Forschungen untersucht. Vielmehr werden sie als Produkte eines ausgefeilten und komplexen bürokratischen Prozesses beschrieben. Vier Aspekte werden im einzelnen behandelt: 1. wird die Geschichte der *litterae* jenseits der normativen Entwicklung in einigen wichtigen Episoden vorgestellt. In der Praxis waren die *litterae* oftmals von Krisen betroffen und stellen ein dynamisches Genre dar, das immer wieder an neue Umstände angepasst werden musste. 2. werden die Verteilungswege und –Mechanismen der *litterae* vor dem entscheidenden Einschnitt 1581 beschrieben, als die vierte Generalkongregation zum Druck der Texte riet. 3. Die Kompilation dieses einheitlichen, zentralen römischen Jahrbuchs war eine komplexe Aufgabe. Bisher konnten drei verschiedene Kompilationsmethoden unterschieden werden, die ausführlich vorgestellt werden. 4. Ein abschließender Abschnitt ordnet die *litterae* in den breiteren Kontext der frühneuzeitlichen Wissensgeschichte ein. Insbesondere die formalen Darstellungspraktiken, die in den *litterae* zur Informationsweitergabe benutzt wurden – Tabellen, Listen und Statistiken –, werden hier vorgestellt und im Zusammenhang zur Entwicklung der Kompilationsmethoden (Sektion 3) behandelt.

Sumario

Este trabajo presenta las primeras conclusiones de un proyecto de investigación, todavía en curso, sobre el ‘Sistema Jesuita de Comunicación’ en general, que se basa en el supuesto de que todas las diferentes formas de correspondencia dentro de la Orden hay que considerarlas como fenómenos paralelos y partes integrantes de un sistema superior más amplio de gestión de la información. En consecuencia, el artículo considera las *litterae annuae* no tanto en su dimensión espiritual, o como fuentes de información etnográfica, sino como frutos de un esfuerzo burocrático complejo y sumamente organizado. Trata en particular de cuatro aspectos: 1. Examina detalladamente y más allá de los documentos normativos, algunos episodios cruciales del género. Lejos de ser un sistema estable o perfecto, las cartas deben su configuración a crisis profundas y una continua adaptación a los nuevos desafíos. 2. Los modos y medios de circular las cartas antes de la decisión de imprimir los volúmenes en 1581, se estudian a nivel regional y universal. La decisión de la Cuarta Congregación General de imprimir las cartas se sitúa así en un contexto más amplio. 3. La compilación del anuario central y unificado de la Compañía, a

partir de 1581, fue una tarea compleja que hasta el presente no ha sido adecuadamente estudiada. Tres métodos diferentes de compilación pueden distinguirse y se presentan en el trabajo. 4. Una sección final trata sobre los estilos de presentación que las cartas usaban para desplegar la información. Se tratan algunos de los rasgos formales y más significativos de las cartas: –la incorporación de listas, gráficos, estadísticas–, y se estudian de acuerdo al desarrollo de los métodos de recopilación detallados en la sección 3ª. Este artículo sitúa con claridad las cartas anuales de la Compañía de Jesús dentro del contexto del estudio contemporáneo del análisis y organización del conocimiento en los primeros años de la época moderna.



Jesuits and the Politics of Cultural Pluralism in Eighteenth Century Transylvania

Paul Shore

Jesuits and the Politics of Cultural Pluralism in Eighteenth Century Transylvania tells the story of the Jesuit mission to Cluj, Transylvania (now Romania) from 1693, when the Jesuits were allowed to return after almost a century of restricted activity in the region, until 1773, when the order was suppressed. During these eight decades the Jesuits created a complex, multi-faceted community whose impact reached throughout Transylvania and beyond into neighboring regions. In addition to an ongoing missionary program in this predominantly non-Catholic region, the Jesuits established a cluster of schools and a university that trained the elite, introduced Baroque architecture, music and literature, and became the masters of extensive properties. The Jesuits' schools staged dramas in several languages, their printing press produced a wide range of publications, including a Hungarian "ABC for Girls" and a catechism in Ukrainian, and Jesuit scientists, including Miksa Hell, later Court Astronomer in Vienna, conducted experiments and observations.

Among the unique features of this study are the accounts of how Jesuits sought to impose social conformity on the ethnically and religiously diverse community, the Jesuits' project to develop a "Uniate Church" that would retain the Eastern Rite while acknowledging the authority of Rome, and the story of the long-forgotten Jesuit "brothers," who contributed their talents as craftsmen and artists to the Jesuit enterprise.

Bibliotheca Instituti Historici Societatis Iesu 61. Co-published with Ashgate Press.

€ 50,00 (€ 35,00 to subscribers).

DIE *LITTERAE ANNUAE* DER JESUITEN. BERICHTERSTATTUNG UND GESCHICHTSSCHREIBUNG IN DER ALTEN GESELLSCHAFT JESU

Jörg Zech*

Zur Einführung

Um die *Litterae Annuae* der Jesuiten legt sich ein geheimnisumwitterter Schleier. Wer sich näher mit der Gesellschaft Jesu beschäftigt, stößt unweigerlich immer wieder auf die Ordensannalen, die angeblich eine große Wirkung innerhalb und außerhalb des Ordens entfaltet haben und maßgeblich zur missionarischen Begeisterung und zum gegenreformatorischen Kampfgeist der Societas Jesu beigetragen haben soll. Das wurde auch von der Ordensleitung erkannt: Denn schon recht frühzeitig–bereits im 16. Jahrhundert–gibt es Drucke einzelner *Litterae Annuae*, und diese Drucke haben ihr Ziel zumindest in einer Hinsicht nicht verfehlt: Man stößt immer wieder auf Äußerungen von Missionaren, die berichten, dass die Lektüre der gedruckten *Litterae Annuae* sie zur Mission gebracht habe.¹ Andererseits gelten die Annalen in der Historiographie bis heute als nicht sehr vertrauenswürdige Propagandaliteratur, als beschönigende, verzerrt darstellende, ja beinahe fiktive Quelle. Die

* Jörg Zech ist Evangelisch-Lutherischer Diplomtheologe in Erlangen und arbeitet gerade an einer Dissertation über Jesuiten in Siebenbürgen.

¹ Darauf wird im Text unter Punkt 2 detailliert eingegangen.

Geschichtsschreibung scheute sich lange Zeit, auf sie auch nur einzugehen.² Deshalb weiß auch kaum jemand etwas über den Inhalt der *Litterae Annae*.

Was hat es nun mit diesen jesuitischen Jahresberichten auf sich, deren Wirkung jeder bestaunt, die aber niemand wirklich kennt?

Was sind die *Litterae Annae* eigentlich?

Kurz gesagt: Die *Litterae Annae* sind die Berichte über das Wirken der Ordensmitglieder im jeweils vergangenen Jahr. Die Berichte wurden in den Ordensprovinzen erstellt, von wo aus sie dann an die Ordenszentrale in Rom eingeschickt werden mussten.

Eingeführt hatte die Pflicht zur regelmäßigen Berichterstattung der Ordensgründer Ignatius von Loyola,³ um weiterhin den Kontakt zu den rund um den Globus verstreuten Gefährten aufrecht zu erhalten und wenigstens im Geiste dort zu sein, wo er selbst gerne gewesen wäre.⁴ So verpflichtete er seine Mitstreiter zu einer häufigen Korrespondenz mit dem Generalat, indem er die von der Ordenshierarchie vorgegebene Struktur benutzte.

Um das ignatianische Kommunikationssystem recht zu verstehen, ist es deshalb unumgänglich, sich die zentralisierte Ordenshierarchie vor Augen zu halten.⁵ Auf der untersten Ebene befinden sich die einzelnen Jesuitenhäuser:

² Zur zurückhaltenden Rezeption Anfang/Mitte des 20. Jahrhunderts vgl. Gernot Heiß, "Die '*Litterae Annae*' und die '*Historiae*' der Jesuiten," in Josef Pauser/Martin Scheutz/Thomas Winkelbauer (Hgg.), *Quellenkunde der Habsburgermonarchie (16.-18. Jahrhundert). Ein exemplarisches Handbuch* (Wien: R. Oldenbourg, 2004) S. 668. Aktuelle Beispiele referiert Fred Rausch, "Die gedruckten *Litterae Annae Societatis Jesu* 1581-1654. Ein meist übersehener Quellschatz zur Jesuitengeschichte," *Jahrbuch für Volkskunde*, Neue Folge, 20 (1997) 196-201.

³ Vgl. László Szilas, S.J., "Quellen der ungarischen Kirchengeschichte aus ehemaligen Jesuitenarchiven," *Ungarn-Jahrbuch* 4 (1972) 173; Bernhard Duhr, S.J., *Geschichte der Jesuiten in den Ländern deutscher Zunge*, 4 Bände (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1907) I, 674. Beide nehmen Bezug auf die Satzungen Abschnitt 673 (Ignatius von Loyola, *Gründungstexte der Gesellschaft Jesu*, Deutsche Werkausgabe II, übersetzt von Peter Knauer [Würzburg: Echter, 1998] S. 781). Die Satzungen in einer quellenkritischen Studienausgabe liegen in deutscher Übersetzung vor in Form des hier zitierten Knauer; die in der Alten Gesellschaft meist rezipierte lateinische Fassung ist heute zugänglich als *Institutum Societatis Iesu, Vol. II: Examen et Constitutiones, Decreta Congregationum Generalium, Formulae Congregationum* (Florenz: Ex Typographia A. S. S. Conceptione, 1893). Für unsere Zwecke reicht es meines Erachtens aus, Knauers deutsche Übersetzung des spanischen Originals zu verwenden.

⁴ Robert Danieluk, S.J., "Ob communem fructum et consolationem": La genèse et les enjeux de l'historiographie de la Compagnie de Jésus," *AHSI* 75 (2006) 44f.

⁵ Eine gute Übersicht, die die im Wesentlichen bis heute unverändert gebliebene Ordenshierarchie darstellt, findet sich bei Peter Hartmann, *Die Jesuiten* (München: Becksche Reihe, 2001) S. 22-26—allerdings meines Erachtens mit zu starker Betonung der Assistenzen. Vgl. Klaus

Profess- und Novizenhaus, Universitäten, Kollegien, Residenzen und Missionsstationen, vertreten durch den jeweiligen Rektor bzw. Superior. Die Häuser bilden gemeinsam eine Provinz, sind also der Provinzverwaltung mit dem jeweiligen Provinzial an der Spitze unterstellt. Die Provinziäle wiederum sind dem Ordensgeneral verantwortlich, welcher die höchste Ebene darstellt.⁶

Vier Arten von Informationen erbat sich das Generalat von den Ordensmitgliedern:⁷

Erstens forderte Ignatius, wöchentlich (bzw. monatlich für weiter entfernte Häuser) über die jeweilige Lage vor Ort durch die Hausoberen bzw. über die allgemeine Situation in der Provinz durch die Provinzoberen unterrichtet zu werden. Das geschah durch die im spanischen Mutterland schlicht "hijuelas" (Bericht) genannten Schreiben.⁸ Zweitens sollten die wichtigsten Ereignisse in den Provinzen vom Provinzleiter vierteljährlich aufgezeichnet und nach Rom gesandt (*Litterae Quadrimestres*) sowie innerhalb der eigenen Provinz in Umlauf gebracht werden. Drittens sollte in allen Häusern vierteljährlich eine Liste der Verstorbenen und aus dem Orden Ausgeschiedenen sowie alle drei Jahre ein Personalverzeichnis (*Catalogus personarum*) an den Provinzleiter sowie an den General geschickt werden.⁹ Und schließlich sollten viertens die sogenannten Kollateralen, die Berater der Hausoberen—in der Regel vier pro Superior –¹⁰, einmal im Jahr den General und zweimal den Provinzial über das Geschehene informieren. Das rasche Wachstum der Societas erzwang, dass schon 1565, zehn Jahre nach dem Tod des Ordensgründers, die Häufigkeit der Korrespondenz gesenkt wurde. Im Falle der *Litterae Quadrimestres* wurde die vierteljährliche in eine einjährige Berichterstattung umgewandelt. So wurden aus den

Mertes, S.J./Georg Schmidt, S.J., *Der Jesuitenorden heute* (Mainz: Matthias-Grünwald-Verlag, 1990) S. 13-16.

⁶ Dem General steht aber neben seiner Korrespondenz mit den Provinzleitern ausdrücklich das Recht zu, auch jedes einzelne Ordensmitglied zu kontaktieren. Vgl. Anm. 7.

⁷ Vgl. die Anordnungen in den Satzungen S.J., Abschnitte 673-676 (Loyola, *Gründungstexte*, S. 781f.). Als im Einsatz befindliches Nachrichtensystem ist das Netzwerk beschrieben bei Duhr, *Geschichte der Jesuiten*, I, 674; Heiß, "Litterae Annuae," S. 663; Szilas, "Quellen der ungarischen Kirchengeschichte," 173f. und Ludwig Koch, S.J., *Jesuiten-Lexikon. Die Gesellschaft Jesu einst und heute* (Paderborn: Bonifacius-Druckerei, 1934) Sp. 194f.

⁸ Vgl. Steven Harris, "Confession-Building, Long-Distance Networks, and the Organization Of Jesuit Science," *Early Science And Medecine* 1/3 (1996) 300.

⁹ Danieluk, "Ob communem fructum," 55f.

¹⁰ Siehe Loyola, *Gründungstexte*, S. 602, Anm. 31.

vierteljährlichen Briefen die Jahresbriefe, die *Litterae Annuae*.¹¹ Diese Regelung wurde 1579 in die *Formula Scribendi* übernommen und damit zur verbindlichen Norm erhoben.¹²

Innerhalb des jesuitischen Nachrichtensystems erlangten die *Litterae Annuae* dann auch bald eine herausragende Stellung. Da sie das zu Berichtende in erbaulicher Form darbringen sollten, waren sie kurzweilig formuliert und flüssig lesbar.¹³ Daher wurden die *Annuae* rasch zu einer beliebten Lektüre im Orden und avancierten ob ihrer weiten Verbreitung zum inoffiziell-offiziellen internen Nachrichtenmagazin der Gesellschaft Jesu.

Die Hauptlast bei der Erstellung der *Litterae Annuae* wurde von der Provinzzentrale getragen, wo die Redaktion der eingesandten Hausberichte durchgeführt wurde. Die Einzelberichte wurden geordnet und zu den *Litterae Annuae* im eigentlichen Sinne zusammengestellt. Es wurde dabei je eine Version auf Latein und in der Landessprache hergestellt. Beide wurden dann in einem Exemplar von Haus zu Haus durch die Provinz gereicht.¹⁴

Beide Versionen mussten außerdem von jeder Provinz nach Rom ans Generalat geschickt werden: das landessprachliche Exemplar einmal, das lateinische einmal für das Archiv des Ordens, sodann aber in sovielen Kopien, wie es Provinzen gab. Denn jede Provinz sollte über alle anderen Provinzen unterrichtet werden. Dazu kamen noch zwei, drei Exemplare als Ersatz. Denn beim Transport (besonders in die überseeischen Provinzen auf dem Seeweg) musste mit dem Verlust einiger Berichte gerechnet werden.¹⁵

¹¹ Eine Bestimmung der zweiten Generalkongregation (54. Dekret), vgl. Duhr, *Geschichte der Jesuiten*, I, 675.

¹² Vgl. Heiß, „*Litterae Annuae*,“ S. 665f. und Duhr, *Geschichte der Jesuiten*, I, 676.

¹³ Die *Litterae Annuae* sollten in jedem Haus gelesen und „nicht über eine Woche zurückbehalten“ werden, vgl. Duhr, *Geschichte der Jesuiten*, I, 676. Vgl. auch Rausch, „gedruckte *Litterae Annuae*,“ 197.

¹⁴ Die Zusammenstellung und Redaktionierung der *Annuae* beschreibt sehr ausführlich der ebenfalls in dieser Ausgabe der AHSI enthaltene Aufsatz von Markus Friedrich, „Circulating and Compiling the *Litterae Annuae*. Towards a History of the Jesuit System of Communication,“ *sopra* 20-29. Vgl. außerdem Heiß, „*Litterae Annuae*,“ S. 665f.

¹⁵ Vgl. Heiß, „*Litterae Annuae*,“ S. 663 und Duhr, *Geschichte der Jesuiten*, I, 674. Allerdings gilt zu bedenken, dass das Kopieren der teils in recht kleiner Schrift und dicht gedrängt geschriebenen, jeweils etwa hundertseitigen Foliobände (gilt für die Provincia Austria S.J.) eine enorme Arbeitsleistung darstellte. Ob tatsächlich in jedem Jahr eine solche gewaltige Anstrengung unternommen wurde, wage ich zu bezweifeln. Wahrscheinlicher ist meines Erachtens, dass zuweilen nur gekürzte Versionen bzw. überhaupt keine in alle anderen Provinzen gelangten. Doch das sind nur Vermutungen aufgrund eigener Recherchen. Siehe dazu im Text wie folgt.

Zusätzlich–manchmal wohl auch anstelle der Vollversion–verschickte man in Rom offenbar auch Auszüge der *Litterae Annuae*, sozusagen als “newsletter,” in alle Provinzen.¹⁶ Natürlich wurden besonders gelungene Jahrgänge der *Annuae* auch gedruckt. Zeitweise wurden sogar Überlegungen angestellt, ob nicht alle Jahrgänge herausgegeben werden sollten.¹⁷ Jedenfalls gibt es Drucke für die Jahrgänge 1581-1599 (erschieden 1607), 1600-1614 (aus dem Jahr 1618/19) sowie den Druck über die Jahre 1650 und 1651, der nach aufwendiger Edition 1658 erschien. Doch diese kostspielige Druckausgabe fand keine große Leserschaft.¹⁸ Daraufhin wurde die Drucktätigkeit der *Annuae* im 17. Jahrhundert leider eingestellt.¹⁹ Außer diesen Drucken, die jeweils vollständige Jahrgänge wiedergeben, gibt es noch vereinzelt Missionsberichte,²⁰ also *Litterae Annuae* aus den überseeischen Provinzen.

Zur Institutionalisierung trug auch bei, dass seit 1567 ebenfalls jährlich eine *Historia domus* an die Provinzverwaltung eingereicht werden sollte. In der *historia domus* sollte die Geschichte jedes Hauses festgehalten werden. Nach Gernot Heiß’ Darstellung gewinnt man den Eindruck, dass es sich dabei nur um einen mehr oder weniger mit den *Annuae* identischen Bericht handelt.²¹ Und in der Tat: Als ich in Rom nach meinem Studium der *Litterae Annuae* den Archivar des Zentralarchivs der Jesuiten fragte, ob er denn auch Historien aufbewahre, meinte dieser: “Historia” sei doch nur ein anderer Name für die *Litterae Annuae*. Ganz so einfach ist es jedoch nicht, denn formal gesehen wurde die *Historia* neben den *Litterae Annuae* geführt und enthielt bzw. enthält neben den Berichten auch die Gründungsurkunde und andere wichtige Urkunden. So gibt es–z.B. in Budapest–Bestände der Historien neben den *Annuae*.²² Abgesehen davon, dass es inhaltlich kaum Unterschiede gibt, fiel mir selbst bei

¹⁶ Karl Heinrich Ritter von Lang sprach von “gedrängten Auszügen,” zitiert von Rausch, “gedruckte *Litterae Annuae*,” 201; Duhr berichtet über einen Beschluss der Generalkongregation zur Erstellung von *Litterae Annuae breviores*, vgl. Duhr, *Geschichte der Jesuiten*, I, 676. Szilas, “Quellen der ungarischen Kirchengeschichte,” 185f. verzeichnet denn auch solche *Breviores* in seiner Bestandsangabe für die ungarischen Jesuitenarchive sowie Friedrich, “Circulating and Compiling,” 16f. Darüber hinaus bietet Friedrich eine Auflistung sämtlicher gedruckten *Annuae* auf S. 35ff

¹⁷ Vgl. Duhr, *Geschichte der Jesuiten*, II/2, 358f.

¹⁸ Duhr meint dies auf ihren “frommen” Inhalt zurückführen zu können: Historische Darstellungen waren zugunsten “frommer Geschichten” größtenteils getilgt worden, vgl. Duhr, *Geschichte der Jesuiten*, II/2, 359 sowie Duhr, *Geschichte der Jesuiten*, III, 571.

¹⁹ Vgl. Duhr, *Geschichte der Jesuiten*, III, 569-71.

²⁰ Vgl. Duhr, *Geschichte der Jesuiten*, II/2, 359.

²¹ Vgl. Heiß, “*Litterae Annuae*,” S. 667f.

²² Vgl. Heiß, “*Litterae Annuae*,” S. 669, Anm. 32.

Quellenstudien ein einzelner Jahrgang der Jahresbriefe auf, bei dem statt der sonst üblichen²³ thematischen Gliederung der *Litterae Annuae* einfach nur die Berichte der einzelnen Häuser aneinandergereiht sind. Die Überschrift lautet jeweils: Historia des Hauses N.N. Ich vermute daher, dass mit dem Begriff "Historia" die einzelnen Hausberichte bezeichnet wurden, die in der Provinzzentrale einerseits abgeschrieben wurden–man musste ja ohnehin die Historien der Häuser führen, und aus denen andererseits die *Litterae Annuae* zusammengestellt wurden. Wenn es dann einmal knapp wurde, sparte man sich in der Provinzzentrale die aufwändige thematische Redaktion der Historien und schickte einfach Kopien der Historien unter dem Titel *Litterae Annuae* nach Rom–wie in dem gerade erwähnten Band, den ich zu Gesicht bekommen habe.²⁴

In den einzelnen Jesuitenniederlassungen wurden die für den Provinzial bestimmten Historienberichte übrigens vor dem Versenden ebenfalls kopiert und archiviert. So entstanden die sog. *Diarien*.²⁵

Was beinhalten die *Litterae Annuae*?

Doch was ist nun in den *Litterae Annuae* aufgezeichnet? Was macht die Eigenart dieser historischen Quelle aus?

Das entscheidende Merkmal der *Annuae*–im Gegensatz zu den auf Information abzielenden "hijuelas"–ist, wie schon erwähnt, ihr erbaulicher Charakter. Wie Ignatius selbst 1542 in Hinblick auf die *Annuae* vorschrieb, sollten diese all das enthalten, "was jeder in Predigt, Beichte, Exerzitien und anderen geistlichen Werken tut, wie Gott unser Herr durch einen jeden wirken mag, so dass es zu größerer Erbauung der Hörer oder Leser gereicht."²⁶ Damit

²³ Für die Provincia Austria (das belegen meine Studien) und die Provincia Bohemia (vgl. Heiß, "*Litterae Annuae*," S. 669f.), sowie für die Jahresbriefe aus den überseeischen Missionen (eigene Studien) war die thematische Gliederung die übliche Gliederungsform. Ich bin jedoch von anderen Historikern darauf hingewiesen worden, dass dieses Gliederungsprinzip durchaus nicht in allen Provinzen angewandt wurde!

²⁴ Ich beziehe mich hier auf das Dokument Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms Nr. 12098–das ist das Berichtsjahr 1703; einen ähnlichen Fall dokumentiert Heiß, "*Litterae Annuae*," S. 667 im Text und in Anm. 29. Duhr erklärt, dass die *Historia* gleichzeitig mit den *Litterae Annuae* eingeschickt und vom Provinzial archiviert worden sei, Duhr, *Geschichte der Jesuiten*, I, 678–wobei die *Historia* neben den jeweiligen chronologischen Berichten im Stile der *Annuae* auch die Gründungsurkunde und weitere wichtige Dokumente enthält.

²⁵ Vgl. Ludwig Remling, "Fastnacht und Gegenreformation in Münster, Diarien, Chroniken und *Litterae annuae* der Jesuiten als Quellen," *Jahrbuch für Volkskunde*, Neue Folge, 5 (1982) 55.

²⁶ Ignatius an Peter Faber, Rom 10 Dezember 1542, MHSI, *Epp. Ign.*, I, 237, deutsche Übersetzung in Ignatius von Loyola, *Briefe und Unterweisungen*, Deutsche Werkausgabe I, hrsg. v. Peter Knauer, S.J., 2 Bänder (Würzburg: Echter, 1993) S. 83.

ist das Spektrum der Erbauung grob umrissen: Es sollten die Tätigkeiten der einzelnen Jesuitenhäuser samt deren näheren Umständen dargestellt werden. Dazu gehörte neben den jesuitischen Hauptarbeitsfeldern der Predigt und Sakramentsverwaltung, der Beichte und der schulischen Erziehung der Jugend in Kollegien und Seminaren ebenso die Darstellung von außerordentlichen Ereignissen, in denen Mitglieder der Societas Jesu involviert waren, oder Notizen über die Unterstützung von Fürsten und Bischöfen genauso wie über Anfeindung und Verfolgung von Jesuiten.²⁷

1579 wurde in der *Formula Scribendi* festgelegt, dass den Jahresberichten jeweils ein Einleitungskapitel, der sog. *Numerus*, voranzustellen war. Es sollte eine ausformulierte Aufstellung der Ordenshäuser der jeweiligen Provinz mitsamt ihren Mitgliedern enthalten.²⁸ 1594 schließlich bestimmte General Claudio Acquaviva²⁹ eine letzte Erweiterung: Seit diesem Jahr befinden sich am Ende eines jeden Bandes der *Annuae* die *Elogia defunctorum*, ein Verzeichnis aller im Berichtsjahr verstorbener Provinzmitglieder, ein Glücksfall für die heutige Ordenshistoriographie, die mit den *Elogia* Kurzbiographien zu sämtlichen Jesuiten der Alten Gesellschaft Jesu vorliegen hat.³⁰

Zur Veranschaulichung dieser Themenfülle der *Litterae Annuae* habe ich die Überschriften des *Annuae*-Jahrgangs der Provincia Austria aus dem Jahre 1697 in deutscher Übersetzung zu einem Inhaltsverzeichnis zusammengestellt:

Inhalt der Litterae Annuae Provinciae Austriae 1697³¹

Numerus

Propagatio des göttlichen Ruhmes durch Buße und Eucharistie

Konversation mit dem Nächsten (Seelsorge)

Predigt und Katechese

Rückführung der Ungläubigen zur rechtgläubigen Wahrheit

Sterbebegleitung

Sorge für Arme und Schwache

Kirchliche Feste

²⁷ Vgl. Heiß, „*Litterae Annuae*,“ S. 664.

²⁸ So lautet die Anweisung der *Formula Scribendi*, vgl. Duhr, *Geschichte der Jesuiten*, I, 676. Den Begriff „Numerus“ habe ich der Kapitelüberschrift der *Litterae Annuae Provinciae Austriae* entnommen.

²⁹ *14.ix.1543 Atri; SJ 22.vi.1567 Rom; zum General gewählt am 19.ii.1581; †31.i.1615 Rom (DHCJ, II, 1614),

³⁰ Vgl. Duhr, *Geschichte der Jesuiten*, I, 677, vor allem aber Duhr, *Geschichte der Jesuiten*, II/2, 360.

³¹ Das sind die Manuskripte Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms Nr. 12093 bzw. ARSI, Austr. 155. Für weitere Hinweise zum Aufbau der *litterae annuae* vgl. Friedrich, „Circulating and Compiling the *Litterae Annuae*.“

St. Ignatius-Kult und Exerzitien

St. Xaver-Kult

Heilige Leidenschaft für den leidenden Christus (*Sodalitates Agoniae*)

Marienkult und -wunder

Schulen

Geistige und weltliche Unterstützung der Gemeinden

Ökonomisches Wachstum

Widrigkeiten und Verlust zeitlicher Dinge

Elogia

Diese Themen sollten—wie gesagt—erbaulich behandelt werden. Die Annalisten sollten—in der Sprache der Alten Societas gesprochen—“wahrhaftig” sowie “demütig und bescheiden” berichten. *Wahrhaftig*, d.h. die berichteten Ereignisse sollten trotz erbaulicher Darstellung nicht zur Fiktion verkommen, sondern Tatsachenschilderung bleiben. So sollten insbesondere Berichte über Wunder, wie sie sich immer wieder in den *Annuae* finden, sorgfältig ausgewählt und geprüft werden. Aber auch für die Darstellung anderer Ereignisse galt die Wahrhaftigkeit als Richtschnur. Das allgemeine Kriterium dafür war—wie die Ordensleitung mehrfach anmahnte—die Jesuitenniederlassung, in dem sich der betreffende Vorfall ereignet hatte: Dort sollte niemand durch eine zu übertriebene Darstellung brüskiert werden.³² *Bescheiden und demütig berichten*, darunter verstand man v.a. den Verzicht auf bombastische, barocke poetische Dekoration. Die Erzählung als solche sollte die Leser aufmuntern, nicht ihre geistreiche Formulierung. Dazu gehörte nicht zuletzt eine zweckdienliche Auswahl der Erzähldetails. So wurde z.B. mehrfach angemahnt, bei der Berichterstattung über die Beichte im Hinblick auf das Beichtgeheimnis äußerst vorsichtig vorzugehen. Und zwar nicht etwa deshalb, weil man um die Anonymität der Beichtenden fürchtete, sondern weil man besorgt war, dass durch die Schilderung die Art und Weise, wie die Jesuiten die Beichte durchzuführen pflegten, in Misskredit kommen könnte.³³

Ein gutes Beispiel für die wahrhaftige und bescheidene, gleichzeitig aber auch erbauliche Darstellungsart in den *Litterae Annae* ist der Umgang mit Zahlen. Um das konkret zu belegen, sei hier auf die *Annuae* des Jahres 1698 der Provincia Austria verwiesen. Dort wird über die sog. Union der orthodoxen rumänischen Metropole von Siebenbürgen mit dem römischen Katholizismus berichtet. In den *Litterae Annae* ist von 100.000 bekehrten Schismatikern die Rede.³⁴ Dazu der explizite Verweis, dass es auch höhere Schätzungen gebe, dass

³² Vgl. Duhr, *Geschichte der Jesuiten*, I, 676 bzw. Heiß, “*Litterae Annae*,” S. 664 und 666.

³³ Vgl. Duhr, *Geschichte der Jesuiten*, I, 675 bzw. Heiß, “*Litterae Annae*,” S. 666.

³⁴ Das Manuskript Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms Nr. 12094, f. 19 v.

der Berichterstatter jedoch eher die niedrigere Zahl als verlässlich ansieht. Das entspricht in etwa der Angabe eines Historikers, der als Zeitgenosse davon berichtet, daß die Anzahl der Bekehrten “*milia octoginta vel excedat, vel certe attingit*” [80.000 wohl übersteigt sicherlich jedoch erreicht].³⁵

So bilden die *Litterae Annuae* eine ganz eigene Komposition aus Wundergeschichten, theologischen, philosophischen, wissenschaftlichen Notizen und politisch-kulturellem Nachrichtenmagazin; stets erzählt im Bewusstsein der eigenen Demut und im Bewusstsein des Bedürfnisses der potentiellen Leser nach geistlicher Erbauung. Die menschliche Demut sollte Gottes Majestät zum Leuchten bringen, wie schon Ignatius es zum Leitmotiv des jesuitischen Wirkens erhoben hatte: *Omnia Ad Maiorem Dei Gloriam*. Ein Leitspruch, der sich übrigens nicht selten am Ende eines *Litterae-Annuae*-Jahrgangs findet.

Wie wirkten die *Litterae Annuae*?

Durch die institutionalisierte Datenaufzeichnung der des internen jesuitischen Briefverkehrs entstand nun in der Societas Jesu ein–wie Steven Harris es nennt–“long-distance network,”³⁶ ein hoch effizientes Netzwerk nicht nur zum gegenseitigen Austausch von Informationen, sondern auch und vor allem zur Schaffung des für die Gesellschaft Jesu so typischen Einheitsbewusstseins und Zusammengehörigkeitsgefühls. Unter maßgeblicher Beteiligung der *Litterae Annuae* entstand ein globales System, bei dem die über alle Welt verstreuten Mitglieder des Ordens aktiv mit der Ordensleitung in Verbindung gebracht wurden.

Harris orientiert sich an dem aus der Soziologie stammenden Modell des long-distance network, um das Nachrichtensystem der alten Gesellschaft Jesu zu beschreiben. Dieses Modell geht davon aus, dass innerhalb eines über große Entfernungen hinweg operierenden Sozialsystems ein Zentrum mit einer weit verzweigten Peripherie in einem zirkulierenden Prozess des Datenaustausches steht.³⁷ Das Zentrum–im Fall der Gesellschaft Jesu der General in Rom–sammelt und verarbeitet Wissen. Dieses Wissen erhält das Zentrum von der Peripherie–also den Jesuiten in den einzelnen Niederlassungen, wohin dann auch die durch den Datenverarbeitungsprozess gewonnenen Einsichten wieder

³⁵ Vgl. Andreas Freyberger, S.J., *Historica Relatio Unionis Walachicae Cum Romana Ecclesia*, übersetzt und herausgegeben von Ioan Chindriș (Cluj-Napoca: Clusium, 1996) S. 40.

³⁶ Harris fasst die Ergebnisse seiner Arbeit in dem Aufsatz “Confession-Building, Long-Distance Networks, and the Organization Of Jesuit Science” zusammen, aus dem ich im Folgenden zitiere.

³⁷ Er bezieht sich dabei auf die Soziologen Law (Harris, “Long-Distance Networks,” 294f.) und Latour (Harris, “Long-Distance Networks,” 295f.).

zurückfließen. Damit ist der Zirkel geschlossen.³⁸ Ziel des Wissenstransfers ist das "Rekrutieren und Zirkulieren Lassen von Ressourcen" [recruitment of resources],³⁹ und zwar sowohl menschlicher Ressourcen, sprich: neuer Mitglieder, als auch nichtmenschlicher: wie z.B. neueste naturwissenschaftliche Erkenntnisse oder neues geographisches Wissen.

Der jesuitische Briefverkehr lässt sich in administrative (v.a. die oben erwähnten *hijuelas*) und erbauliche Briefe aufteilen.⁴⁰ Dabei kommt den *Litterae Annuae* als Hauptvertreter der erbaulichen Nachrichten beim Wissenstransfer im Netzwerk eine zentrale Rolle zu.

Zum einen wurden in ihnen nützliche Informationen, z.B. über die politische Lage in Übersee oder auch nur an den anderen Orten in der eigenen Ordensprovinz an jedes Mitglied weitergegeben. Derartige Insiderinformationen haben den Soldaten Christi an der vordersten Front der Gegenreformation zu einem strategischen Wissensvorsprung verholfen.⁴¹ Ein kleines unspektakuläres Beispiel aus der österreichischen Provinz kann dies verdeutlichen: Zum Jahre 1695 liest man einen längeren Abschnitt zu Wirken und Person Philipp Jakob Speners, des wohl wichtigsten Pietisten im deutschen Protestantismus.⁴² Das ist nicht gerade brandaktuell—Speners Hauptwerk ist bereits zwanzig Jahre zuvor erschienen. Aber es ist doch beachtlich, dass es an dieser Stelle so ausführlich behandelt wird. Der Kirchenreformer Spener war auch innerhalb seiner eigenen Kirche umstritten; aus damaliger katholischer Perspektive musste er wie ein Ketzler unter den Ketzern erscheinen. Die einzelnen Jesuiten erhielten mit der Notiz in den *Litterae Annuae* wichtige Informationen, die sonst nur schwer oder gar nicht zugänglich waren.⁴³

Die Mitglieder waren durch das Lesen der *Annuae* aber zum anderen auch über alle anderen rund um den Globus verstreuten Jesuitenniederlassungen informiert. Die Jesuiten hörten voneinander, bekamen mit, was andere Ordensmitglieder taten und dachten, konnten sich selbst und ihr eigenes

³⁸ Vgl. Harris, "Long-Distance Networks," 296ff.

³⁹ Er prägt dazu den Begriff "cycles of recruitment." Vgl. Harris, "Long-Distance Networks," 297f.

⁴⁰ Friedrich, "Circulating and Compiling," 5.

⁴¹ Die Drucke der *Litterae Annuae* erschienen mit mehrjähriger Verzögerung. Deshalb kann man hier mit Recht von einem Wissensvorsprung vor potentiellen ordnesexternen Lesern sprechen. Zu den Drucken siehe im Text oben, unter 1.

⁴² Wallmann nennt ihn einen der beiden "Urheber" des Pietismus, Johannes Wallmann, *Philipp Jakob Spener und die Anfänge des Pietismus* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1986) S. 353.

⁴³ Ich beziehe mich hier auf das Manuskript Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms Nr. 12091, ff. 18 r^v; ein textgleiches Exemplar müsste in ARSI, Austr. 153 vorliegen.

Handeln zu den anderen Ordenshäusern in Beziehung setzen. So wurde eine starke Gruppenidentität innerhalb des Ordens geschaffen–Ignatius nennt es die Einheit der Herzen.⁴⁴ Der Orden nutzte–unter anderem–die Jahresbriefe, um sich als einmütige, verschworene Gemeinschaft zu konstituieren.⁴⁵ Da die *Annuae* ja vor allem der ordensinternen Information dienten, also in der Regel nur von den Ordensmitgliedern gelesen wurden, bekamen diese Informationen den Charakter von Insiderwissen. Entgegen ihrer eigenen Intention–manche Jahrgänge der *Litterae Annuae* wurden ja auch gedruckt (s.o.)–entwickelten sie sich zu einer Art “jesuitischem Geheimwissen.” Es war schlicht niemand anderem zugänglich, bzw. niemand außerhalb des Ordens interessierte sich dafür. Das galt bis ins 19. und 20. Jahrhundert hinein. Aufgrund dieses geheimnishaften Charakters hatten die Jahresbriefleser stets ein besonderes Bewusstsein für die jeweils in den *Litterae Annuae* beschriebenen Situationen. Sie konnten manche Vorgänge in Politik und Gesellschaft in einem weiteren Horizont als ihr Umfeld wahrnehmen und verstehen, weil sie sie in den Kontext der–durch die *Annuae* vermittelten–(erbaulichen) Ordensgeschichte stellen konnten. Das gilt insbesondere für die jesuitische Historiographie, die die *Litterae Annuae* seit jeher als Quelle mit einbezog, während Historiker außerhalb des Ordens die Jahresbriefe entweder gar nicht kannten oder sogar bewusst ignorierten.

Die Rezeption der *Annuae* in der siebenbürgischen Geschichtsschreibung

Wie das durch die Informationen in den *Litterae Annuae* geleitete Verständnis von historischen Vorgängen die Sichtweise der Jesuiten vor Ort und die spätere jesuitische Geschichtsschreibung, die sich mit diesen Ereignissen beschäftigt hat, im Vergleich zur Historiographie außerhalb des Ordens beeinflusst hat, lässt sich gut anhand der Wiedereinführung der Jesuiten in Siebenbürgen zu Beginn des 18. Jahrhunderts aufzeigen.

In der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts war die Gesellschaft Jesu im protestantischen Siebenbürgen etwa drei Jahrzehnte lang verboten. Die Patres waren daher gezwungen, verdeckt zu operieren. Mit der Machtergreifung der

⁴⁴ Harris nimmt hier Bezug auf eine sehr bekannte Formulierung aus den Satzungen S.J., vgl. Harris, “Long-Distance Networks,” 300f. Übrigens bezeichnet Koch bereits 1934 die erbaulichen Schriften im Stile der *Annuae* als “Familienchronik,” die zur “Pflege und Erziehung zu dem jeder Familie notwendigen Gemeinschaftsgeist” dienen, vgl. Koch, *Jesuiten-Lexikon*, Sp. 195.

⁴⁵ Danieluk zeigt auf, wie seit Ignatius der ordensinterne Schriftverkehr als ein “service de l’union de coeurs” aufgefasst wurde, vgl. Danieluk, “Ob communem fructum,” 44f.

Habsburger änderte sich die Lage. Nach der "offiziellen"⁴⁶ Wiedereinführung um 1700 bzw. 1712 blieben die verdeckt arbeitenden Patres *incognito*, während gleichzeitig "neue" Jesuiten nach Siebenbürgen kamen.

Wie wurde dieses historische Phänomen nun in der damaligen Zeit und in der Geschichtsschreibung wahrgenommen?

Betrachten wir zunächst, wie man die Societas Jesu zur Zeit der Exilierung wahrnahm. In Siebenbürgen war die Gesellschaft Jesu im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert mehrfach durch den protestantisch dominierten Landtag des Landes verwiesen worden. Doch der Verordnung wurde lediglich offiziell nachgekommen. Schon bei der ersten Exilierung 1588 behielt sich der damals katholische Fürst von Siebenbürgen das Recht vor, einen Beichtvater aus der Gesellschaft Jesu am Hof zu behalten. Aber dieser Jesuitenpater ließ sich nicht auf die fürstliche Seelsorge beschränken. Daher wurde wiederholt ein Ausweisungsbeschluss im Landtag gefällt,⁴⁷ der ohne Ausnahme alle Ordensmitglieder des Landes verwies. Damit—so glaubte man in der älteren außerjesuitischen Historiographie—sei der Jesuitenorden im 17. Jahrhundert bis zur Wiedereinführung durch die Habsburger aus Siebenbürgen verbannt gewesen.⁴⁸

Doch die Personalaufstellungen (*Catalogi Personarum*) und die *Litterae Annuae* belehren uns eines Besseren. Sie verzeichnen auch für die Jahre nach 1602/1653 weiterhin Jesuiten in Siebenbürgen, wenngleich nicht mehr im offiziellen Status, sondern als "transvestitae Personae,"⁴⁹ also als "verkleidete" Patres incognito.

⁴⁶ Die offizielle Einführung der Gesellschaft Jesu erfolgte erst nach dem Kuruzzenkrieg (1703-1711) im Jahr 1712. Doch bereits um 1700 treten—offensichtlich durch die örtlichen Magistrate geduldet—einige Jesuiten wieder öffentlich in Erscheinung. Dr. Vasile Rus, der am historischen Institut "G. Bari" der Universität Klausenburg (Cluj-Napoca) lehrt, hat mir Einblick in die Klausenburger Historia des Jahres 1712 gegeben, die auf S. 88 die Wiedereinführung bestätigt.

⁴⁷ Schmidt gibt als Jahr der zweiten Ausweisung 1603 an (andere Historiker: 1602). Dass es noch wenigstens eine Ausweisung gab, belegt die Aufnahme der Exilierungsverordnung in die Approbaten von 1653, eine der wichtigsten Verfassungsurkunden Siebenbürgens im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert; vgl. Wilhelm Schmidt, "Zur Geschichte der Jesuiten in Hermannstadt," *Archiv des Vereins für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde* (Hermannstadt), Neue Folge, 6 (1853) 234f.

⁴⁸ Der deutschstämmige Protestant Dausch geht sogar von einer vollständigen Verbannung 1588 aus, vgl. Walter Dausch, "Toleranz im Fürstentum Siebenbürgen. Politische und gesellschaftliche Voraussetzungen der Religionsgesetzgebung im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert," *Kirche im Osten* 26 (1983) 55f. und 68(!). Der Ungar Bucsay rechnet ab 1602 mit einer vollständigen Ausweisung, vgl. Mihaly Bucsay, *Der Protestantismus in Ungarn—1521-1978. Ungarns Reformationskirchen in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2 Bände (Wien: Böhlau, 1977) I, 143f.

⁴⁹ Diese Bezeichnung konnte ich nicht in den *Litterae Annuae* finden. Sie stammt von Bzensky, der auch einige *Litterae Annuae*-Notizen für Siebenbürgen schrieb. Vgl. Rudolphus Bzensky, S.J., "Relatio de Ecclesia Transylvana," *Medievalia Transylvanica* 2 (1998) 310.

De facto blieben die Aktivitäten der Gesellschaft Jesu im Fürstentum bestehen. Sogar die im 16. Jahrhundert für die Gesellschaft Jesu typische pädagogische Tätigkeit als Lehrkräfte an katholischen Gymnasien wurde beibehalten. Während alle Welt, allen voran die protestantisch geprägte Öffentlichkeit in Siebenbürgen, davon ausging, dass in Siebenbürgen kein jesuitisches Wirken mehr stattfinden würde, wussten die jesuitischen Leser der *Annuae* von den verdeckten Aktivitäten ihrer Mitstreiter in den dortigen Städten. Diese konnten weiterhin als Lehrer (z.B. in Klausenburg/Cluj) und Stadtpfarrer (z.B. in Karlsburg/Alba Iulia) tätig sein und gezielt gegenreformatorische Maßnahmen durchführen. Offenbar waren, bis auf wenige Ausnahmen, nicht einmal die katholischen Verantwortlichen außerhalb des Ordens in Rom (z.B. die Propaganda-Kongregation) und vor Ort eingeweiht.⁵⁰

Über die Vorgänge war–am augenscheinlichsten durch die *Catalogi personarum*–das Generalat in Rom informiert. Ebenso war jedoch jeder Leser der *Litterae Annuae* in die bestehenden Verhältnisse eingeweiht, da er ja weiterhin jährlich (oder wenigstens im Abstand einiger Jahre)⁵¹ über die Ordensgenossen in Siebenbürgen unterrichtet wurde. Wie genau die Jesuiten vor Ort in dieser Zeit informiert waren, lässt sich leider nur indirekt erschließen, da schlicht die Quellen fehlen. Dass die *Annuae* im protestantischen Fürstentum während der Zeit der Verbannung wenigstens unregelmäßig gelesen wurden, kann man nur vermuten.

Aufschluss könnte der ordensinterne Briefverkehr liefern. Doch auch diese

⁵⁰ Wahrscheinlich waren nur der Erzbischof von Gran Kardinal Leopold Kollonitsch und einige renommierte Adlige des Status Catholicus (z.B. Generalvikar Graf Stephan Apor) eingeweiht–so jedenfalls war die Informationslage bei dem Incognito-Wirken zweier Jesuiten in Moskau zur gleichen Zeit, über die uns ein Brief vom eben erwähnten Erzbischof Kollonitsch Auskunft gibt (Brief an seinen theologischen Berater Prof. N. C. Papadopoli, S.J. in Padua vom 11 November 1702), veröffentlicht bei Nicolaus Nilles, S.J., *Symbolae ad illustrandam historiam Ecclesiae Orientalis in terris coronae S. Stephani*, 2 Bände (Oeniponte [= Innsbruck]: Libreria Feliciani Rauch, 1885) I, 24. Auch die Propaganda-Kongregation hatte offenbar bis zur Jahrhundertwende keine Ahnung von den Vorgängen: In István G. Tóth (Hg.), *Relationes Missionariorum de Hungaria et Transilvania (1627-1707)* (Rom/Budapest: Római Magyar Akadémia, 1994), einem jüngst herausgegebenen Quellenband zu den Beziehungen der Propagandakongregation zu den Territorien der Stephanskronen, taucht kein Bericht eines Jesuiten aus Siebenbürgen auf.

⁵¹ Wegen der permanenten Kriegssituation an der Ostgrenze der Habsburgermonarchie während der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts war der ordensinterne Nachrichtenaustausch mit Siebenbürgen gestört. Das türkisch besetzte Ungarn schnitt Siebenbürgen auch geographisch vom Habsburgerreich ab. So erfolgten manchmal zusammenfassende *Litterae Annuae*-Nachrichten aus dem vom Habsburgerreich abgetrennten und unter osmanischer Oberhoheit stehenden Siebenbürgen als Anhang zu den (innerhabsburgischen) *Litterae Annuae Provinciae Austriae*. Ein solcher Nachtrag findet sich z.B. im Berichtsjahr 1697 für die Jahre 1692-1697 als "Appendix–Gesta Nostrorum in Dacia"; vgl. Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms Nr. 12093, ff. 42^v-50^r.

Quelle ist in den meisten Fällen schwer zugänglich. Denn unter General Muzio Vitelleschi⁵² wurde eine verhängnisvolle Entscheidung bezüglich der Archivbereinigung getroffen: Jeweils nach einigen Jahren wurde sämtliches neu angefallenes Archivgut im Zentralarchiv vernichtet—ausgenommen waren lediglich die heute kaum mehr lesbaren Reskripte der Korrespondenz des Generals sowie eben die *Litterae Annuae*.⁵³ Man könnte meinen, dass Kopien oder entsprechende andere Dokumente in den einzelnen Jesuitenhäusern archiviert worden wären. Doch leider wurde viel altes Archivgut aus den Beständen der einzelnen Jesuitenhäuser nach der Auflösung des Ordens 1773 und vollends im Zuge der Säkularisation zu Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts vernichtet oder ist seitdem verschollen.⁵⁴ So ist etwa aus der Wiener Provinzzentrale der Provincia Austria—sie umfasste damals neben Österreich auch das Gebiet des ehemaligen Königreichs Ungarn, welches sich einst bis nach Kroatien, Slowenien, in die Südslowakei sowie nach Siebenbürgen erstreckt hatte—lediglich ein einziges Bündel Akten erhalten geblieben. Die *Litterae Annuae* dagegen sind sowohl in Rom, als auch in Wien vollständig, sowie in Auswahl im ungarischen Pannonhalma erhalten geblieben.⁵⁵

Einen fundierten Einblick in die transylvanisch-jesuitische Seele erhält man erst wieder in der Zeit des Übergangs des Fürstentums zum Haus Habsburg (1687/90-1703). In diese Zeit fallen einige sehr interessante Schriftstücke aus der Hand siebenbürgischer Jesuiten, die uns teils direkt, teils versteckt Rückschlüsse über das Denken und Handeln der Gesellschaft Jesu am Ausgang des 17. Jahrhunderts erlauben.

In dieser Zeit kam es z.B. zu Rivalitäten zwischen verdeckten Jesuiten und anderen römisch-katholischen Instanzen, die ja nichts von der Anwesenheit der Patres wussten. So berichtet ein Incognito-Jesuit 1701 von fünf vesprengten Paulinermönchen, die nach der Machtergreifung der Habsburger ins Land gekommen wären und sogleich versucht hätten, die Erziehung der katholischen Jugend an sich zu reißen. Damit war jedoch die Ausbildung der Jugend durch die „Jesuiten incognito“ gefährdet. Der Jesuit bittet in seinem Bericht, der sich

⁵² *2.xii.1563 Rom; SJ 15.viii.1583 Rom; zum General gewählt am 15.xi.1615; †9.ii.1645 Rom (DHCJ, II, 1621).

⁵³ Ich selbst habe mich in Rom mit den Regesten abgemüht und kann die in der Literatur erwähnte schlechte Lesbarkeit nur bestätigen; vgl. Szilas, „Quellen der ungarischen Kirchengeschichte,” 178.

⁵⁴ Die von Szilas skizzierte Lage für die österreichisch-ungarische Provinz gilt im Wesentlichen auch für viele andere Provinzen, wie Rausch, „gedruckte *Litterae Annuae*,” 203 ausführt. Die Quellenlage ist jedoch von Provinz zu Provinz recht unterschiedlich.

⁵⁵ Eine Liste der erhaltenen *Litterae Annuae Prov. Austriae* findet man bei Szilas, „Quellen der ungarischen Kirchengeschichte,” 184-88.

offenbar an höhere (vermutlich erzbischöfliche) Instanzen richtet, um Hilfe von politischer Seite her, um sich gegenüber den Ansprüchen der Pauliner durchzusetzen. Der Berichterstatter hatte also offenbar auch in diesem Konflikt seine wahre Identität nicht preisgegeben⁵⁶—obwohl spätestens seit dem Friedensvertrag von Passarowitz 1699 Siebenbürgen endgültig an das Haus Habsburg gefallen war.

Wozu diene also die Maskerade? Aufschluss darüber gibt der Bericht eines leider nicht näher bekannten Jesuiten aus Alba Iulia/Weißenburg, seit 1715 Karlsburg über die im Jahr 1701 erfolgte Installation des neuen unierten Bischofs der Rumänen Athanasius Anghel (1697-1713).⁵⁷ Im Bericht werden alle beteiligten Jesuiten namentlich genannt, aber nur bei den öffentlich auftretenden Ordensmitgliedern wird ihre wahre Identität enthüllt, findet sich das nachgestellte Attribut *“Soc. Jesu.”* So wird Carolus Neürautter zwar *“Pater”* genannt, doch seine Ordenszugehörigkeit wird verschwiegen. Pater Ladislaus Baranyi⁵⁸ wird lediglich als *“Th (eo)l (og)us R (everen)diss (im)i D (omi)ni Episcopi neo uniti”* aufgeführt; es wird nicht einmal erwähnt, dass er ein Priester ist: statt mit *“Pater”* wird Baranyi als *“R (everen)dus D (omi)nus”* bezeichnet (obgleich freilich der Titel *“Theologus”* eine klerikale Weihe impliziert). Wusste der Verfasser nichts von den Aktivitäten seiner Ordensgenossen? Oder verschweigt er diese Information bewusst, vielleicht weil der Adressat des Berichtes nicht eingeweiht werden sollte?

Die im Text geschilderten Reaktionen der bei der Installation des Bischofs anwesenden Protestanten zeigen, dass ihnen jedenfalls die verdeckte Tätigkeit der Gesellschaft Jesu in der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts nicht bekannt war. Es wird ein reformierter Theologieprofessor mit folgenden Worten zitiert:

Ecce Jesuitae! vix duobus annis Transylvaniam incolunt, jam populum totum ad Papatum trahunt; incipiunt quidem a rudiori Valachorum plebe, Sed vix alii duo anni elabentur, et idem tentabunt cum Reformatis (Seht euch nur die Jesuiten an! Kaum zwei Jahre sind sie nun in Siebenbürgen, schon ziehen sie das ganze Volk zum Papsttum. Sie beginnen freilich mit dem recht rohen Volk der Rumänen; aber es werden kaum zwei weitere Jahre dahingeglitten sein, und sie werden dasselbe mit den Reformierten versuchen.)

Das Zitat belegt deutlich, dass man zu diesem Zeitpunkt in der protestantischen

⁵⁶ Der Text ist nicht ganz eindeutig. Möglicherweise konnte er die Pauliner schlicht nicht davon überzeugen, ein Jesuit zu sein. In jedem Fall zeigt der Vorfall, dass das Wirken der Gesellschaft Jesu um 1700 noch völlig unbekannt war. Vgl. Bzensky, *“Relatio,”* 326.

⁵⁷ Budapest, Eötvös-Löránd-Universität: Collectio Hevenesiana Tom. XXIV, S. 79-181.

⁵⁸ *25.i.1657 Jászberény; S.J. 27.x.1674 Trenčín; † 8.xii.1719 Trnava (DHCJ, I, 339).

Öffentlichkeit davon ausging, dass die Jesuiten im 17. Jahrhundert Siebenbürgen verlassen hätten und sie “kaum zwei Jahre”–also seit 1699–sich wieder im Land aufhalten würden. Die Befürchtung, dass die Reformierten binnen zwei Jahren sich ebenso der römischen Kirche anschließen könnten, ist dem Professor zwar möglicherweise vom Berichterstatter in den Mund gelegt worden–der protestantische Theologe wird allzu offensichtlich zu einem zweiten Bileam (4. Mose 22ff.) hochstilisiert–, zeigt aber zumindest, wie man innerhalb der Societas Jesu die Lage beurteilte: Offenkundig hatten die über weite Teile verdeckt ablaufenden jesuitischen Aktionen die Protestanten verblüfft, die in so kurzer Zeit errungenen Erfolge die Häretiker beeindruckt. Trotz ihrer geringen Mitgliederzahl konnten die Jesuiten in relativ kurzer Zeit beachtliche gegenreformatorische Projekte umsetzen, am augenscheinlichsten durch die Realisierung ihrer Bauvorhaben in den Städten Siebenbürgens.⁵⁹ Auf Grund ihrer überraschenden Erfolge umgab die siebenbürgischen Jesuiten eine geheimnisvolle Aura der Macht. Die Erfolge der Gesellschaft Jesu, die sich aus heutiger Perspektive durch das Kooperieren der “Jesuitae transvestitae” [verkleidete Jesuiten] und der Jesuiten “in proprio vesti” [in ihrer eigenen typischen Gewandung] zu erklären sind–z.B. um eine Baugenehmigung zu erhalten oder in kurzer Zeit Geldmittel aufzutreiben, konnten für einen Außenstehenden als göttliche Fügung erscheinen.

Daher wurde die Tätigkeiten der “personae transvestitae” geheim gehalten. Ob der Berichterstatter der Bischofsinstallation eingeweiht war, lässt sich–wie oben schon gesagt–nicht mit Sicherheit klären.

Dagegen gibt es eindeutige Belege, wie die frühen jesuitischen Historiker die Anwesenheit ihres Ordens in Siebenbürgen zur besagten Zeit darstellen. So berichtet etwa Andreas Freyberger, ein schlesischer Jesuit,⁶⁰ der sich 1700-1701 kurzzeitig in Siebenbürgen aufgehalten hatte, in seiner *Historica Relatio* aus dem Jahr 1725, dass die Societas “ab anno nempe 1687”,⁶¹ also seit 1687 im Fürstentum präsent sei. Diese Darstellung des deutschsprachigen Jesuiten hat sich dann über die Konfessionsgrenzen hinweg vor allem unter deutschen katholischen Historikern durchgesetzt. So schreibt etwa Schmidt im Jahre 1853

⁵⁹ Obwohl die protestantische Geschichtsbeschreibung stets auf den geringen missionarischen Erfolg der Gegenreformation in Siebenbürgen hingewiesen hat, haben die siebenbürgischen Jesuiten gegen Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts–wenigstens in sozialpolitischer und architektonischer Hinsicht–einige beachtliche Projekte zustande gebracht, deren ästhetische Wirkweise Kunsthistoriker Paul Shore beschrieben hat, vgl. Paul Shore, “*Jesuitae fabri*: The Society Constructs a Presence in a Transylvanian City, 1693-1773,” *AHSI* 74 (2005) 304-314.

⁶⁰ *24.ix.1670 Olbersdorf; SJ 27.x.1685 Neisse; †30.iii.1738 Prag (Freyberger, *Historica Relatio*, S. 7f.).

⁶¹ Vgl. Freyberger, *Historica Relatio*, S. 40.

im Hinblick auf die Wiedereinführung der Gesellschaft Jesu in Siebenbürgen: "Es geschah dies aber, als 1686 [...] bei den siegreichen Fortschritten der kaiserlichen Waffen gegen die Türken, Siebenbürgen das Joch der Letzteren abzuschütteln verlangte"⁶² Die Jesuiten im Heer werden als "angebliche kaiserliche Feldkaplane" bezeichnet, wobei das "angeblich" ausdrücken soll, dass die Jesuiten bereits mit der Absicht ins Fürstentum gekommen wären, dort sesshaft zu werden. Diese Darstellung übernehmen 1969 Michael Lehmann in einer kurzen Skizze zur Geschichte der Orientalischen Christen in Österreich und 1984 sogar das *Handbuch der Ostkirchenkunde* (Würzburg). Beide bezeichnen dann konsequenterweise den oben schon erwähnten Pater Baranyi als "Militärpfarrer."⁶³ Selbst der renommierte Wiener Kirchenhistoriker Ernst Suttner erklärt über die Herkunft der Jesuiten in Siebenbürgen noch 2002: "Als Militärseelsorger kamen Jesuiten mit der österreichischen Armee nach Siebenbürgen."⁶⁴ Im selben Tagungsband, in dem Suttners Beitrag als Einföhrungsartikel steht, wird dann von einer anderen Autorin festgestellt, dass der zunächst in der Militärseelsorge eingesetzte Orden "Până la sfârșitul anului 1695 ordinul a prins rădăcini noi în structurile de putere și bisericești ale Transilvaniei" (bis Ende des Jahres 1695 in den machtpolitischen und kirchlichen Strukturen Siebenbürgens Wurzeln geschlagen hätte).⁶⁵ Die Tatsache, dass Jesuiten mit dem Heer nach Siebenbürgen gekommen waren, ist freilich vollkommen korrekt. Allein diese Patres begründeten nicht die Präsenz der Societas Jesu in Siebenbürgen.⁶⁶

Auch die ungarische und rumänische Historiographie teilte lange Zeit die Auffassung, wonach die Societas erst nach der Machtergreifung der Habsburger

⁶² Siehe Schmidt, "Jesuiten in Hermannstadt," 237.

⁶³ Vgl. Michael Lehmann, *Österreich und der christliche Osten. Begegnungen in Gegenwart und Vergangenheit* (Wien: Wiener Dom-Verlag, 1969) S. 20 und Michael Lacko, "Unionsbewegungen im slavischen Raum und in Rumänien," in Wilhelm Nyssen/Hans-Joachim Schulz/Paul Wiertz (Hgg.) *Handbuch der Ostkirchenkunde* (Düsseldorf: Patmos, 1984) S. 282.

⁶⁴ Siehe Ernst Suttner, "Die Anfänge und das Durchsetzen der siebenbürgischen Kirchenunion sowie die Widerstände gegen sie – Teil A," in Iacob Mărza (Hg.), *Annales Universitatis Apulensis*, Series Historica 6/II (Alba Iulia: Universitatea "1 Decembrie 1918," 2002) 11.

⁶⁵ Vgl. Marionela Wolf, "Ordinul iezeit și Unirea bisericească a românilor din Transilvania," in Iacob Mărza (Hg.), *Annales Universitatis Apulensis*, Series Historica 6/II (Alba Iulia: Universitatea "1 Decembrie 1918," 2002) 49.

⁶⁶ So fasst beispielsweise Bzensky die mit dem Heer gekommenen, nur kurzzeitig in einem bestimmten Ort anwesenden Jesuiten als gesonderte Gruppe auf (er spricht von *alii Patres Castrenses* S.J.), nennt diese Jesuiten auch nicht namentlich. Vgl. Bzensky, "Relatio," 318.

wieder ins Land gekommen sei.⁶⁷ Unter den in der Vergangenheit weitgehend unabhängig voneinander betriebenen nationalen Geschichtswissenschaften Siebenbürgens (deutsch, ungarisch, rumänisch) kam es erst seit etwa einem Jahrzehnt zu einem regen Gedankenaustausch.⁶⁸ So wurde erstmals im Jahr 2000 von Márta Fata eine überkonfessionelle und übernationale Gesamtdarstellung zur ungarischen Kirchengeschichte versucht. Sie ist denn auch die erste Historikerin außerhalb der Gesellschaft Jesu, die etwas von der Existenz der verborgenen Jesuiten in Siebenbürgen weiß, wenn sie Pater Baranyi korrekt als "Weissenburger Stadtpfarrer" apostrophiert.⁶⁹ Über jegliche darüber hinausgehenden Angaben zu den Jesuiten schweigt sich Fata allerdings aus.⁷⁰

Dagegen haben jesuitsche Historiker, die sich näher mit der Materie beschäftigt haben, um die verborgene Existenz der Jesuiten im protestantischen Fürstentum in der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts gewusst. Allerdings haben sie ihr Wissen nicht "an die große Glocke gehängt." So begnügt sich etwa der Niederländer Jesuit Nikolaus Nilles⁷¹ in seiner 1885 herausgegebenen Quellensammlung damit, bei der Einleitung zu dem besagten Zeitraum lediglich auf andere Literatur zu verweisen anstatt selbst konkrete Angaben zu machen.⁷² Dass er gleichwohl um die verborgene Existenz seines Ordens wusste, beweist Nilles, wenn er ins Detail geht. So notiert er etwa in seiner biografischen Skizze über Pater Paulus Ladislaus Baranyi, dass dieser 1674 in Siebenbürgen in den Orden eingetreten sei. Dann schreibt er explizit: "... presbyteri saecularis habitu

⁶⁷ Vgl. z.B. die Ausführungen des Rumänen David Prodan, *Supplex libellus Vallachorum: aus der Geschichte der rumänischen Nationsbildung 1700-1848* (Köln/Bukarest: Böhlau, 1982) S. 115 oder die Arbeit des Ungarn Bucsay, *Protestantismus*, S. 143f (ohne konkrete Angabe zum Zeitpunkt der Wiedereinführung des Ordens).

⁶⁸ Vgl. Joachim Bahlcke, "Status Catholicus und Kirchenpolitik in Siebenbürgen. Entwicklungsphasen des römisch-katholischen Klerus zwischen Reformation und Josephinismus," in Zsolt Lengyel, Ulrich Wien (Hgg.), *Siebenbürgen in der Habsburgermonarchie: Vom Leopoldinum bis zum Ausgleich (1690-1867)* (Köln: Böhlau, 1999) S. 154f.

⁶⁹ Vgl. Márta Fata, *Ungarn, das Reich der Stephanskerone, im Zeitalter der Reformation und Konfessionalisierung. Multiethnizität, Land und Konfession 1500 bis 1700* (Münster: Aschendorff, 2000) S. 282.

⁷⁰ Aufgrund der neueren Forschungslage müsste Fata, als sie über Pater Baranyi schrieb, sich bewusst gewesen sein, dass dieser sich entgegen dem Ausweisungsbeschluss in Siebenbürgen aufhielt. In den 80er Jahren des vergangenen Jahrhunderts war dieser Bewusstseinshorizont noch nicht gegeben. Das beweist z.B. Prodan, *Supplex libellus*, wenn er Baranyi zwar korrekt als Stadtpfarrer von Alba Iulia einführt (S. 115), dann jedoch darüber berichtet, dass die Gesellschaft Jesu in Siebenbürgen nicht wirken konnte (S. 117).

⁷¹ *21.vi.1828 Rippweiler; SJ 28.iii.1858 Baumgartenberg; †31.i.1907 Innsbruck (Koch, *Jesuiten-Lexikon*, S. 87).

⁷² Vgl. Nilles, *Symbolae*, S. 127 (Literaturangabe siehe oben Anm. 47).

velabat hominem Societatis, imo ingenita quasi agendi et loquendi modestia non semel in suspicionem adductus luculente prodidit⁷³ (im Gewand eines Säkularklerikers verbarg sich ein Mitglied der Gesellschaft Jesu, ja mehr noch: mit der angeborenen Mäßigkeit sowohl im Handeln als auch im Reden täuschte er so geschickt seine Rolle vor, dass er nicht ein einziges Mal in Verdacht geriet). Seine Quelle gibt Nilles am Ende der biografischen Skizze an. Es ist das Elogium Baranyis aus dem *Litterae-Annuae*-Jahrgang 1719, und zwar das (übrigens bis heute) in der Wiener Nationalbibliothek aufbewahrte Exemplar der Provinzleitung. So waren insbesondere Historiker, die sich an den Elogia orientierten, stets über die Existenz der „personae transvestitae“ informiert.

Es verwundert daher nicht, wenn der jesuitische Historiker Ludwig Koch⁷⁴ in seinem *Jesuiten-Lexikon* von 1934 nicht etwa die Anwesenheit der Gesellschaft Jesu im Siebenbürgen des 17. Jahrhunderts in Abrede stellt, sondern vielmehr nichts von ihrer Verbannung zu wissen scheint.⁷⁵

Das Wissen um die verborgene Existenz der Gesellschaft Jesu in Siebenbürgen war aber spätestens seit der großangelegten Veröffentlichung der *Catalogi personarum et officiorum Provinciae Austriae Societatis Iesu* aus dem 16. bis 18. Jahrhundert durch Pater László Lukács, S.J.,⁷⁶ dem langjährigen Leiter des ARSI, in den Jahren 1978-1995 unter jesuitischen Historikern bekannt. Abgesehen davon, dass die Veröffentlichung vor allem im Orden publik gemacht wurde,⁷⁷ werden schließlich die *Catalogi* von Ordenshistorikern stets als erstes befragt, um konkrete Namen für historische Recherchen zu finden.

Die *Litterae Annuae* haben also durchaus das Bewusstsein und die Wahrnehmung der Jesuiten der Alten Gesellschaft geprägt. Sie sind–zumindest für manche Bereiche–gewissermaßen zum geistigen Horizont der Wahrnehmung des eigenen Ordens in Geschichte und (in der damaligen) Gegenwart geworden.

Zusammenfassung und Beurteilung

Man kann nur bedingt historische Vorgänge aus den Jahresbriefen rekonstruieren–dazu ist die Auswahl und Interpretation des Geschilderten einfach zu einseitig und tendenziös, selbst wenn die Zahlen und Fakten

⁷³ Vgl. Nilles, *Symbolae*, S. 188.

⁷⁴ *28.v.1878 Ladenburg; SJ 1.x.1897 Feldkirch-Tisis; †1.xi.1935 München (*DHCJ*, III, 2207),

⁷⁵ Vgl. Koch, *Jesuiten-Lexikon*, Sp. 1781f. (im Artikel „Ungarn“).

⁷⁶ *27.x.1910 Metzenzéf; SJ 9.ix.1931; †16.xi.1998 Rom (*Catalogus defunctorum in renata Societate Iesu [III] 1986-2000* [Rom: Crux Praepositi Generalis, 2001] S. 59).

⁷⁷ So wusste etwa die ansonsten sehr gut informierte Marionela Wolf noch nichts von dieser Edition, vgl. Wolf, „*Ordinalu ieziut*,“ 50.

stimmen.⁷⁸ Mit Recht haben die alten Historiker diese Quelle sehr kritisch betrachtet. Denn es handelt sich bei den Jahresbriefen um Erbauungs- und Propagandaliteratur, die bisweilen wichtige Fakten unterschlägt und Unbedeutendes unverhältnismäßig stark hervorhebt.

Die *Litterae Annuae* geben aber immerhin einen verlässlichen Rahmen vor (z.B. verlässliche Zahlenangaben), um einzelne historische Ereignisse in die Ordensgeschichte einzuordnen. Oftmals ist man als Historiker gerade auf dem Gebiet der Alten Gesellschaft Jesu auf diese Rahmeninformationen angewiesen, v.a. dort, wo andere Quellen schweigen.

Mit ihrer deutlich parteiichen Art der Berichterstattung enthalten die Jahresbriefe darüberhinaus äußerst aufschlussreiche Informationen aus der Kulturgeschichte des 16. bis 18. Jahrhunderts. Man kann aus den *Annuae* ablesen, wie man im Orden dachte, Pläne schmiedete, ausführte oder Sachverhalte beurteilte. So gesehen sind die *Litterae Annuae* eine Quelle ersten Ranges, wenn man z.B. etwas über die jesuitische Frömmigkeit und Theologie, über die Ordenspolitik oder die jesuitischen Verflechtungen in Staat, Kirche und Gesellschaft erfahren will. Die *Litterae Annuae* verkörpern gewissermaßen das Innenleben des Jesuitenordens, den Geist der Alten Gesellschaft Jesu.⁷⁹

Viel wichtiger als der Wert der *Annuae* als Quellenschatz erscheint mir jedoch die Frage, inwieweit die Jahresbriefe das Selbst- und Fremdverständnis der Alten Gesellschaft Jesu im Denken und in der Tat geprägt haben. Bislang wurde in der Forschung stets der Weg von der Ereignisgeschichte hin zur Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte beschritten, um einzelne historische Vorgänge zu würdigen. Ich denke, es ist nun an der Zeit, auch anders herum zu fragen, ob und inwieweit relationale, kulturelle, soziale, religiöse oder sonstige geistesgeschichtliche Phänomene (wie z.B. das Jesuitennetzwerk) sich in konkreten historischen Fakten niedergeschlagen haben. Dann würde meines Erachtens die Geschichte der Alten Gesellschaft, allem voran die Missionsgeschichte, nochmals unter neuem Licht erscheinen.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ Heiß nennt den Historiker Alois Kroess, S.J., der die *Litterae Annuae* viel zu gutgläubig rezipiert, vgl. Heiß, „*Litterae Annuae*,” S. 668, Anm. 31.

⁷⁹ Das schärfen Historiker vor allem in jüngster Zeit ein: vgl. Heiß, „*Litterae Annuae*,” S. 669-672; Rausch, „gedruckte *Litterae Annuae*,” 207.

⁸⁰ Die Grundlage dieses Aufsatzes bildet ein Vortrag, der bei dem Symposion „Alte Zeiten, fremde Sitten. Das Fremde und das Eigene bei den Jesuiten im 17. Jahrhundert am 17. November 2005“ in der Caritas-Pirckheimer-Akademie in Nürnberg gehalten wurde. Die Veranstaltung wurde dokumentiert von Paul Oberholzer, S.J. *AHSI* 75 (2006) 250-54. Der hier veröffentlichte Artikel stellt eine überarbeitete und stark erweiterte Fassung dieses Vortrags dar. Er entstand aufgrund von Recherchen zu meiner Dissertation, die ich zur Zeit unter Leitung von Prof. Dr. Walter Sparr (Fachbereich Dogmatik an der Evangelisch-Theologischen Fakultät der Friedrich-Alexander-

Summary

The article discusses the special character of the reports sent annually from individual Jesuit residences during the pre-Suppression (i.e. before 1773) Society of Jesus. After a brief description of the annual reports, that is, the *Litterae Annuae*, their structure and contents are discussed. Subsequent sections describe the long-distance communication network, not only unparalleled for the transmission of information, but also a substantial contributor to the *esprit de corps* of the Society of Jesus. A final section looks at the example of the secret operations of Jesuits in Transylvania in the second half of the 17th century. In so doing it demonstrates how use of the *Litterae Annuae* can assist researchers: only historians, who have read the *Annuae*, know of the incognito existence of the Society of Jesus in Siebenbürgen. The *Annuae* are a valuable treasure for cultural historians and chronicler, and also a historical phenomenon, which merits further investigation.

Sumario

El artículo estudia el carácter peculiar de los informes anuales de las Residencias de jesuitas, durante el tiempo anterior a la Supresión (esto es, antes de 1773) de la Compañía de Jesús. Tras una breve presentación de los informes anuales: las *Litterae Annuae*, se resumen su estructura y contenido. Ulteriores apartados describen el sistema de noticias basado en la *Litterae Annuae*, como red de larga distancia que no sólo ofrecía una red única de transmisión de información, sino que también colaboraba, esencialmente, al espíritu de compañerismo de la Compañía de Jesús. La sección final, pone como ejemplo la región de Transilvania (trabajo clandestino de los padres jesuitas en la segunda mitad del siglo XVII). De este modo prueba cómo el uso de las *Litterae Annuae* puede ayudar a los investigadores: sólo los historiadores que hayan leído las *Annuae*, saben de la existencia oculta de la Compañía de Jesús en Siebenbürgen. Con esto, las *Annuae* son un tesoro de fuentes para la historia de la cultura y de la Crónica, y también un fenómeno histórico que merece una investigación más amplia.

Robert Danieluk, S.J.

La Bibliothèque de Carlos Sommervogel: Le sommet de l'oeuvre bibliographique de la Compagnie de Jésus (1890-1932)



Le nom de Carlos Sommervogel est bien connu de tous ceux qui s'intéressent à l'activité littéraire des jésuites. *La Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, oeuvre majeure de ce grand bibliographe, publiée dans les années 1890-1932, est vite devenue "le Sommervogel" et reste une référence incontournable pour de nombreux chercheurs. Le présent livre a pour but d'étudier l'histoire de l'oeuvre bibliographique du jésuite strasbourgeois qui se cache, en quelque sorte, derrière son *opus vitae*.

Le livre comprend deux parties. Sommervogel lui-même et sa *Bibliothèque* sont présentés dans la première partie, divisée en cinq chapitres chronologiquement structurés: "avant," "pendant" et "après" Sommervogel. Cela permet de situer son oeuvre dans une "longue durée" où l'originalité de la *Bibliothèque* apparaît nettement, grâce à l'analyse des travaux similaires entrepris par des jésuites dès le XVII^e siècle. Le travail du strasbourgeois est ainsi présenté comme le maillon central d'une "chaîne" de bibliographies depuis le début de la Compagnie jusqu'à nos jours.

La deuxième partie du livre est composée d'annexes qui indiquent les sources utilisées et la bibliographie de cette étude. Les préfaces des principales bibliographies jésuites et la correspondance inédite de Sommervogel, présentées dans cette partie, servent à illustrer ce qui est exposé dans la partie principale.

Bibliotheca Instituti Historici Societatis Iesu 59.

€ 50,00 (€ 40,00 aux abonnés).

GASPAR BARZEO: EL HOMBRE Y SUS ESCRITOS

Eduardo Javier Alonso Romo*

Objeto, fuentes y bibliografía

El presente estudio se aproxima a uno de los discípulos más aventajados de san Francisco Javier¹—probablemente el más cercano a él, como veremos—, el jesuita holandés Gaspar Barzeo (Jasper Berse, Berze, Barzaeus, Barzeu, Barceo o Barzé).² Sin duda, su nombre resultará familiar a los que conozcan la trayectoria javeriana, pero el hombre que está detrás es un gran desconocido, a pesar de ser considerado por algunos como el jesuita más importante, después de Javier, en la India portuguesa del siglo XVI. Sin duda Gaspar Barzeo ocupa un lugar muy relevante entre los compañeros de Francisco Javier,³ sobresaliendo entre la primera generación de jesuitas en el Oriente portugués, junto a nombres

* Eduardo Javier Alonso Romo es Profesor Titular de Filología Portuguesa en la Universidad de Salamanca (España) y pertenece a la Comunidad de Vida Cristiana (C.V.X).

¹ *7.iv.1506 Javier; cofundador de la Compañía de Jesús; †3.xii.1552 Shangchuan (*DHCJ*, III, 2140-141).

² En Portugal era conocido también como Gaspar Francisco. Dado que escribimos el presente trabajo en castellano, hemos optado por la forma italo-española *Barzeo*.

³ Cf. Francisco Mateos, SJ, “Compañeros españoles de san Francisco Javier,” *Missionalia Hispanica* 9 (1952) 277-364.

eximios como Antonio Criminali,⁴ Cosme de Torres⁵ o Francisco Pérez.⁶ De hecho, Barzeo es el destinatario de dieciséis cartas del misionero navarro;⁷ con esto, respecto al número, el jesuita flamenco es el segundo destinatario de los textos javerianos.⁸ Pero sobre todo, Gaspar fue muy valorado por Javier—en los puestos de confianza que le encargó y en las palabras con que se dirigió a él—, hasta el punto de que podemos considerarlo el discípulo predilecto del Apóstol de las Indias. Señalemos, además, que se conservan cinco cartas de Ignacio de Loyola⁹ dirigidas a él, aunque el misionero holandés no llegó a leer ninguna de ellas, pues cuando llegaron a su destino, él ya había muerto.¹⁰

Nuestro trabajo pretende un acercamiento global y sistemático a la figura de Barzeo, trazando su semblanza y fijándonos de manera especial en sus escritos. No en vano, las principales fuentes para reconstruir su biografía son sus propias misivas: interesantes, sinceras y espontáneas, en las que mezcla lo personal con lo general.¹¹ Su estilo no es muy cuidado, presentando frecuentes anacolutos. Actualmente se conservan veintitrés textos de Barzeo, que corresponden a un periodo de poco más de cuatro años, entre diciembre de 1548 y enero de 1553. De estos textos, dieciocho fueron editados críticamente hace más de medio siglo por el orientalista suizo Josef Wicki, SJ,¹² dentro de los dos primeros volúmenes

⁴ *7.ii.1520 Sissa; SJ 9.iv.1542 Roma; †c.15.vi. 1549 Vedalai (DHCJ, II, 1000). Cf. Jean Castets, *The Venerable Anthony Criminal* (Trinchinopoly: Indian Catholic Truth Society, 1926).

⁵ *c.1510 Valencia; SJ 1548 Goa; †2.x.1570 Shiki (DHCJ, IV, 3819-820). Véase Diego Pacheco, *El hombre que forjó a Nagasaki* (Madrid: Apostolado de la Prensa, 1973).

⁶ *c.1515 Barcarrota; SJ 25.i.1544 Coimbra; †22.ii.1583 Negapattinam (DHCJ, III, 3090). Cf. nuestro trabajo “Un extremeño en las Indias portuguesas: Francisco Pérez (c.1515-1583) y sus escritos,” *Revista de Estudios Extremeños* 58 (2002) 1047-069.

⁷ Son los documentos n° 80, 91, 105, 112, 114-19, 123-25, 127, 133 y 137, todos ellos en MHSI, *Xavier*, II.

⁸ En cuanto al número, Barzeo sólo es superado por Francisco Mansilhas, SJ, que recibe veintiséis cartas de Javier, aunque bastante más breves y circunstanciales.

⁹ *1491 Loyola; fundador y primer general de la Compañía de Jesús; †31.vii.1556 Roma (DHCJ, II, 1595-1601).

¹⁰ Una de 13 de agosto de 1553, tres de 24 de diciembre de 1553 y una de 24 de febrero de 1554: MHSI, *Epp. Ign.*, V, 331; VI, 87-92, 357-59.

¹¹ Precisamente por ello, le escribieron desde Roma recomendándole que intentara separar mejor los contenidos en sus cartas: MHSI, *Epp. Ign.*, VI, 358.

¹² *30.vi.1904 Zürich; SJ 15.ix.1922; †19.ii.1993 Feldkich (*Catalogus defunctorum in renata Societate Iesu [III]* [Roma: Curia Praepositi Generalis, 2001] p. 105).

de la colección *Documenta Indica*,¹³ otros dos habían sido ya impresos anteriormente junto con las cartas de Francisco Javier,¹⁴ mientras que tres textos barzeanos relacionados con Etiopía fueron en su día publicados por el historiador italiano Camillo Beccari, SJ,¹⁵ en sus *Rerum Aethiopicarum*.¹⁶ Señalemos también que los fragmentos de sus cartas referentes a Japón han sido reeditados más recientemente por Juan Ruiz-de-Medina, SJ,¹⁷ en *Documentos del Japón, 1547-1557*.¹⁸

Debemos indicar que la transmisión y conservación de los textos es bastante diversa en cada caso.¹⁹ Además, sabemos de al menos otras nueve misivas barzeanas hoy perdidas.²⁰ Todos estos textos fueron escritos originalmente en portugués aunque de algunos sólo se conservan traducciones.²¹ Hemos de decir que en todos los escritos de Barzeo abundan las frases en latín—normalmente

¹³ Gran parte de estos textos ha sido reeditada posteriormente por António da Silva Rego, *Documentação para a História das Missões do Padroado Português do Oriente: Índia*, 12 vols. (Lisboa: Agência Geral das Colónias, 1947-1958) IV, 152-71, 373-417, 523-39; V, 73-76, 232-35, 306-07; y VII, 67-70, 71-92, 167-90, 191-98, 199-203. Véanse también *Sommervogel*, I, cols. 996-97; VIII, 1773; X, 1781; XI, 1234, 1595; XII, 364-366. También Robert Streit *et alii*, *Bibliotheca Missionum*, 30 vols. (Münster/Friburgo/Roma/Viena: Herder, 1916-1975) IV, 155, *et passim*.

¹⁴ MHSI, *Xavier*, II, 409-411 y 412.

¹⁵ *14.vii.1849 Roma; SJ 31.x.1864 Roma; +4.viii.1928 Roma (*DHCJ*, I, 381).

¹⁶ *Rerum Aethiopicarum Scriptores Occidentales inediti a saeculis XVI ad XIX*, ed. Camillo Beccari, SJ, 15 vols. (Roma: C. de Luigi, 1903-1917) vol. X.

¹⁷ *vii.1927 Madrid; SJ 14.ix.1946; +25.iv.2000 Roma (*AHSI*, 70 [2001] 219-23).

¹⁸ MHSI, *Mon. Iap.* II, 274-82, 387 y 395-97. En este volumen también aparecen diez cartas que tienen a Barzeo por destinatario: 170-72, 336-42, 360-61, 364-70, 382-83 y 385-86.

¹⁹ Sobre estas cuestiones puede verse nuestro trabajo “Os escritos portugueses de um jesuíta holandês no Oriente: Gaspar Barzeo (1515-1553),” *Veredas* 2 (1999) 17-28. También dedicamos especial atención a los escritos barzeanos en Ángel Marcos de Dios y Eduardo Javier Alonso Romo, “La expansión del portugués en Oriente en el siglo XVI y la documentación jesuítica,” *Revista de Filología Románica* 19 (2002) 125-60.

²⁰ Cf. MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, I, 406 (al P. Luís da Grã); y *Doc Ind.*, II, 95 (al dominico Diego Bermúdez), 194 (a Joannes de Colonia), 267 (a Ignacio de Loyola), 401 (al virrey Alfonso de Noronha), 442 (a Simão Rodrigues), 603 (una a D. João III y otra a Simão Rodrigues), y 617-618 (a los jesuitas de Portugal).

²¹ Por causa de estas traducciones se equivoca António Franco cuando afirma a propósito de las cartas de Barzeo: “Estam escritas em hum castelhano tosco e de huma casca desabrida, mas de bom âmago e succo. Foi esta lingua em semelhantes cartas entam mui usada, por serem nossos Santos Pays Ignacio e Xavier hespanhois e usarem desta lingua, e os filhos athe nisto tinham sabor em se conformar com elles”: António Franco, SJ, *Imagem da virtude em o noviçado [...] de Coimbra*, 2 vols. (Évora: Officina da Universidade, 1719) II, 329.

citas bíblicas—, reveladoras de su sólida formación humanística.²²

Contamos, además, con la biografía que, con vistas a una posible beatificación y canonización, escribió el jesuita franco-belga Nicolaus Trigault²³ en Coimbra, en 1606: *De vita P. M. Gasparis Francisci Barzaei, Belgae e Societate Iesu, rebus in Orientis India gestis celeberrimi Libri quattuor*.²⁴ Esta obra, parcialmente abreviada, fue publicada cuatro años después, difundiendo el nombre de Gaspar Barzeo por toda la Europa católica.²⁵

Noticias dispersas sobre Barzeo pueden rastrearse en las obras clásicas sobre san Francisco Javier y la primera evangelización jesuítica en las Indias orientales. Se trata de biografías y crónicas —la mayoría redactadas entre finales del siglo XVI y comienzos del XVII—, diversas en relevancia y en sentido crítico: Alessandro Valignano,²⁶ Giampietro Maffei,²⁷ Orazio Torsellino,²⁸ João de Lucena,²⁹ Luis de Guzmán,³⁰ Antonio de San Román,³¹ Pierre du Jarric,³²

²² En todo caso, siguiendo las normas de la revista *AHSI*, ofreceremos todas las citas textuales en castellano: traduciendo o modernizando ligeramente los pasajes citados, así como desarrollando las abreviaturas.

²³ *3.iii.1577 Douai ; SJ 9.xi.1594 Tournai; †14.xi.1628 Hangzhou. Antes de embarcarse hacia Oriente, el 5 de febrero de 1607, pasó diez meses en Portugal. Más tarde fue célebre misionero en China (*DHCJ*, IV, 3838-839). Cf. Edmond Lamalle, SJ, “La propagande du P. Nicolas Trigault en faveur des missions de Chine (1616),” *AHSI* 9 (1940) 49-120.

²⁴ El manuscrito se conserva en Bruselas: Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 5166-5167 (Catalogue n° 4020) ff. 1^r-140^r.

²⁵ *Vita Gasparis Barzaei Belgae e Societate Iesu, B. Xaverii in India socii* (Antuerpía: Joachim Troгнаesius, 1610); citamos esta edición como *Vita*. Poco después salieron una segunda edición (Colonia: Bernardus Gualterus, 1611), y una traducción francesa (Douai: Noel Wardavoir, 1615).

²⁶ Alessandro Valignano, SJ, *Historia del principio y progreso de la Compañía de Jesús en las Indias orientales (1542-64)*, ed. J. Wicki, SJ (Roma: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1944) pp. 114, 117, 185, 199-200, 204-05, 266-67, 271-73, 276-84, 294-95 y 314. Valignano: *7.ii.1539 Chieti; SJ 29.v.1566 Roma; †20.i.1606 Macao (*DHCJ*, IV, 3877-879).

²⁷ Giampietro Maffei, SJ, *Historiarum Indicarum libri XVI* (Venecia: apud Damianum Zenarium, 1589) ff. 237^r-47^r y 264^r. Maffei: *1538 Bérgamo; SJ 26.viii.1565 Roma; †19.x.1603 Tívoli (*DHCJ*, III, 2466-467).

²⁸ Orazio Torsellino, SJ, *De vita Francisci Xaverii* (Roma: ex typ. Gabiana, 1594) pp. 172, 230, 236, 374. Torsellino: *xi.1544 Roma; 15.viii.1562 Roma; †6.iv.1599 Roma (*DHCJ*, IV, 3827).

²⁹ João de Lucena, SJ, *História da Vida do Padre Francisco de Xavier* [1600], 4 vols. (Lisboa: Alfa, 1989) IV, 83-137. Lucena: *27.xii.1549 Trancoso; SJ 14.iii.1565 Coimbra; †2.x.1600 Lisboa (*DHCJ*, III, 2435).

³⁰ Luis de Guzmán, SJ, *Historia de las misiones que han hecho los religiosos de la Compañía de Jesús, para predicar el Sancto Evangelio en la India Oriental, y en los Reynos de la China y Japon*, 2 vols. (Alcalá: Viuda de Juan Gracian, 1601) I, 60-63, 67-68, y especialmente 193-212. Guzmán: *1544 Osorno; SJ

Sebastião Gonçalves,³³ Juan Eusebio Nieremberg,³⁴ Daniello Bartoli³⁵ —parcialmente reeditada en el siglo XIX—³⁶; Francisco García,³⁷ Francisco de Sousa;³⁸ así como en otras que tratan de la Compañía en Portugal, especialmente Baltasar Teles³⁹ y António Franco,⁴⁰ quien sigue a Nieremberg, pero introduciendo textos de Barzeo. Inspirada en Trigault y en Bartoli, Willem van Nieuwenhoff escribió su *Gaspar Berse*.⁴¹ Contamos, asimismo, con alguna

3.v.1563 Alcalá de Henares; †10.i.1605 Madrid (DHCJ, II, 1859).

³¹ Antonio de San Román, OSB, *Historia general de la India Oriental* (Valladolid: Luis Sánchez, 1603) pp. 666-77, 711-13, 727-28.

³² Petrus Iarricus, SJ, *Thesaurus rerum indicarum*, 3 vols. (Colonia: P. Henningy, 1615) II, 433-92. Pierre du Jaric (o Dujaric): *1566 Tolouse; SJ 8.xii.1582; †2.iii.1617 Saintes (*Sommervogel*, IV, 750-52).

³³ Sebastião Gonçalves, SJ, *Primeira parte da Historia dos Religiosos da Companhia de Jesus* [c.1614], 9 vols. (Coimbra: Atlântida, 1957-1962) II, 56-107. Sebastião Gonçalves: *c.1556 Ponte do Lima; SJ 31.i.1574 Évora; †23.iii.1619 Goa (DHCJ, II, 1778-779).

³⁴ Juan E. Nieremberg, SJ, "Vida del admirable predicador de Jesucristo, Padre Gaspar Barceo," en *Ideas de virtud en algunos claros varones de la Compañía de Jesús - I* (Madrid: María de Quiñones, 1643) pp. 44-83. Puede verse también la reedición, con el título de *Varones ilustres de la C. de J.*, 9 vols. (Bilbao: Mensajero del Corazón de Jesús, 1889) II, 136-86. Juan E. Nieremberg: *9.ix.1595 Madrid; SJ 31.iii.1614 Salamanca; †2.iv.1658 Madrid (DHCJ, III, 2819-820).

³⁵ Daniello Bartoli, SJ, *Dell'Historia della Compagnia di Giesu L'Asia. Parte prima [L'India]* (Roma: Ignatio de' Lazzeri, 1653) pp. 445-533. Daniello Bartoli: *12.ii.1608 Ferrara; SJ 10.xii.1623 Novellara; †13.i.1685 Roma (DHCJ, I, 360-61).

³⁶ *Vita del P. Gasparo Barzeo [...]* [cavata della Prima Parte dell'Asia del Padre Daniello Bartoli (Bologna: Herede del Benacci, s.d). Cf. Josef Wicki, "P. Gaspar Berze S.I. (1515-1553) nach der Darstellung des P. D. Bartoli S.I.," *Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft* 44 (1988) 218-32.

³⁷ Francisco García, SJ, *Vida y milagros de San Francisco Javier* [1685] (Madrid: Apostolado de la Prensa, 1922) pp. 190-202, 334-44. Francisco García: *10.iii.1641 Madrid; SJ 9.iv.1658 Madrid; †9.viii.1685 Madrid (DHCJ, II, 1572-573).

³⁸ Francisco de Sousa, SJ, *Oriente conquistado a Jesus Cristo* [1710], ed. M. Lopes de Almeida (Porto: Lello & Irmão, 1978) pp. 653-701. Francisco de Sousa: *1649 Isla de Itaparica; SJ 17.i.1665 Lisboa; †17.vi.1712 Goa (DHCJ, IV, 3616).

³⁹ Baltasar Teles, SJ, *Chronica da Companhia de Jesus, na Provincia de Portugal*, 2 vols. (Lisboa: Paulo Craesbeeck, 1645), I, 393-397. Baltasar Teles: *11.i.1596 Lisboa; 24.iii.1610 Coimbra; †20.iv.1675 Lisboa (DHCJ, IV, 3718).

⁴⁰ Franco, *Imagem da virtude em o noviçado [...]* de Coimbra, I, 327-358. António Franco: *2.ii.1662 Montalvão; SJ 26.vii.1677 Évora; †3.iii.1732 Évora (DHCJ, II, 1518).

⁴¹ *Gaspar Berse of de Nederlandsche Franciscus Xaverius. Eene bijdrage tot de geschiedenis der Sociëit van Jezus in Indië van 1546-1553* (Rotterdam: G.W. van Belle, 1870). Willem van Nieuwenhoff: *25.vi.1843 La Haya; SJ 26.ix.1862 Ravenstein; †8.x.1907 La Haya (DHCJ, III, 2820-821).

bibliografía moderna, constituida generalmente por referencias breves,⁴² salvo dos opúsculos publicados en 1929⁴³ y las generosas páginas que le dedica Georg Schurhammer en su monumental obra.⁴⁴

De Holanda a Portugal através de media Europa

La biografía de Gaspar Barzeo parece una leyenda fantástica: tantas cosas diferentes pudo hacer en tan solo treinta y ocho años de vida este “flamenco de nação.”⁴⁵ Pasemos, pues, a referir con algún pormenor los avatares de su azaroso itinerario vital. Nació en 1515 en la villa de Goes, dentro de la isla de Zuid-Beveland junto a la desembocadura del río Scheldt (actual provincia de Zeeland de los Países Bajos); territorio que durante algún tiempo estaría integrado en la Corona hispánica. La familia de Gaspar era de clase media; sabemos que sus padres se llamaban Frans y Johanna Agnes, gente honrada, “en los cuales sólo hubo la nobleza que les dio un hijo tal,” como destaca António Franco.⁴⁶ Precisamente a la madre de Gaspar, ya viuda, le escribirá Ignacio de Loyola muchos años después, con fecha de 4 de octubre de 1554.⁴⁷

⁴² Edmond Lamalle, SJ, “Barzée (Gaspar),” en *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques*, 28 vols. (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1912-) VI, cols. 1059-061; Josef Wicki, SJ., “P. Gaspar Franciscus Barzaeus (Berze),” en “Introductio generalis ad ‘Documenta Indica Societatis Iesu,’” MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, I, 49*-51*; Georg Schurhammer, SJ, “Berse (Barzaeus), Caspar,” en *Lexicon für Theologie und Kirche*, 10 vols. (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder & Co., 1958) II, 262-63; Willem Audenaert, SJ, *Prosographica Iesuitica Belgica Antiqua*, 4 vols. (Leuven/Heverlee: Filosofisch en Theologisch College, 2000) I, 76-77; así como el más antiguo de Carl Platzweg, SJ, *Lebensbilder deutscher Jesuiten* (Paderborn, 1882) pp. 9-41. Además, encontramos breves informaciones en diferentes enciclopedias y diccionarios: *Enciclopedia Cattolica*, 12 vols. (Città del Vaticano: Sansoni, 1949) II, 1463; *Enciclopédia Verbo*, 23 vols. (Lisboa: Verbo, 1965) III, 753; *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 17 vols. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967) II, 356-357; Gerald H. Anderson (Dir.), *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions* (New York: Macmillan, 1997) pp. 46-47; Josef Wicki, SJ, “Berze (Barzeu, Barzaeus), Gaspar (Jasper), DHCJ, I, 427; Paul Begheyn, SJ, *Gids voor de geschiedenis van de jezuiten in Nederland, 1540-1850* (Amsterdam / Roma, Uitgeverij Valkhof Pers / IHSI, 2006) pp. 123-24.

⁴³ Nico Perquin, SJ, *Gaspar Berse, de eerste Nederlandsche jezuitenmissionaris* (Mariëmburg: ‘s-Hertogenbosch, 1929); L. van der Meer, *Gaspar Berse* (Leuven: Xaveriana, 1929).

⁴⁴ Georg Schurhammer, en *Francisco Javier. Su vida y su tiempo*, 4 vols. (Bilbao: Mensajero, 1992), especialmente III, 368-74 y IV, 484-519. Georg Schurhammer: *25.ix.1882 Glotttertal; SJ 30.ix.1903 Feldkirch; †2.xi.1971 Roma (DHCJ, IV, 3535-536).

⁴⁵ Así se llama él mismo: MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, II, 595. Debemos notar que, aunque actualmente el término *flamenco* tiene un significado preciso como natural de la región belga de Flandes, en el siglo XVI esta palabra tenía una acepción más amplia.

⁴⁶ Franco, *Imagem de Coimbra*, II, 327.

⁴⁷ MHSI, *Epp. Ign.*, VII, 615-16; Barzeo ya había muerto, pero la noticia aún no había llegado a Europa. Cf. Hugo Rahner, SJ, “La veuve Jeanne Agnès Berze,” en *Ignace de Loyola et les femmes de son temps*, 2 vols. (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1964) II, 207-10.

A los veinte años Gaspar se inscribió como estudiante en el Colegio “Castrum” de la Universidad de Lovaina, donde consiguió el grado de *Magister Artium*. Poco después, hacia 1536, se alistó en Colonia en el ejército del emperador Carlos V, avanzando por los Alpes hacia Italia y después hacia Francia, contra Francisco I. Se trata precisamente de la guerra que adelantó el viaje de los primeros jesuitas, desde París a Venecia, en noviembre de 1536.⁴⁸ En esta ocasión, la suerte no acompañó al Emperador, que se vio obligado a ordenar la retirada.⁴⁹ En la última etapa de esta guerra, llamada campaña de Provenza, participó también el futuro jesuita Francisco de Borja,⁵⁰ entonces marqués de Llombay, y en ella perdería la vida un célebre amigo de éste, el poeta Garcilaso de la Vega.⁵¹

Poco más tarde, hacia finales de 1536 o comienzos de 1537, el Maestro Barzeo cambió la armadura por el hábito de ermitaño en el monasterio benedictino de Montserrat (en Cataluña), adonde curiosamente—unos quince años antes—también había peregrinado Íñigo de Loyola después de dejar las armas, tras su conversión. Pero tampoco allí aguantó mucho tiempo el inquieto holandés,⁵² sediento de acción y buscando su vocación definitiva.

Desgraciadamente no tenemos muchos datos de esta apasionante etapa de su vida, más allá del resumen que el propio Barzeo hace en carta de 16 de diciembre de 1551, dirigida a san Ignacio,⁵³ quien, tiempo atrás, también había luchado por Carlos V y recorrido media Europa:

A mí me llaman Gaspar, natural de Zelanda, una isla que está en Flandes, junto a Holanda, en la ciudad de Goes [...]. Estudié en Lovaina, como colegial del colegio de Castro, y hará unos dieciséis o diecisiete años que me gradué como maestro en artes. De ahí a pocos días me junté en Colonia con los soldados que iban en ayuda del Emperador contra Francia. Una vez llegado a Italia, después de atravesar trabajosamente los Alpes desde Alemania,

⁴⁸ MHSI, *Fontes narr.*, III, 32-41.

⁴⁹ Cf. Manuel de Foronda y Aguilera, *Estancias y viajes del Emperador Carlos V* (Madrid: Suc. de Ribadeneyra, 1914) pp. 424-31; Manuel Fernández Álvarez, *Carlos V, el César y el hombre* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1999) p. 533-43.

⁵⁰ *28.x.1510 Gandía (Valencia, España); SJ 2.vi.1546 Gandía; elegido Padre General 2.vii.1565; †30.ix.1572 Roma (*DHCJ*, II, 1605-611).

⁵¹ Cf. Cándido de Dalmases, *El Padre Francisco de Borja* (Madrid: BAC, 1983) pp. 18-20; M^a Carmen Vaquero Serrano, *Garcilaso, poeta del amor, caballero de la guerra* (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 2002) pp. 289-304.

⁵² El breve tiempo de su permanencia explica que Barzeo no aparezca en ninguno de los dos catálogos manuscritos del monasterio: Montserrat, Archivo del Monasterio, *Catálogo General y Catálogo de los padres ermitaños y de los hermanos legos del Monasterio de N. Sra. de Montserrat*.

⁵³ MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, II, 245-67; se conserva el original portugués con fragmentos autógrafos.

desengañado me despedí de la milicia, pareciéndome mejores los trabajos de la religión que el descanso mundano [...]. Me vine a Portugal, descontento de la vida eremítica de Nuestra Señora de Montserrat.⁵⁴

Posteriormente, el neerlandés marchó a Portugal⁵⁵ y, en Lisboa, entró al servicio del Tesorero Real, Sebastião de Moraes, que estaba casado con una mujer holandesa, hija de Jácome de Holanda.⁵⁶ Tal vez Gaspar entraría en contacto con la cofradía flamenca, que tenía su sede en el convento de S. Domingos de Lisboa de la Orden de Frailes Predicadores.⁵⁷

Durante este tiempo, en los aledaños de la Corte lisboeta, Gaspar conoció y trató frecuentemente con los jesuitas.⁵⁸ Años después, desde la India, recordará con agradecimiento a Simão Rodrigues,⁵⁹ a Juan de Aragón⁶⁰ y a Manuel de Moraes “senior”—que marcharía a la India en 1551—⁶¹: “¡Oh, cuanto debe este pecador Gaspar al padre Maestro Simão por recogerme, a micer Juan por convertirme y a Moraes por meterme en ella casi a la fuerza!”⁶²

⁵⁴ MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, II, 247. Puede verse otra versión semejante en otra carta a san Ignacio: MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, II, 595.

⁵⁵ Curiosamente, una de las principales descripciones de la sociedad portuguesa de aquel tiempo se debe al humanista flamenco Nicolau Clenardo (*c.1493-1542), especialmente en sus *Epistolarum Libri Duo* (Antuerpiae, ex officina Plantini, 1566). Cf. Manuel Gonçalves Cerejeira, *Clenardo e a sociedade portuguesa do seu tempo* (3ª ed., Coimbra: Coimbra Editora, 1949).

⁵⁶ Estos datos faltan en el libro impreso de Trigault, pero se encuentran en el manuscrito conservado en Bruselas, Bibliothèque Royal, Ms. 5166-5167, f. 3º. Jácome de Holanda sería uno de los muchos flamencos que desde mediados del siglo XV se establecieron en Portugal, casándose con mujeres lusas y adquiriendo propiedades: sobre todo en Lisboa, pero también en Madeira, Azores y después en Brasil. Cf. Eddy Stols, “Os mercadores flamengos em Portugal e no Brasil antes das conquistas holandesas,” *Anais de História* 5 (1973), 9-54.

⁵⁷ Cf. Cristóvão Rodrigues de Oliveira, *Summario em que brevemente se contem algumas cousas (assi ecclesiasticas como seculares) que ha na cidade de Lisboa* [1554] (Lisboa: Biblion, 1938). Los flamencos en Lisboa se dedicaban a oficios muy variados: artilleros, fundidores, relojeros, plateros, artistas, etc.

⁵⁸ Gonçalves, *Primeira parte*, II, 56-57.

⁵⁹ *c.1510 Vouzela; cofundador de la Compañía de Jesús; †15.vii.1579 Lisboa (DHCJ, IV, 3390-392).

⁶⁰ El español Mosén Juan de Aragón, siendo capellán, había sido ganado para la Compañía por Pedro Fabro, en Ocaña (Toledo, España) en marzo de 1542 (MHSI, *Faber*, 141-53; MHSI, *Epp. Mixtae*, I, 122). Posteriormente marchó a Portugal, viviendo en el colegio de Lisboa (MHSI, *Epp. Mixtae*, I, 163, 200). Murió en Lisboa en 1553 (Franco, *Imagem de Coimbra*, II, 572).

⁶¹ *c.1512 Bragança; SJ 29.iv.1545 Coimbra; †1553 Goa (Gonçalves, *Primeira parte*, II, 49, n. 5).

⁶² MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, I, 665; cf. MHSI, *Chronicon*, I, 192-193.

Entra en la Compañía y marcha a la India

De este modo, el 20 de abril de 1546, a los treinta y un años, el Maestro Gaspar ingresó en el noviciado de la Compañía de Jesús, en Coimbra: “cautivado del amor de la Compañía, con mucha benevolencia fui recibido en Coimbra.”⁶³ Preguntado por su superior, qué inclinación sentía en sí para los empleos y grados que hay en la Compañía, después de haber hecho oración sobre ello, respondió por escrito de esta forma, según nos lo transmite António Franco, a partir del texto que, al parecer, obraba en el archivo del colegio coimbrano:

Yo no he venido a la religión a ser servido, sino a servir; ni he venido a buscarme a mí mismo, sino a Jesucristo crucificado, para seguirlo en perpetua pobreza, castidad y obediencia, como le he prometido. Por lo cual, digo, prometo, estoy dispuesto y me entrego en manos de vuestra reverencia como coadjutor perpetuo de los profesos de la Compañía de Jesús, como cocinero, barredor, comprador, mozo recadero [...]. Al mismo tiempo me entrego en manos de vuestra reverencia en nombre de Jesucristo, para servir en cualquier oficio bajo [...] a leprosos, a enfermos de peste y de cualquier otra enfermedad, por contagiosa que sea; a servir siempre en hospitales y a andar peregrinando por tierras lejanas, en la India, en el Preste o en Guinea, con vestidos pobres y rotos, con hambre y sed, con fríos y calmas, con lluvia y nieve, y con cualquier penuria temporal.⁶⁴

Según la tradición de sus biógrafos, al comenzar su noviciado era tenido por hombre rudo: “Una vez, estando los religiosos diciendo sus faltas delante del padre provincial Simão Rodrigues, el padre Barceo se puso de rodillas, diciendo que tenía una tentación muy inoportuna, con la que el demonio le incitaba a que desease ser predicador. Causó esto risa en todos los presentes, por ser tenido por tosco y además pronunciar muy mal el portugués.”⁶⁵ Sin embargo, lo cierto es que pocos días después de su admisión en la Compañía escribía Juan de San Miguel⁶⁶ sobre el nuevo novicio: “Movidos por las predicaciones y confesiones, entraron en casa por esta Cuaresma [...] Gaspar Francisco, flamenco, maestro

⁶³ MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, II, 247.

⁶⁴ Franco, *Imagem de Coimbra*, II, 328; Trigault, *Vita*, pp. 8-9.

⁶⁵ Franco, *Imagem de Coimbra*, II, 329.

⁶⁶ *Betanzos (La Coruña, España); SJ 8.xi.1542 Coimbra; †4.xii.1552 Lisboa (Francisco Rodrigues, SJ), *História da Companhia de Jesus na Assistência de Portugal. I. A Fundação da Província Portuguesa, 1540-1560*, 7 vols. [Porto: Apostolado da Imprensa, 1931] I, 313).

en artes.”⁶⁷ Por otra parte, los libros que llevó al noviciado de Coimbra demuestran que después de dejar la Universidad de Lovaina, no había interrumpido totalmente los estudios, y que había empleado el tiempo libre que le dejaba su trabajo en Lisboa para proseguirlos.⁶⁸ Lo que sí es cierto es que, como cualquier novicio, trabajó al principio en oficios humildes, según él mismo recuerda: “acabados los Ejercicios, durante algunos meses fui oficial de la casa, es decir, ropero y criado del criado del enfermero.”⁶⁹

Al parecer, fue Simão Rodrigues quien descubrió las grandes cualidades del novicio e incluso su especial aptitud para predicar, a pesar de su escaso conocimiento y deficiente pronunciación de la lengua lusa. Tengamos en cuenta que sería hacia 1545, con casi treinta años, cuando Barzeo comenzaría a aprender portugués.⁷⁰ Posteriormente el holandés pudo perfeccionar su conocimiento de este idioma, pues ya no saldría de los territorios dependientes de Portugal. Por ello, cuando aconseje que el provincial debería ser extranjero, repitiendo palabras de Javier,⁷¹ dirá: “Aunque no sepa la lengua portuguesa, en el camino la aprenderá.”⁷² De cualquier forma, Barzeo consiguió una plena competencia en la lengua portuguesa, paralela a su identificación con todo lo portugués.⁷³ Sobre su dominio de la lengua de Camões, señala Nieremberg lo siguiente:

[En Goa] llegó a predicar cada día, a la nobleza en palacio, a los esclavos en las calles y en las plazas, a los pobres en las cárceles, al pueblo en varias iglesias, con una tan nueva y cristiana elocuencia, y tanto movimiento de lágrimas y mudanzas de vidas, que a los nuestros que le conocieron en Portugal, ponía espanto, a los portugueses abrasaba, convencía a los infieles, a todos edificaba y mejoraba. Parecía que se le infundió el don de la lengua

⁶⁷ Juan de San Miguel a Antonio Araoz, Coimbra abril 1546, MHSI, *Epp. Mixtae*, I, 267. Otros nombres citados como novicios recién ingresados son: “Xpoual. de Barros, otro Melchior Gonzalez, otro Alonso Bras, otro Diego Perez, otro Francisco Anriquez, otro Xpoual. de Crasto, otro Marcos Nuñez, otro de Seuilla, que se dize Francisco de la Barrera [...], Miguel Gomez [...], Jorge de Saa [...], Manoel Roiz [...], Diego Vieira.”

⁶⁸ Cf. Trigault, *Vita*, 5.

⁶⁹ Barzeo a Ignacio de Loyola, Ormuz-Goa 16 diciembre 1551, MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, II, 247.

⁷⁰ Una más de las diversas lenguas que—en mayor o menor medida—tendría que aprender a lo largo de su vida, aproximadamente por este orden: neerlandés, latín, francés, castellano, portugués, y probablemente algo de griego y hebreo.

⁷¹ Cf. MHSI, *Xavier*, II, 374.

⁷² MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, II, 243; la misma idea en *ibid.*, 266.

⁷³ Así escribirá expresiones del tipo de “os nosos portugueses” (MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, II, 600), etc.

portuguesa, porque, no sabiéndola antes hablar, salió tan práctico con ella, como si le fuera natural, sin tener ni aun el tono de extranjero.⁷⁴

En todo caso, viendo su buena formación, Simão Rodrigues le hizo ordenar sacerdote en diciembre de 1546—con sólo 8 meses de Compañía—. Así, el Maestro Gaspar, pudo celebrar sus tres primeras misas el día de Navidad.⁷⁵

Tras estudiar un año de Teología en Coimbra, fue enviado con el P. Jorge Moreira, a principios de enero de 1548, para dar una misión popular⁷⁶ en dos poblaciones al sur de esta ciudad universitaria—Figueiró dos Vinhos y Pedrógão Grande—, donde obtuvo un gran éxito.⁷⁷ En esta misión se encontraba el P. Gaspar cuando, a través de Luís Gonçalves da Câmara,⁷⁸ recibió la noticia de que el provincial Simão Rodrigues lo había destinado a la India y que, por tanto, debía dirigirse a Lisboa para embarcar. Lleno de alegría, subió al púlpito, predicando con especial fervor, y después estuvo confesando durante muchas horas.⁷⁹ Gaspar se despidió de Pedrógão el día 18 de febrero, quedando en su lugar Gonçalves da Câmara.

Gaspar, en aquel momento hombre de treinta y tres años, embarcó en la nao “S. Pedro,” junto con otros cuatro jesuitas—los portugueses Melchior Gonçalves,⁸⁰ Baltasar Gago⁸¹ y Gil Barreto,⁸² y el español Juan Fernández⁸³—y zarpó de Lisboa el 28 de marzo de 1548. En la nao “S. Pedro” navegaban

⁷⁴ Nieremberg, *Varones ilustres*, p. 140.

⁷⁵ MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, II, 247; Trigault, *Vita*, p. 13.

⁷⁶ Cf. “Misiones populares” (*DHCJ*, III, 2691-696). Específicamente para Portugal, véanse: Rodrigues, *História da Companhia de Jesus na Assistência de Portugal*, I/1, 638-76; Federico Palomo, *Fazer dos campos escolas excelentes. Os jesuítas de Évora e as missões do interior em Portugal (1551-1630)* (Lisboa: FCG-FCT, 2003).

⁷⁷ Rodrigo de Meneses a Martín de Santacruz, Coimbra 1548, MHSI, *Epp. Mixtae*, I, 523-25.

⁷⁸ *c.1519 Madeira o Abrantes; SJ 27.iv.1545 Coimbra; †15.iii. 1575 Lisboa (*DHCJ*, I, 608-09).

⁷⁹ Cf. Trigault, *Vita*, pp. 14-17: “E pulpito ad sedem huic muneri deputatam [confesonario] pergīt [...] diem reliquum totum cum tota nocte insequenti ad decimam usque diei sequentis horam, continuo confitentium concursu, continuat, cibi omnino ac somni immemor. Totis enim illis 18 aut 20 fere horis nec semel assurgens.”

⁸⁰ * ??; SJ 25.iv.1546 Coimbra; despedido de la Compañía por Javier en 1552 (Gonçalves, *Primeira parte*, I, 288, n. 1).

⁸¹ *c.1518 Lisboa; SJ 1546 Lisboa; †9.i.1583 Goa (*DHCJ*, II, 1549-550).

⁸² *c.1530 Almeida; SJ 1548; en 1567 fue despedido de la Compañía en Portugal (Gonçalves, *Primeira parte*, I, 288, n. 3).

⁸³ *1526 Córdoba; SJ 19.v.1547 Coimbra; †26.vi.1567 Hirado (*DHCJ*, II, 1400-401).

además unas cuatrocientas personas. En otra nao llamada “Galega” embarcaron otros cinco jesuitas: António Gomes—enviado desde Portugal como rector del colegio de Goa—,⁸⁴ Paulo do Vale,⁸⁵ Francisco Gonçalves,⁸⁶ Manuel Vaz⁸⁷ y Luís Fróis.⁸⁸ Además, en la nao “Santo Espírito” iban nueve dominicos, cuyo superior era el castellano fray Diego Bermúdez.⁸⁹

Tres meses después escribe desde Goa su primera carta conservada, dirigida a los jesuitas de Coimbra (13 de diciembre de 1548), en la cual narra gráficamente y detalladamente su viaje desde Lisboa.⁹⁰ En especial, habían sufrido una tempestad terrible al dar la vuelta al Cabo de Buena Esperanza. Al atracar en Mozambique Barzeo se instaló en el hospital, atendiendo a más de un centenar de enfermos, preparándoles pequeñas refecciones, confesándolos y animándolos en aquellos duros momentos.⁹¹ Es interesante el dato de que, en el barco durante el viaje, Gaspar no sólo predicaba con frecuencia, sino que dio los Ejercicios de primera semana al capitán de la nave, João de Mendonça.⁹²

Finalmente llegaron a Goa el 4 de septiembre.⁹³ El encuentro con Javier fue un momento inolvidable: “no se puede decir la alegría que allí sentimos en nuestros espíritus, ni comprender la caridad que vi en el padre Maestro Francisco, y cómo glorificaba a Dios.”⁹⁴ El Maestro Francisco le pidió que predicara el 8 de septiembre en la fiesta de la Natividad de María, ante un numeroso auditorio congregado en la iglesia del colegio. Ahora bien, cuando el

⁸⁴ *c.1520 isla de Madeira; SJ 22.v.1544 Coimbra; †23.iv.1554 en el mar, cerca de Mozambique (DHCJ, II, 1770-1771).

⁸⁵ *Viseu; SJ 6.xi.1547 Coimbra; †4.iii.1552 India (Gonçalves, *Primeira parte*, I, 288, n. 4).

⁸⁶ *?; SJ 11.x.1546 Coimbra; despedido de la Compañía por Javier (Gonçalves, *Primeira parte*, I, 288, n. 2).

⁸⁷ *?; SJ 30.v.1545, Coimbra; no perseveró en la Compañía (Gonçalves, *Primeira parte*, I, 288, n. 5).

⁸⁸ *1532 Lisboa; SJ ii.1548 Lisboa; †8.vii.1597 Nagasaki (DHCJ, II, 1535-536).

⁸⁹ Sobre las relaciones de estos dominicos con los jesuitas—generalmente cordiales—, puede verse nuestro trabajo “Dominicos peninsulares amigos de los Jesuitas: gestos y textos (1540-1580). II. En Aragón, Andalucía y en el Oriente portugués,” *Archivo Dominicano* 27 (2006) 128-137.

⁹⁰ MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, I, 380-406; se conserva a través de una traducción castellana con bastantes lusismos.

⁹¹ MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, I, 392.

⁹² MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, I, 385-86.

⁹³ Un mes después, concretamente el 9 de octubre, llegó a Goa la nao “Galega,” con los otros jesuitas.

⁹⁴ MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, I, 393.

navarro le oyó predicar, no quedó muy contento del volumen de su voz, de modo que “dejó ordenado que de noche en la iglesia ejercitase la voz por hacerla más alta.”⁹⁵

Durante medio año trabajó primero en Goa, donde comenzó a predicar con gran fruto: en la iglesia, en los calabozos, en el hospital y también en las calles y plazas. De este modo consiguió numerosas conversiones, y en particular la del brahmán principal de Goa, llamado Loku, después bautizado con el nombre de Lucas de Sá—el 21 de octubre de 1548—. ⁹⁶ Al mismo tiempo daba algunas clases en el colegio de S. Paulo: “En casa leía una lección de gramática y otra de los proverbios, y comencé a leer las artes.”⁹⁷

Poco después Gaspar fue enviado por António Gomes a Chale—en la costa malabar, al sur de la India—, donde debía preparar un colegio, que finalmente no se llevó a cabo. En Cochim se encontró con Javier y ambos regresaron juntos a Goa, a mediados de marzo de 1549.⁹⁸ En aquellos días el misionero navarro estaba preparando su viaje a Japón, pero antes debía dejar ordenadas las cosas de la India. La idea inicial de Javier era que Barzeo se quedara en la India, como rector del colegio de Goa, enviando a António Gomes a Ormuz.⁹⁹ Sin embargo, la humildad de Barzeo y la oposición de los amigos de Gomes—especialmente Cosme Anes, “vedor da fazenda”—hicieron que se intercambiaran los destinos de ambos jesuitas.¹⁰⁰

Barzeo en Ormuz

Sin duda, la misión por antonomasia del P. Barzeo fue la de Ormuz,¹⁰¹ adonde fue enviado por Javier, con una larga instrucción fechada en abril de 1549.¹⁰² Por su parte, D. Fr. Juan de Alburquerque, obispo de Goa, le entregó

⁹⁵ MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, I, 393.

⁹⁶ MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, I, 399-401; Gaspar Correia, *Lendas da Índia* [1561], 4 vols. (Lisboa: Academia das Ciencias, 1864) IV, 436-37.

⁹⁷ MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, I, 394. Los “proverbios” deben referirse a los *Disticha* de Catón (234-149 a.C.), probablemente tomados a partir de *Catonis Maioris Libri minores de novo correcti per Antonium Nebrissensem*, con varias ediciones realizadas en Alcalá de Henares: 1525, 1528, 1529, etc.

⁹⁸ MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, I, 598 y 642-43.

⁹⁹ MHSI, *Xavier*, II, 36.

¹⁰⁰ MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, II, 10; cf. MHSI, *Xavier*, II, 69, 72. Tal vez, al menos en relación con la humildad, podríamos decir que Barzeo es el contrapunto de Gomes.

¹⁰¹ Cf. Wilhelm Hünemann, “Der Prediger von Hormuz (G. Berze),” en *Geschichte der Weltmission* (Luzern/München: Rex-Verlag, 1960) pp. 7-12.

¹⁰² MHSI, *Xavier*, II, 80-101.

las facultades que tenía para absolver a los penitentes, incluso los casos reservados en la bula *In Coena Domini*.¹⁰³ Durante casi dos años y medio, de junio de 1549 hasta septiembre de 1551, su campo de acción apostólica fue Ormuz, importante ciudad comercial—hoy desaparecida—que estaba situada a la entrada del Golfo Pérsico, en la isla de Gerun, junto a Persia y actualmente territorio de Irán; posiblemente la más ardua empresa que, en aquel momento, había en las Indias orientales.¹⁰⁴

A causa de los vientos contrarios, la travesía duró dos meses, en lugar de las dos semanas habituales. Desde el primer momento, el misionero jesuita se alojó en el hospital, juntamente con su compañero Reimão Pereira¹⁰⁵—el cual le acompañaría sólo unos meses, al no soportar el calor—. Bien recibido desde el primer momento, a todos acogía Gaspar con los brazos abiertos: armenios, georgianos, abisinios, húngaros, rusos, polacos, genízaros, genoveses, italianos, griegos, turcos, etc. El ejemplo de su vida pobre, austera y abnegada, junto con su elocuencia, habían sacudido la modorra de aquella ciudad, que parecía sumida en un sueño de “las mil y una noches.” Por otra parte, el P. Francisco le había prohibido expresamente que saliera de Ormuz,¹⁰⁶ pues se temía que el celo apostólico y las ansias del martirio le llevaran a adentrarse en Persia o Turquía.

Javier le había encargado que enviara relaciones regulares y detalladas sobre sus actividades. Tres meses después de llegar a Ormuz, el Maestro Gaspar enviaba a Goa sus primeras noticias, a partir de su experiencia inicial. Esta carta se ha perdido, pero se conserva un extracto realizado por Baltasar Gago.¹⁰⁷ No mucho después, a comienzos de diciembre de 1549, Barzeo dirigía una extensa epístola a los jesuitas de la India y de Europa, que fue enviada por dos vías diferentes—cosa bastante común entonces por los peligros de la navegación—, conservándose ambos textos, con fechas de 1 y 10 de diciembre respectivamente.¹⁰⁸ En ella el misionero narra su agotadora actividad apostólica entre cristianos, judíos, musulmanes y paganos:

¹⁰³ MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, I, 604, 654; y MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, II, 31-33.

¹⁰⁴ Véase la descripción realizada por el propio Barzeo: MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, I, 644-50. Esta ciudad había sido conquistada por Afonso de Albuquerque entre 1507 y 1515, y permaneció bajo soberanía portuguesa hasta 1622. Cf. Jean Aubin, “Le royaume d’Ormuz au début du XVI^e s.,” *Mare Luso-Indicum* 2 (1973), 77-179; *DHCJ*, III, 2924-925.

¹⁰⁵ *?; SJ 1548 Goa; †.1554 Goa (Gonçalves, *Primeira parte*, I, 296, n. 3).

¹⁰⁶ MHSI, *Xavier*, II, 98.

¹⁰⁷ MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, I, 500-507.

¹⁰⁸ Una copia portuguesa contemporánea, editada por Wicki como doc. 87 A (MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, I, 595-638); y un autógrafo portugués de Barzeo corregido después por otra mano, editado como doc. 87 B (MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, I, 639-98).

Los trabajos que tenía eran tantos que no sabía ni por dónde empezar: confesiones, presos, demandas, amancebados, consejos, agravios, predicaciones [...]. Y el remedio que me dio [Cristo] para no perder yo lo que Él había ganado con la cruz, era apretarme tanto en los trabajos que no me daba lugar para que los sentidos se ocuparan en otra cosa que en lo que hacía.¹⁰⁹

Sobre todo Barzeo se dedicó a combatir cuatro pecados particularmente asentados en aquella sociedad cosmopolita y comercial: la usura, la lujuria, el tráfico de armas con infieles y los odios arraigados.¹¹⁰ Por lo demás, esta misiva está entreverada de consideraciones de carácter espiritual—con frecuencia de neto sabor javeriano—, para animar posibles vocaciones misioneras de *indipetae*. “¡Dejad Europa—muchos frailes tiene—y venid a la India, donde os esperamos tan solitarios!”¹¹¹

El hecho es que, en poco tiempo, consiguió operar una verdadera transformación religiosa en aquella ciudad-mercado. Entre las muchas conversiones obtenidas, una de las más sonadas fue la de un yogui, superior de los yoguis que vivían en las afueras de la ciudad, que fue bautizado como Paulo de Santa Fe de Ormuz: un hombre inteligente, riguroso ayunador, que vivía en castidad y pobreza y predicaba sobre la muerte.¹¹² Particular importancia revistió también la conversión del capitán portugués, D. Manuel de Lima.¹¹³

En la polícroma mezcla de pueblos de la rica ciudad comercial de Ormuz destacaban los judíos. La mayoría procedía del cautiverio babilónico, pero otros provenían de las recientes expulsiones de España y Portugal. Será precisamente con los judíos, con quienes Barzeo trabará más relación, origen de las famosas disputas sobre la Santísima Trinidad y sobre el Mesías. Otra carta, fechada también el 10 de diciembre de 1549, presenta el texto de la disputa que Barzeo tuvo con los judíos de Ormuz, para probar la Trinidad.¹¹⁴ Este texto muestra la sabiduría filosófico-teológica de un misionero culto de las Indias a mediados del

¹⁰⁹ MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, I, 664.

¹¹⁰ MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, I, 658-63.

¹¹¹ MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, I, 665.

¹¹² Cf. MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, I, 621-25, 676, 685.

¹¹³ Cf. MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, I, 503, 627, 673-74, 693-94.

¹¹⁴ MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, I, 698-725. El texto—que se conserva en un original portugués escrito por otra mano, pero revisado por el propio Barzeo—fue editado por vez primera con un estudio introductorio de Georg Schurhammer, SJ, en “Die Trinitätspredigt Mag. Gaspars in der Synagoge von Ormuz 1549,” *AHSI* 2 (1933) 279-309. Puede verse también en Georg Schurhammer, SJ, *Gesammelte Studien*, 4 vols. (Roma: IHSI, 1963) II, 413-35.

siglo XVI, de modo similar a las disputas sostenidas con los bonzos budistas de Japón por Francisco Javier¹¹⁵ y por Cosme de Torres.¹¹⁶ El texto barzeano, salpicado de citas del Antiguo Testamento, de los comentaristas judíos del Talmud y la Misná, muestra la profunda formación bíblica del jesuita holandés.¹¹⁷ Hemos de reconocer, no obstante, alguna dosis de acritud; no sólo argumenta cosas como ésta: “No me podéis negar que no tenéis sacerdocio, ni menos cetra, ni templo, ni reino, ni vuestra ley, ni lengua hebrea, ni Escritura, sino los despojos de todo esto; porque lo mejor de vuestra ley mucho antes da encarnación de Cristo se acabó”;¹¹⁸ sino que a veces también pasa al ataque directo:

¡Oh, judíos, no penséis que no sé por qué hicisteis la ley de la Misná! Porque veáis toda la Escritura cumplida en el Mesías—Cristo, que había venido y al que vosotros matasteis—y el judaísmo acabado, con lo cual engañasteis a la gente común de vuestro pueblo. Bien veis aquí, honrados judíos, cuán ignorantes sois y ciegos contra toda verdad por vuestra pertinacia, por la cual sustentáis la ley, y no por la razón. Y cuán poca razón tengo para poner margaritas tan excelentes como es la sagrada Escritura delante de los cerdos, que no las conocen ni quieren entender y las pisan al momento. Si no fuera porque mi buen Jesús me obliga a ello, yo no lo haría.¹¹⁹

Otra disputa de Barzeo con los judíos de Ormuz, esta vez sobre el Mesías, que tuvo lugar en noviembre de 1550, se conserva extractada en la relación en latín que hizo su biógrafo, Nicolaus Trigault.¹²⁰ En cualquier caso estas disputas, que probablemente se hicieron sin apenas poder consultar ningún libro, son muy meritorias para el misionero neerlandés.

Rebosante de sabiduría espiritual—y nuevamente evocadora de textos javerianos—¹²¹ es la respuesta afirmativa de Barzeo a António Gonçalves, un hombre maduro que quería entrar en la Compañía de Jesús (1 de octubre de 1550): “Grandes son los contentamientos de nuestra Compañía, los cuales en

¹¹⁵ MHSI, *Xavier*, II, 189-90, 262-67. Cf. Jesús López-Gay, SJ, “San Francisco Javier, diálogo y discusiones con los bonzos budistas del Japón,” *Studia Missionalia* 54 (2005) 27-51.

¹¹⁶ Juan Fernández a Francisco Javier, Yamaguchi 20 octubre 1551, MHSI, *Mon. Iap.*, II, 238-61.

¹¹⁷ Sobre las fuentes utilizadas por Barzeo en esta disputa, véase Schurhammer, “Die Trinitätspredigt,” 286-88.

¹¹⁸ MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, I, 705.

¹¹⁹ MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, I, 715. Cf. Mt 7, 6.

¹²⁰ MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, II, 98-103. Otra versión la ofrece Lucena en el libro 10, capítulos 6-7 de su *Vida de Xavier*. IV, 107-16.

¹²¹ Véase, p. ej., MHSI, *Xavier*, I, 379-80.

las cruces y trabajos se esconden, porque si el mundo los viese y gozase, no podría más durar, ni los suyos vivir en él.”¹²²

Por su parte, de carácter filosófico-espiritual podemos considerar la carta consolatoria al embajador Henrique de Macedo (24 de octubre de 1550), con reflexiones de tipo aristotélico-tomista:

Sé que en todo hay acaso y fortuna; en esta máquina inferior no es de extrañar que sean inestables las obras de aquél que vive en continuo movimiento y que nunca permanece en el mismo estado. Sólo Dios es constante: Él, que sin mudanza habita la eternidad, hace que las causas defectivas produzcan su efecto necesario; en todo, con su providencia, dispone suavemente, sin forzar, para no deshacer el libre arbitrio que tenemos.¹²³

Hace varias décadas el investigador Roberto Gulbenkian descubrió una carta de Gaspar Barzeo dentro del manuscrito n° 2583 de la biblioteca del monasterio armenio de Santiago, en Jerusalén, hasta entonces dado por perdido.¹²⁴ Se trata de un manuscrito de los cuatro evangelios en lengua armenia, escrito en 1443 y que Barzeo envió desde Ormuz a Portugal en 1549. Sin duda se trata del envío al que hace referencia en su carta del 10 de diciembre de 1549: “Yo mandé un Nuevo Testamento, con toda la vida de Cristo dibujada en letra georgiana, que es una cristiandad que está en la parte de Persia.”¹²⁵ Gulbenkian explica que Barzeo se confundió al identificar la letra del manuscrito como georgiana, cuando en realidad se trata del idioma armenio.

La última carta conservada de las escritas por Barzeo desde Ormuz es la dirigida a los jesuitas de Coimbra, y en general a toda la Compañía de Jesús (24 de noviembre de 1550).¹²⁶ Sobre el éxito vocacional de su apostolado escribe: “Son tantos los que se quieren meter aquí en nuestra Compañía, que estoy pasmado del inmenso crédito que tiene en esta tierra, alabado sea Cristo Jesús.

¹²² MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, II, 64 [59-65]. La carta de António Gonçalves para Barzeo puede verse en *Doc. Ind.*, II, 54-57. No tenemos más datos acerca de él, por lo que suponemos que no llegó a entrar en la Compañía.

¹²³ MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, II, 66 [65-71]. La epístola termina con una cita de Quintus Curtius (*De rebus gestis Alexandri*), otra demostración de la prodigiosa memoria del P. Barzeo.

¹²⁴ Roberto Gulbenkian, “Uma carta de Mestre Gaspar Barzeo SJ num manuscrito arménio do século XV,” *Studia* 29 (1970) 45-55; nuevamente publicado en Roberto Gulbenkian, *Estudos Históricos*, 3 vols. (Lisboa: Academia Portuguesa da História, 1995) I, 1-13. Cf. Josef Wicki, SJ, en MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, I, 66, n. 18.

¹²⁵ MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, I, 698.

¹²⁶ MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, II, 71-95. Se conserva el original portugués con un fragmento autógrafo del P. Barzeo al final.

No he recibido más que a seis.»¹²⁷ Una de sus conquistas para la Compañía fue un capitán de la armada de Ormuz llamado André Fernandes:¹²⁸ admitido en septiembre de 1550, Barzeo lo envió poco después a Basora (actualmente en Irak) para acompañar a los soldados portugueses.¹²⁹

El 5 de noviembre de 1549, desde Kagoshima, el Maestro Francisco le escribió para destinarle a la misión de Japón,¹³⁰ junto con Baltasar Gago y Domingos Carvalho;¹³¹ en Ormuz le sustituiría el P. Gonçalo Rodrigues.¹³² Barzeo recibió este mensaje en el verano de 1551, más de año y medio después. Quiso navegar a Goa con la primera oportunidad, pero el pueblo no le quería dejar marchar. Finalmente, en el mes de septiembre, pudo embarcar en secreto y regresar a la India.

Gonçalo Rodrigues permanecería en el puesto dejado por Gaspar entre 1551 y 1553, siendo sustituido en Ormuz por António Herédia.¹³³ Finalmente, la Compañía de Jesús dejaría Ormuz en 1567. En el interior de Persia se instalarían jesuitas franceses ya a mediados del siglo XVII,¹³⁴ precedidos de agustinos, carmelitas descalzos y capuchinos.¹³⁵

Viceprovincial de la India

Tras casi dos meses de navegación, el jesuita neerlandés llegó a Goa en noviembre de 1551. Poco después, escribió varias misivas para Europa. La primera es la dirigida a Ignacio de Loyola (12 de diciembre de 1551).¹³⁶ El meollo del texto son algunas sugerencias para el buen gobierno de la Compañía en la India, como la siguiente:

No es necesario que los que vuestra reverencia mande para acá, sean todos

¹²⁷ MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, II, 84.

¹²⁸ *c. 1518 Campo Maior, Portalegre; SJ 1550 Ormuz; †22.iii.1598 Goa (*DHCJ*, II, 1395).

¹²⁹ MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, II, 259.

¹³⁰ MHSI, *Xavier*, II, 214-215.

¹³¹ * ??; SJ 1548 Goa; †3.iv.1552 Goa (MHSI, *Xavier*, II, 107, n. 5).

¹³² Gonçalo Rodrigues (Mestre Gonçalo): *c.1523 Calheiros; SJ 23.viii.1545 Coimbra; †1564 Goa (Gonçalves, *Primeira parte*, I, 386, n. 4).

¹³³ *c.1516 Bragança; SJ ix.1545 Coimbra; en 1561 regresó a Portugal, donde al año siguiente fue despedido de la Compañía (Gonçalves, *Primeira parte*, II, 50, n. 1).

¹³⁴ Cf. *DHCJ*, III, 2066.

¹³⁵ Cf. Ángel Santos Hernández, *Las misiones católicas: Historia de la Iglesia*, vol. XXIX (Valencia: EDICEP, 1978) pp. 316-17.

¹³⁶ MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, II, 241-44; se conserva el autógrafo portugués.

portugueses: tanto hacen los extranjeros como los naturales para aquí fructificar en la Iglesia de Dios; y aquellos que manden sean la mitad principiados en teología, o buenos gramáticos, o buenos artistas, para que aquí aprovechen a los que están recogidos en este colegio. Y los demás que sean como puedan, porque aquí no son necesarias muchas letras.¹³⁷

Más extensa es otra para el mismo Ignacio, acabada de escribir en Goa el 16 de diciembre de 1551—que ya hemos citado—, pero que había comenzado a redactar en Ormuz. Después de resumir su recorrido vital hasta su marcha a Oriente, se centra en el relato de su experiencia misionera en Ormuz, para acabar tratando de sus proyectos de futuro, sin excluir la perspectiva del martirio, y todo ello en clave de confesión íntima:

Vuestra reverencia, a quien tanto deseo comunicar para reformation de mi espíritu [...] los males que padezco cada día a causa del enemigo, que me acomete continuamente con varias y diversas tentaciones de tristeza, para inducirme a la desesperación de no proseguir en la virtud, dándome por causa mis fervores desordenados y el mucho desorden que tengo en la caridad. Sin embargo, por encima está el que tiene cuidado de darme tantos trabajos, para que esta tristeza no me haga impresión, con olvido de lo que más temo, si el Señor tuviera a bien que llegara al martirio.¹³⁸

El soñador Barzeo se había informado, a través de mercaderes persas, y se había enterado de que se podía ir a China por tierra desde Persia. Pensaba, además, que la gran Tartaria, al Oeste de China, debía de estar relativamente cerca de Alemania. Por ello, su misiva para los jesuitas de Coimbra (20 de diciembre de 1551),¹³⁹ termina con estas curiosas palabras, a manera de posdata: “Quiero contar una tentación grande que tengo, que me parece que se ha de convertir parte de China, y yo he de atravesar Tartaria hacia Roma a pedir gente al P. Ignacio. Rogad que así sea.”¹⁴⁰

Ante la compleja situación creada en Goa en torno a António Gomes—enviado a Diu—, Javier cambió sus planes respecto a Barzeo, que a comienzos de abril de 1552, fue nombrado rector del colegio de S. Paulo y viceprovincial de la India, cargos que ocuparía durante un año y medio, hasta su muerte:

¹³⁷ MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, II, 243-44. Es curioso observar como casi estaba repitiendo literalmente palabras de Francisco Javier: “per quelli che hanno d’andare fra li infideli attendendo alla loro conversione non sono necessarie molte lettere, ma si bene molte virtù” (MHSI, *Xavier*, II, 23); “Sería bueno que fuesem buenos artistas” (MHSI, *Xavier*, II, 373).

¹³⁸ MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, II, 259.

¹³⁹ MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, II, 267-73; queda una copia portuguesa.

¹⁴⁰ MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, II, 273.

Confiando yo, Francisco [...], de vos, Maestro Gaspar, así de vuestra humildad, virtud y prudencia, como de vuestra suficiencia, os mando en virtud de santa obediencia que seáis rector de este colegio de Santa Fe; así de los padres y hermanos portugueses de la Compañía del nombre de Jesús que estuvieren desde el Cabo de Buena Esperanza hasta aquí; así de los que están en Malaca, Maluco, Japón y en todas las otras partes; así de los que vinieren de Portugal, como de cualquier otra parte de Europa.¹⁴¹

La patente de Javier incluía, además, la facultad de despedir de la Compañía a los desobedientes. De cualquier forma, este nombramiento resultaba un gran sacrificio para el activo misionero holandés, que hubiera preferido marchar a China o a Japón, a conquistar medio mundo para Cristo. Precisamente había reunido en la isla armuziana, para la misión japonesa, 800 pardaos, además de magníficos ornamentos para las celebraciones litúrgicas; todo ello fue destinado por Javier para su embajada a China.¹⁴² Con todo, el humilde padre se sometió obediente al deseo de su superior, que le circunscribía a Goa.¹⁴³ Meses después escribirá a Ignacio de Loyola una extensa carta, donde confiesa: “Eran muy grandes los deseos que yo sentía de hacer sacrificio de mí al Señor en el Japón y aquel mar Escítico; pero siempre hallo más acepto a Dios el sacrificio de la obediencia.”¹⁴⁴

Abrumado por la responsabilidad, Barzeo recibió cinco detalladas instrucciones del santo jesuita navarro. La primera era de naturaleza administrativa y orientaba sus funciones en el colegio de S. Paulo, atendiendo especialmente a acabar con todas las deudas, aparte de algunas indicaciones prácticas sobre trabajos y sujetos concretos.¹⁴⁵ La segunda instrucción, de carácter más espiritual, daba orientaciones generales sobre el modo de gobernar.¹⁴⁶ El tercer texto—particularmente célebre—trataba sobre la humildad.¹⁴⁷ Una cuarta instrucción—muy extensa—le orientaba sobre el modo

¹⁴¹ MHSI, *Xavier*, II, 336.

¹⁴² Cf. MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, II, 454.

¹⁴³ MHSI, *Xavier*, II, 338: “Em virtude de sancta obediencia vos encomendo e mando não saiais desta ilha de Goa por espaço de tres annos.”

¹⁴⁴ MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, II, 580 [578-603]; se conserva el original portugués, aunque no está completo.

¹⁴⁵ MHSI, *Xavier*, II, 391-99. Aparece también una advertencia para que Barzeo escribiera con mejor caligrafía, pues sus cartas eran difícilmente legibles. Una reproducción de su firma autógrafa puede verse en la edición de Gonçalves, *Primeira parte*, III, 8 bis.

¹⁴⁶ MHSI, *Xavier*, II, 400-03.

¹⁴⁷ MHSI, *Xavier*, II, 403-11.

de conducirse como superior de la Compañía.¹⁴⁸ Finalmente, la quinta instrucción le orientaba acerca del trato con mujeres, otros religiosos y sacerdotes, para evitar escándalos.¹⁴⁹ La prueba de la fiel recepción por parte del jesuita flamenco de los textos javerianos es que se conservan unas notas—a manera de glosa—escritas por Barzeo a la instrucción de Javier sobre el tema de la humildad, que comienzan con estas significativas palabras: “Todo bien es de Dios; las faltas son de mi parte.”¹⁵⁰ Francisco de Sousa, que vio el original, comenta que “el padre Barzeo le fue intercalando con su propia letra algunas glosas en los espacios que mediaban entre uno y otro punto.”¹⁵¹ Del mismo modo tenemos también una anotación más breve de Barzeo a la cuarta instrucción javeriana.¹⁵²

Por lo menos, Barzeo consiguió de Javier que éste enviara como emisario al hermano André Fernandes para informar a Ignacio, de modo que desde Roma se pudiera enviar un nuevo viceprovincial para la India. En aquella ocasión Javier redactó un codicilo de sucesión, para abrirlo en caso de muerte de Barzeo.¹⁵³ En ese caso, el holandés sería sustituido por Manuel de Morais “senior”—fallecido previamente, en agosto de 1553—, y en su defecto, por Melchior Nunes Barreto,¹⁵⁴ quien efectivamente le sucedería en el cargo.

Una de sus primeras iniciativas en Goa fue la formación de una hermandad, bajo el título de las Once mil vírgenes—devoción muy en boga en aquel siglo y especialmente en los medios jesuíticos—. ¹⁵⁵ Esta cofradía laical estaba principalmente dedicada a las obras de misericordia;¹⁵⁶ institución que fue alabada explícitamente por san Ignacio.¹⁵⁷

No obstante, una parte significativa de su tiempo la ocupaba el gobierno

¹⁴⁸ MHSI, *Xavier*, II, 411-28.

¹⁴⁹ MHSI, *Xavier*, II, 428-30.

¹⁵⁰ MHSI, *Xavier*, II, 409 [409-11]; el texto barzeano se conserva en una copia portuguesa realizada en Macao en 1746.

¹⁵¹ Sousa, *Oriente conquistado*, p. 655.

¹⁵² MHSI, *Xavier*, II, 412; se conserva el texto autógrafo de Barzeo en portugués.

¹⁵³ MHSI, *Xavier*, II, 340-42.

¹⁵⁴ *c.1520 Oporto; SJ 11.iii.1543 Coimbra; †10.viii.1571 Goa (*DHCJ*, I, 353).

¹⁵⁵ Cf. Leopoldo da Rocha, *As confrarias de Goa (séculos XVI-XX)* (Lisboa: CEHU, 1973) pp. 10-17; Maria Cristina Osswald, “Goa and Jesuit Cult and Iconography before 1622,” *AHSI* 74 (2005) 160-62.

¹⁵⁶ MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, II, 475-77.

¹⁵⁷ MHSI, *Epp. Ign.*, VI, 92; cf. MHSI, *Chonicon*, IV, 662.

como rector del colegio de S. Paulo de Goa. Unos meses después, hacia el otoño de 1552, Barzeo compuso unas reglas para el colegio.¹⁵⁸ Se trata de una detallada normativa, en gran parte inspirada en la escrita por Simão Rodrigues, en 1545, para el colegio de Coimbra.¹⁵⁹ El texto barzeano está dividido en trece capítulos breves: reglas generales de la casa, para el maestro de leer y escribir, avisos espirituales, para el ministro de la casa, para el prefecto de los alumnos, para el maestro de los niños huérfanos, para el enfermero, para el ropero y despertador, para el refitolero, para el cocinero, para el dispensero, para el portero y para el sacristán. Asimismo, el jesuita holandés daba Ejercicios espirituales a los novicios.¹⁶⁰ En relación con estas reglas, Juan Alfonso de Polanco¹⁶¹ le escribió por encargo de san Ignacio que no alargase la oración de los estudiantes.¹⁶²

Por entonces, el jesuita holandés encargó a Luís Fróis que redactase un informe, extenso y pormenorizado, para los jesuitas de Coimbra.¹⁶³ Por su parte, el propio Barzeo envió dos misivas a la ciudad del Mondego. La primera para el P. Diego Miró,¹⁶⁴ como rector del colegio de Coimbra (30 de noviembre de 1552),¹⁶⁵ con el fin de pedir el envío de jesuitas para la India:

Pido a vuestra reverencia, por amor de nuestro Señor, que se acuerde de cuán madura está esta mies de la India y cuánto se pierde por falta de obreros, y cuán diferentes serán los merecimientos de aquellos que para acá fueren mandados de los merecimientos de aquéllos que socorren las necesidades de Europa, donde hay tantos que podrán suplir [...]. O padre mío, cuántas veces deseo más cuerpos del que tengo para poder acudir a diversos lugares.¹⁶⁶

¹⁵⁸ MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, II, 337-68; hay una copia en portugués. Puede verse un sumario de las mismas en MHSI, *Regulae*, 543-45.

¹⁵⁹ En una carta posterior a san Ignacio, Barzeo declara: “As regras que elles tem, caa por mim ordenadas, sam, segundo me pareceo, ser mais convenientes para elles; os avisos espirituas sam do Padre Mestre Symão e algua parte das regras; no demais me conformei segundo a disposição da terra” (MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, II, 588). Cf. MHSI, *Broët*, 822-59; y *Regulae*, 15-134. Puede verse mi traducción parcial en el apéndice a Simón Rodrigues, SJ, *Origen y progreso de la Compañía de Jesús* (Bilbao/Santander: Mensajero/Sal Terrae, 2005) pp. 140-48.

¹⁶⁰ MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, II, 462-63.

¹⁶¹ *24.xii.1517 Burgos; SJ 1541 Roma; †20.xii.1576 Roma (*DHCJ*, IV, 3168-169).

¹⁶² MHSI, *Epp. Ign.*, VI, 90-91.

¹⁶³ Luís Fróis a los jesuitas de Coimbra, Goa 1 diciembre 1552, MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, II, 445-91.

¹⁶⁴ *1516 Valencia; SJ 1541 Paris; †25.viii.1590 Roma (*DHCJ*, III, 2686).

¹⁶⁵ MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, II, 438-42; conservada en copia portuguesa.

¹⁶⁶ MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, II, 440. Cf. *Xavier*, I, 166-68.

La segunda carta¹⁶⁷ la remitió a su antiguo connovicio, el P. Leão Henriques¹⁶⁸ con fecha de 27 de diciembre de 1552. En ella, tras recordar “cuán suave es la cruz en el deseo y cuán pesada es llevarla a hombros,” acaba con estas palabras, que apuntan un nuevo campo en el horizonte insaciable del jesuita holandés: “O carísimos padres y hermanos de todo ese santo colegio: ahora es tiempo de que roguéis al Señor por mí, para que, si fuere su servicio, me quite este yugo tan pesado que traigo sobre los hombros, y me mande al Preste Juan, como yo confío que será.”¹⁶⁹

De hecho, podemos decir que la misión de Etiopía (o del Preste Juan), que en aquel momento todavía se estaba fraguando como campo prometedor,¹⁷⁰ fue el último sueño de Gaspar Barzeo. En este sentido, vale la pena destacar que por entonces dirigió dos misivas al territorio abisinio: una al emperador Claudio de Etiopía (Goa, 9 de octubre de 1552): “Si Dios nuestro Señor fuere servido de darme vida, de aquí a dos años espero con ayuda de Dios estar en ese reino con vuestra alteza, según pera ello ahora he mandado pedir licencia.”¹⁷¹ Y la otra, a los portugueses residentes en Etiopía (Goa, 8 de noviembre de 1552).¹⁷²

En relación directa con estos dos textos está el informe en portugués sobre el estado político y religioso de Etiopía,¹⁷³ que Barzeo elaboró en Goa, en 1551, a partir de varios testimonios recogidos, y que envió después a Europa: “Estas son las nuevas de la cristiandad y cualidades de Etiopía, que es el reino del Preste Juan, realmente como sucede en esa tierra; información que el padre Maestro Gaspar mandó tomar de los hombres que este año de 1551 vinieron de allí, fielmente.”¹⁷⁴ Asimismo, en la extensa epístola a san Ignacio de 12 de enero de 1553, Barzeo se refiere a sus gestiones en relación con Etiopía, pidiendo permiso para dejar la India y marchar a esta peligrosa misión.¹⁷⁵ Póstumamente,

¹⁶⁷ MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, II, 551-52; hay una copia en portugués.

¹⁶⁸ *c.1522 Ponta do Sol; SJ 30.iv.1546 Coimbra; †8.iv.1589 Lisboa (*DHCJ*, II, 1899-900).

¹⁶⁹ MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, II, 552.

¹⁷⁰ Cf. Eduardo Javier Alonso Romo, “Andrés de Oviedo, patriarca de Etiopía,” *Península. Revista de Estudios Ibéricos* 3 (2006) 217-18 [215-231].

¹⁷¹ *Rerum Aethiopicarum*, X, 35-36; conservada copia en portugués; cf. Franco, *Imagem de Coimbra*, II, 358.

¹⁷² *Rerum Aethiopicarum*, X, 37-39; se conserva copia en portugués.

¹⁷³ *Rerum Aethiopicarum*, X, 23-34.

¹⁷⁴ *Rerum Aethiopicarum*, X, 23.

¹⁷⁵ MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, II, 599-601.

pues en Roma no se conocía aún su muerte, Barzeo sería nombrado en febrero de 1555 comisario del patriarca de Etiopía.¹⁷⁶

Las tres últimas cartas que conservamos de Barzeo las escribió en enero de 1553. La primera y más extensa—ya mencionada—la envió a Ignacio de Loyola;¹⁷⁷ otra carta estaba dirigida al rey D. João III, haciéndose portavoz de diversas peticiones de los jesuitas que trabajaba en las distintas regiones de la India;¹⁷⁸ y otra, la remitió al P. Luís Gonçalves da Câmara,¹⁷⁹ en respuesta a la que éste le había escrito un año antes, desde Coímbra.¹⁸⁰

Su muerte y su recuerdo

Sus fuerzas se habían ido consumiendo en el trabajo extenuante. Él mismo escribía el 30 de noviembre de 1552, casi un año antes de su muerte: “las cuales [fuerzas] tengo bien disminuidas.”¹⁸¹ Más explícita es la ya citada carta de Luís Fróis del 1 de diciembre:

Si hasta ahora el P. Maestro Gaspar mucho nos edificó con su salud, por la grandeza de sus trabajos y fervor; creo que dobladamente nos ha puesto en confusión y admiración el ejemplo vivo y la excelencia de su virtud en la enfermedad [...]. Y sin duda que la enfermedad, de la que él no hace caso, continuando en pie, la tendría yo en mi caso por muy cercana a la muerte. Así que, estando con muchos vómitos y dolores en los pechos, le oí quejarse de que se gastaba mucho con él, pues le daban huevos con un poco de azúcar. Predica así como está.”¹⁸²

¹⁷⁶ MHSI, *Chronicon*, IV, 576; cf. *Epp. Ign.*, VIII, 450-51. Este cargo está en relación con el llamado quinto voto simple de los profesos, por el cual se comprometen a oír los consejos del P. General o de un comisario suyo, en el caso de dejar la obediencia ordinaria por ser promovidos al episcopado.

¹⁷⁷ MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, II, 578-603.

¹⁷⁸ MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, II, 603-12; sólo se ha transmitido a través de una traducción castellana.

¹⁷⁹ MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, II, 612-18; igualmente sólo queda en una traducción al castellano.

¹⁸⁰ Texto perdido; cf. MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, II, 326.

¹⁸¹ MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, II, 440.

¹⁸² MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, II, 484-85. Señalemos que en aquellos mismos momentos, a varios miles de kilómetros de distancia hacia el Este, estaba agonizando Francisco Javier, cuya muerte no llegó a conocer Barzeo, pues el rumor de la misma sólo llegó a la India hacia comienzos de 1554; cf. carta de Melchior Nunes Barreto a san Ignacio, Goa—Cochim mayo 1554, MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, III, 73-75. A partir del 3 de diciembre de 1552, sin saberlo, Barzeo se había convertido en provincial interino de las Indias orientales.

Por su parte, Reimão Pereira escribía el 8 de diciembre de aquel año: “Al presente el P. Maestro Gaspar está muy enfermo, de manera que bien puedo asegurar a vuestra reverencia que es ya como hombre muerto del todo al mundo y muy vivo para las cosas de Dios.”¹⁸³ Sin embargo, parece que la crisis remitió pronto, porque tres semanas después, Barzeo ya comenta: “no tuve lugar para escribirle por una enfermedad, de la que acabo de convalecer.”¹⁸⁴

Cuando llegaron a Roma noticias de su enorme celo apostólico, Ignacio de Loyola le escribió a través de Polanco, el 24 de febrero de 1554, pidiéndole moderación en sus actividades, porque en caso contrario no duraría mucho: “Y cuando estuviere enfermo, no quiere que predique, si el médico no dijese que tal ejercicio no le hará daño.”¹⁸⁵

Por desgracia, esta prudente carta llegó tarde, pues Barzeo ya había muerto cuatro meses antes por agotamiento físico. De este modo el P. Gaspar siguió trabajando incansablemente hasta su muerte, ocurrida el 18 de octubre de 1553, tras un ataque de apoplejía mientras predicaba.¹⁸⁶ Su entierro fue multitudinario.¹⁸⁷ Tres meses antes, el 30 de julio de 1553, escribían en Roma una carta concediendo la profesión al benemérito apóstol,¹⁸⁸ profesión que, evidentemente, no pudo realizar. Al parecer, en Roma recibieron conjuntamente la noticia del fallecimiento de Barzeo y de Francisco Javier.¹⁸⁹

Su memoria no cayó en el olvido. Medio siglo después de su muerte el provincial Manuel da Veiga¹⁹⁰ anduvo buscando los restos mortales del jesuita holandés:

En cuanto a su cuerpo, mucho deseó hallarlo el padre provincial Manuel da Veiga, y por esta causa mandó hacer diligencias en el lugar en que parecía había sido sepultado, según lo que personas antiguas le decían, y no pudo hallar más que un pedazo de cabeza, que se guarda en el colegio de S. Paulo, como reliquia de mucha estima, aunque fuera del sagrario en que están las

¹⁸³ MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, II, 509.

¹⁸⁴ MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, II, 552.

¹⁸⁵ MHSI, *Epp. Ign.*, VI, 358. El texto puede verse también en *Obras de San Ignacio de Loyola* (Madrid: BAC, 1991²) pp. 984-85.

¹⁸⁶ MHSI, *Chronicon*, III, 486.

¹⁸⁷ MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, III, 169-71; carta de Aires Brandão (23 de diciembre de 1554).

¹⁸⁸ MHSI, *Epp. Ign.*, V, 267.

¹⁸⁹ MHSI, *Epp. Ign.*, VIII, 481-83; carta de 24 de febrero de 1555 dirigida a Melchior Nunes Barreto, donde se ve que estas noticias al principio eran todavía poco seguras.

¹⁹⁰ *c.1550 Aveiro; SJ 17.iv.1566 Coimbra; †1605 Goa (Gonçalves, *Primeira parte*, I, 10, n. 3).

santas reliquias, por no estar canonizado ni beatificado.”¹⁹¹

Por otra parte, el jesuita holandés era relativamente conocido en Europa gracias a la rápida difusión de algunas cartas suyas, altamente valoradas en los ambientes jesuíticos.¹⁹² Así, el temprano volumen de 1551, titulado *Copia de unas cartas del P. M. Francisco y del P. M. Gaspar*, presenta un texto barzeano, fechado en Ormuz.¹⁹³ De su pronta fama como taumaturgo da testimonio el oratoriano Tomás Bozio dentro del capítulo “Milagros realizados en la propagación de la fe.”¹⁹⁴

Más aún, décadas después, la provincia belga de la Compañía dio algunos pasos para la beatificación del P. Gaspar. Así, el 10 de mayo de 1607, la congregación provincial de Bélgica propuso al P. Claudio Acquaviva,¹⁹⁵ General de la Compañía, que se compilasen los textos de Barzeo y se estudiase su vida, con vistas a un posible proceso de beatificación y canonización.¹⁹⁶ La respuesta de la curia romana de la Compañía, fechada el 19 de julio de 1608, fue afirmativa.¹⁹⁷ Fruto de esta iniciativa resultó la biografía realizada por Trigault, cuyo último capítulo se titula “Opinión de santidad.” Sin embargo, este intento no siguió adelante posteriormente, por causas que desconocemos: tal vez porque representaba un nuevo paradigma de santidad¹⁹⁸ o, más probable,

¹⁹¹ Gonçalves, *Primeira parte*, II, 104-05. Veiga fue provincial de la India entre 1602 y 1605.

¹⁹² Cf. MHSI, *Epp. Ign.*, VI, 358; MHSI, *Broët*, 633.

¹⁹³ *Copia de unas cartas del Padre mestre Francisco, y del padre M. Gaspar, y otros padres [...] Tresladadas de Portugues en Castellano. Recebidas el año de 1551* (Coimbra: João Álvares, 1551). Puede verse en la edición facsímil preparada por José Manuel García: *Cartas dos Jesuítas do Oriente e do Brasil* (Lisboa: Biblioteca Nacional, 1993). Se trata de la misiva dirigida a los jesuitas de Coimbra, y en general a toda la Compañía de Jesús (MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, II, 71-95). Por su parte, ediciones misceláneas como los *Avisi particolari delle Indie di Portogallo* (Venecia: Tramezzino, 1558); o las *Epistolae Indicae* (Lovaina: apud Rutgerum Velpium, 1566) contienen varios textos de Barzeo.

¹⁹⁴ Thommaso Bozio Eugubino, *De signis Ecclesiae Dei*, 2 vols. (Roma: Ex Bibliotheca Iacobi Tornerii, 1591) I, 158-59: “Miracula Gasparis Belgae in Ormutio.”

¹⁹⁵ *14.ix.1543 Atri; SJ 22.vii.1567 Roma; elegido Padre General 19.ii.1581; †31.i.1615 Roma (DHCJ, II, 1614-621).

¹⁹⁶ ARSI, Congreg. 52, f. 291: “4º Simili reverentia petit ut hic in lucem edi possit vita P. Gasparis Barzaei Belgae cum litteris ipsius, quae reperiri poterunt, atque ut de canonizatione ipsius cogitetur, agendo, ut quae eo pertinent, colligantur, et saltem valetudinarie audiantur, qui superstites de ipsius vitae sanctitate et miris gestis testari poterunt.”

¹⁹⁷ ARSI, Congreg. 52, f. 295: “Ad 4^m respondetur: Placere ut quae inveniri poterunt, colligantur atque mittantur ad nos, et nominentur a quibus et quatenus resciri poterunt.”

¹⁹⁸ Cf. Augustin Redondo, “La difícil emergencia del nuevo modelo de santidad encarnado por Francisco Javier, en la España del Siglo de Oro,” en Ignacio Arellano (Coord.), *Sol, Apóstol, Peregrino, San Francisco Javier en su Centenario* (Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 2005) pp. 195-213.

simplemente porque había otros muchos jesuitas contemporáneos siervos de Dios, que merecían ser elevados a los altares, en aquel contexto de fecunda santidad que fue el primer siglo de la Compañía.¹⁹⁹ De cualquier forma, a Barzeo—como a otros muchos misioneros de Oriente—le tocó ser eclipsado por gigantesca personalidad de san Francisco Javier.

Perfil de Gaspar Barzeo

Aunque no conocemos ningún retrato fiable de Gaspar ni tenemos descripción detallada de su persona, sabemos que Barzeo era de suyo hombre robusto y de vigorosa constitución física,²⁰⁰ aunque hemos visto que sus energías se fueron agotando progresivamente.

Podemos sintetizar la vida misionera de Gaspar Barzeo diciendo que estuvo inspirada en el ejemplo de Francisco Javier. Melchior Nunes escribía de él, el 7 de diciembre de 1552: “va asemejándose al modo del padre Maestro Francisco en el conversar y atraer a los prójimos hacia Dios, con una santa afabilidad y con ser incansable en los trabajos.”²⁰¹ Especial interés ofrece la epístola que el 12 de enero de 1553 el propio Gaspar escribió a Ignacio de Loyola—ya mencionada—donde vemos a un Barzeo a la zaga de Pablo de Tarso y de Francisco Javier:

Busco todos los medios para edificar y ganar al prójimo. Con los que ríen, quiero reír. Con los que cantan, a veces canto [...]. En resumen, aquella palabra de san Pablo ha tomado posesión de mí: “Me he hecho todo a todos para ganarlos a todos.” Y si supiera que podría servir a alguien bailando, bailarí [...]. Pero a veces me consuelo con el pensamiento de que encuentro algo de esto en el padre Maestro Francisco, de quien no soy digno de desatar la correa de su zapato.²⁰²

En una palabra, Barzeo es el hombre según el corazón de Javier.²⁰³ Por su parte el navarro supo apreciarlo como discípulo fiel, dedicándole estos elogios, en carta a Simão Rodrigues: “Al Maestro Gaspar he dejado como rector de este colegio de Santa Fe de Goa, persona en quien yo mucho confío, persona humilde, obediente, a quien Dios ha comunicado gran gracia para predicar;

¹⁹⁹ Pensemos en casos semejantes, que se quedaron en el camino en cuanto al reconocimiento oficial de su santidad, como Andrés de Oviedo o Antonio Criminali.

²⁰⁰ Trigault señala: “Cum [...] ea oris ac corporis esset vastitate, ut ne quidem, qui proficere posset [in praedicando] iudicaretur,” *Vita*, 12.

²⁰¹ MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, II, 496.

²⁰² MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, II, 595-96. Cf. 1 Cor 9, 22 y Mc 1, 7.

²⁰³ Cf. Xavier Léon-Dufour, SJ, *San Francisco Javier. Itinerario místico del apóstol* (Bilbao/Santander: Mensajero/Sal Terrae, 1998) pp. 264 y 274.

mueve tanto al pueblo a lágrimas cuando predica, que es cosa para dar muchas gracias a Dios nuestro Señor.”²⁰⁴ Dos años después de su muerte, el provincial António de Quadros²⁰⁵ recordaba con estas palabras su figura carismática de apóstol:

Entre otras, tuvo una virtud en muy alto grado; y fue un continuo y gran celo del provecho espiritual de los prójimos, de traerlos a Dios; y le daba nuestro Señor tanta gracia en esto, que con muy pocos hombres, o con ninguno, conversó para sacarlo de pecados e traerlo a Dios, que no lo consiguiese con él.²⁰⁶

Muchos años después, el historiador Sebastião Gonçalves hacía este elogio del P. Gaspar, aplicándole la alabanza bíblica del hombre justo:

Vivió en la Compañía siete años y casi seis meses, de los cuales vivió en la India cinco años y mes y medio; en este tiempo hizo vida de varón apostólico y en pocos años abarcó muchos tiempos y nos dejó raro y singular ejemplo de un predicador evangélico perfecto y consumado en todas las virtudes. Dos columnas hermoseaban las puertas del templo de Salomón, otras dos, significadas en aquéllas, ilustraron y hermosearon la Iglesia oriental, que fueron el bienaventurado P. Francisco de Javier y el padre Maestro Gaspar.²⁰⁷

Hombre inteligente, tenía al mismo tiempo “el candor y la ingenuidad de un niño,” como señala James Brodrick, SJ.²⁰⁸ Este autor inglés, tras señalar que su apostolado en Ormuz “es uno de los hechos más salientes en la historia de las misiones,” comenta que Barzeo “tenía la sencillez de todas las almas grandes.”²⁰⁹ Ciertamente, si hay que destacar una virtud en él, ésta es la humildad: “Firmaba en sus cartas: *Siervo indigno de todos*. Se llamaba esclavo de la Compañía, gusano de una vil e asquerosa materia, pecador hediondo y demonio. Las cosas que obraba las atribuía todas a la Compañía, teniéndose a sí en todo por inútil.”²¹⁰ Es curioso observar como, al igual que Javier, Barzeo habla de sí mismo en tercera persona: “He sabido que un padre de nuestra Compañía, al

²⁰⁴ MHSI, *Xavier*, II, 347. Palabras parecidas sobre Barzeo las escribe a san Ignacio: MHSI, *Xavier*, II, 372.

²⁰⁵ *1529 Santarém; SJ 1.iv.1544 Coimbra; †21.xi.1572 Goa (*DHCJ*, IV, 3264).

²⁰⁶ MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, III, 341; carta de 6 de diciembre de 1555.

²⁰⁷ Gonçalves, *Primeira parte*, II, 104. Cf. *Sab.*, 4, 13.

²⁰⁸ James Brodrick, SJ, *San Francisco Javier* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1960) p. 312. Brodrick: *26.vii.1891 Athenry (Galway, Irlanda); SJ 1.ii.1910 Londres; †26.viii.1973 Wokingham (Surrey, Inglaterra) (*DHCJ*, I, 551-52).

²⁰⁹ Brodrick, *San Francisco Javier*, p. 455.

²¹⁰ Franco, *Imagem de Coimbra*, II, 358. Cf. MHSI, *Xavier*, I, 128; II, 293; etc.

cual no quiero nombrar,” “este mismo padre,” “y yendo este Padre,”²¹¹ etc.

Coetáneo de san Pedro Canisio,²¹² el primer jesuita holandés, el Maestro Gaspar muestra un inmenso amor a la Compañía de Jesús, como muestran estas encendidas palabras:

Bienaventurada fue para mí la hora en que Dios usó de su misericordia con su siervo, sacándome pobre de la sequedad y del estiércol del mundo, para colocarme con los príncipes de su pueblo [...]. Cantaré eternamente las misericordias del Señor, de generación en generación, porque ha querido recogernos en esta santa Compañía, iniciada y revelada a nuestro padre Íñigo y a los otros doce [...]. No me queda más que admirarme y llorar.²¹³

Señalemos, finalmente, que fue gracias a Barzeo por lo que Javier pedía flamencos o alemanes para las misiones más duras de Japón y China.²¹⁴ Barzeo fue, por tanto, el primero de una serie de jesuitas de origen holandés, flamenco o valón, que en el siglo XVI embarcaron hacia las India portuguesas:²¹⁵ Joannes Boukyau²¹⁶ en 1555; Marcus de Maech²¹⁷ en 1563; Ruger Berwoutz²¹⁸ en 1578; y en 1579 Petrus Globus,²¹⁹ Lambertus Ruscius²²⁰ y Nicolaus Paludanus.²²¹ En las posteriores expediciones misioneras hacia Oriente continuarían participando

²¹¹ MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, I, 693-95. Cf. MHSI, *Xavier*, I, 175 y II, 192.

²¹² *8.v.1521 Nimega; SJ 8.v.1543 Maguncia; †21.xii.1597 Friburgo (*DHCJ*, I, 633-35).

²¹³ MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, I, 665-66. Vale la pena leer los párrafos que anteceden y los que siguen a éste, todos ellos entreverados de citas bíblicas—sobre todo de los Salmos—y expresivos de una radical vinculación con la Compañía. Otro texto precioso sobre la vocación jesuita es la ya citada carta a António Goncalves (MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, II, 59-65).

²¹⁴ Vid. MHSI, *Xavier*, II, 290, 298, 349, 373-74.

²¹⁵ Cf. Eddy Stols, “Introducción” a Jacques de Coutre, *Andanzas asiáticas* [1640], ed. Eddy Stols, Benjamin Teensma y Johan Verbeckmoes (Madrid: Historia 16, 1991) pp. 24-25. Jacques de Coutre (1577-1640), autor de este relato autobiográfico, fue un soldado y comerciante flamenco que, durante treinta años, recorrió diversas regiones de Asia.

²¹⁶ *Trazegnies; SJ c.1553; †ii.1568 Baçaim (MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, III, 270, n. 1).

²¹⁷ (en la India llamado Marcos Rodrigues) *c.1521 cerca de Brujas; SJ 29.x.1557 Roma; †1601 Goa (MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, VI, 14*).

²¹⁸ *c.1551 Sint-Truiden (o Saint-Trond); SJ 31.x.1576 Roma; †18.x.1609 isla de Mannâr (India) (MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, XI, 22*).

²¹⁹ (en la India llamado Pedro da Cruz): *c.1539 Bailleul; SJ 10.vii.1578 Roma; †c.1588? (MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, XI, 24*).

²²⁰ (en la India llamado Lamberto Rodrigues o Ruiz): 1549 Culenborg; SJ 23.xii.1577 Roma; †c.1611? (MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, XI, 26*-27*).

²²¹ *iii.1556 Lieja; SJ 4.iii.1577 Coimbra; †c.1628? (MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, XI, 26*).

otros jesuitas holandeses, flamencos y valones, hasta completar los siguientes datos: 6 en el siglo XVI, 27 a lo largo del siglo XVII y todavía 2 en el siglo XVIII.²²² Asimismo, que otras órdenes religiosas también enviarían algunos flamencos para sus conventos asiáticos.²²³

Resumo

Este estudo aproxima-se de um dos discípulos mais notáveis de S. Francisco Xavier, o jesuíta holandês Gaspar Barzeu (1515-1553), que conheceu em Portugal a Companhia de Jesus, depois de viver diversas experiências pela Europa. Visamos traçar o seu bosquejo biográfico, tão cheio de peripécias, partindo nomeadamente dos seus escritos que acompanham o seu percurso vital, sublinhando a sua etapa como pioneiro na missão da ilha de Ormuz (1549-1551) e o seu governo como vice-provincial da Índia oriental (1552-1553). Falecido com só trinta e oito anos, Barzeu pode ser considerado verdadeiro mártir do trabalho apostólico.

Summary

The little known Dutch Jesuit, Jasper Berse (1515-1553), was arguably one of the closest disciples of Francis Xavier. After various attempts to embark on lay careers, Berse entered the Society of Jesus in Portugal. The author derives material for this brief biography from letters and other writings of Berse. Of particular interest was his work in Ormuz (1549-1551) as a pioneer missionary. Even though he only spent eight years in the Society before his premature death at the age of 38, he served as Vice Provincial of the East Indies (1552-1553). Subsequent edifying biographies stressed his remarkable humility, apostolic fervour, and obedient service.

²²² António Lopes, SJ, “Expedições missionárias para o Oriente”, en *São Francisco Xavier. 450 anos da sua morte* (Braga: A.O., 2005) pp. 169-88; cf. Josef Wicki, SJ, “Liste der Jesuiten-Indienfahrer, 1541-1758,” *Portugiesische Forschungen der Görresgesellschaft* 7 (1967) 252-450. Análogamente, otros marcharían hacia las misiones hispanas de América: Edmond Lamalle, SJ, “Jésuites wallons, flamands, français missionnaires au Parauay, 1608-1767,” *AHSI* 16 (1947) 98-176.

²²³ P. ej., el agustino Fr. Simón de Santo António (alias Succa), prior sucesivamente de un convento en Chaul y de otro en Macao; cf. da Silva Rego, *Documentação para a História das Missões*, XI, 157, 163, 377.

LA MISSIONE SEGRETA DEI GESUITI FRA GLI UNIATI DI PODLACHIA (1878-1904)

Robert Danieluk, S.J.*

Il presente articolo si propone di mettere in luce la missione segreta intrapresa in Podlachia—oggi Polonia orientale¹ dai gesuiti della Provincia di Galizia, tra il 1878 e 1904, con lo scopo di portare aiuto ai cattolici di rito orientale. La missione, che costituisce una pagina interessante della storia della Compagnia di Gesù, rimane ancora poco conosciuta.² All'abbondanza di

* L'autore di *La Bibliothèque de Carlos Sommervogel: Le Sommet de l'oeuvre bibliographique de la Compagnie de Jésus (1890-1932)* (Roma, 2006), il padre Danieluk è archivista dell'ARSI.

¹ La Podlachia (in polacco Podlasie) occupa una lunga striscia di terra che a nord parte da Augustów per arrivare a Parczew, nella parte orientale dell'odierna Polonia. Si tratta di un bassopiano agricolo e ricco di boschi caratterizzato da un clima continentale. Storicamente la regione confinava con la Masovia e la terra di Brest e in quanto tale fin dal X secolo è stata oggetto di contesa fra lo stato polacco e quello russo. Tra il XIII e XV secolo la zona fu colonizzata dalla piccola nobiltà polacca della Masovia— sull'alto corso del fiume Bug— e dalla popolazione rutena— sul basso corso del fiume Bug, oggi frontiera tra Polonia, Bielorussia e Ucraina. Nel XIV secolo la regione apparteneva al Granducato di Lituania che la conquistò durante l'espansione sulle province russe che dipendevano dai Tartari. In seguito all'unione di Lublin (1564) passò alla Polonia e vi rimase fino alle spartizioni. Dopo il Congresso di Vienna (1815) tutta la zona finì sotto il dominio russo. Cfr. "Informatio" in *Siedlensis seu Podlachensis beatificationis seu declarationis martyrii servorum Dei Vincenti Lewoniuk et XII sociorum in odium fidei, uti fertur die 24 Januarii a. 1874 in pago Pratulin et dioecesi Siedlensi interfectorum, Positio super martyrio* (Romae: Congregatio de Causis Sanctorum, 1995) p. 41.

² Sebbene le vicende dell'unione siano state studiate da diversi punti di vista e gli studi finora condotti abbiano generato numerose pubblicazioni, la missione segreta portata avanti dai gesuiti rimane un capitolo poco studiato. Sono stati dedicati alla vicenda soltanto due volumi scritti da gesuiti: Jan Urban, *Wśród unitów na Podlasiu. Pamiętnik wycieczek misyjnych*. (Fra gli uniati in Podlachia. Memorie delle escursioni missionarie) (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Księży Jezuitów, 1923); Felicjan Paluszkiwicz, *W cieniu Hermesa. Bohaterzy Podlasia*. (All'ombra di Hermes. Gli eroi di Podlachia.) (Londyn: Veritas, 1987). Esistono poi alcuni articoli: Robert Danieluk, S.J., "Geneza podlaskiej misji jezuitów (1876-1877)," *Przegląd Powszechny* 6 (2001) 316-30; Id., "Tajna misja jezuitów na Podlasiu (1878-1904)," *Przegląd Powszechny* 7-8 (2001) 56-69; 9 (2001) 222-33; Maria Kastarska, "Męczeństwo

letteratura sulla cosiddetta unione di Brest-Litovsk–proclamata nel 1596 e sviluppata nei territori dell'odierna Ucraina, Bielorussia, Polonia e Lituania–corrisponde una penuria di pubblicazioni dedicate alla parte “gesuitica” della vicenda. I pochi contributi esistenti sono tuttavia di aiuto per conoscere le trattative precedenti e lo svolgimento della missione.

Alla mancanza di una monografia specifica sulla missione corrisponde, paradossalmente, una dovizia di materiale inedito. Meritano una speciale attenzione gli archivi della Compagnia di Gesù di Roma, Varsavia e Cracovia, ma le indagini andrebbero estese anche alla documentazione conservata in altri archivi di cui è nota l'esistenza. In tale direzione sono già state avviate diverse ricerche e i risultati di alcune di esse sono stati pubblicati.³ Il presente articolo si circoscrive unicamente alle fonti provenienti dagli archivi della Compagnia di Gesù sopra menzionati, lasciando aperta per il futuro la prospettiva di allargare e approfondire lo studio qui appena iniziato.

L'unione di Brest-Litovsk fu la tappa di una storia lunga e complessa. Si trattò di un tentativo dello stato polacco-lituano di mettere in pratica un progetto già tracciato durante i concili di Lione e di Firenze.⁴ Sin dalla sua proclamazione

unitów podlaskich i OO. Jezuici,” *Sodalis Marianus* 1 (1960) 23-26; 2 (1960) 16-20; Czesław Seybuk, “Jezuici na Podlasiu,” *Głos Podlaski* 5 (1934) 289-90, 299-300, 309-10, 319-20, 329-30, 339-40, 349-50, 359-60, 369-70, 379-80, 389-90, 399-400, 409-10, 419-20, 429-30, 439-40, 449-50, 459-60. Altri autori si sono occupati della missione gesuitica all'interno di contesti più ampi cfr. Katarzyna Maksymiuk, “Opieka duchowieństwa katolickiego nad unitami podlaskimi w latach 1875-1905” in *Martyrologia Unitów Podlaskich w świetle najnowszych badań naukowych*, t. 1: *Uniti Podlaski* (Siedlce: Stowarzyszenie Martyrium, 1996) pp. 155-92; Józef Stanisław Łupiński, *Le vicende dei greco-cattolici nel Regno Polacco 1864-1905. Excerpta ex dissertatione* (Romae: Pontificia Universitas Gregoriana, 1996). L'impresa dei gesuiti viene ricordata anche in altre pubblicazioni e in alcuni manuali di storia, ma manca una vera monografia sulla vicenda.

³ Cfr. Hanna Dylągowa, “Źródła do dziejów ziem wschodnich Rzeczypospolitej na przykładzie dziejów Kościoła Unickiego w Królestwie Polskim,” *Informationes* 5 (1991) 81-86; Urszula Głowacka-Maksymiuk, “Źródła archiwalne do likwidacji unii na Podlasiu przechowywane w archiwach Moskwy i Petersburga” [una conferenza a Lublin, 28 settembre 1992, ed a Cracovia, 18 dicembre 1992]. Documentazione riguardante la situazione in Podlachia alla fine del '800 è attestata nei seguenti archivi Archivio del Ministero degli Affari Esteri a Parigi, Archivio Statale di Lublin, Archivio Statale di Siedlce, Archivio Centrale Statale Militare-Storico di Mosca, Archivio Statale Storico Centrale di Pietroburgo, Archivio Segreto Vaticano e Archivio Storico del Consiglio per gli Affari Pubblici della Chiesa (cfr. “Informatio” in *Siedlensis seu Podlacheensis*, pp. 18-20).

⁴ Dopo lo scisma del 1054 che separò definitivamente la Chiesa d'Oriente da quella d'Occidente, vi furono diversi tentativi per ristabilire l'unità. Durante il concilio di Lione, il 6 luglio 1274, venne firmato un atto di unione secondo cui la Chiesa orientale avrebbe riconosciuto il primato del papa accettandone il *Filioque*, ma mantenendo il proprio rito e simbolo di fede. Nonostante l'appoggio dell'imperatore bizantino, Michele Paleologo (1259-1282), l'unione fu a lungo osteggiata e fallì del tutto nel 1282, quando il successore del Paleologo, Andronico II (1282-1328) decise di non rispettarla. Un ulteriore tentativo di unione sorse all'epoca della minaccia turca. L'imperatore

l'unione è andata soggetta a giudizi contrastanti che diventano comprensibili solo quando si prende in considerazione il contesto storico-politico in cui è sorta.⁵

Alla fine del XIV secolo cominciò a prendere forma lo stato polacco-lituano che all'epoca comprendeva molti territori russi e ruteni invasi dai mongoli nel XIII secolo e successivamente riconquistati dai Lituani (si tratta dei territori dell'odierna Bielorussia e Ucraina che si estendevano ad est da Połock, Smoleńsk e Kiev fino alla foce del fiume Dniepr nel mar Nero). Nel XV secolo il Granducato di Mosca, dopo essersi liberato dal giogo dei mongoli, cominciò un'opera di riunificazione delle terre russe. Mosca, in qualità di "terza Roma," raccolse l'eredità politico-religiosa del ducato di Kiev—distrutto dai mongoli nel 1240—e nel 1589 divenne sede patriarcale. Nell'opera di riunificazione la religione ortodossa si trasformò in un elemento così preponderante da scatenare aspre contese nei territori che si trovavano sotto il dominio polacco-lituano.

Alla fine del XVI secolo alcuni vescovi orientali della metropoli di Kiev, godendo dell'appoggio della Polonia cattolico-romana, presero l'iniziativa di unirsi alla Chiesa di Roma. L'Occidente guardava all'unione delle due chiese con un certo interesse perché era considerata un valido contributo alla realizzazione del disegno di Gregorio XIII (1572-1585): organizzare una coalizione di stati cristiani contro i Turchi che continuavano a minacciare l'Europa. L'ambizioso progetto del pontefice non trovò mai attuazione, al contrario, il 9 ottobre 1596 a Brest-Litovsk fu proclamata l'unione della metropoli di Kiev con la Chiesa di Roma. Agli uniati venivano garantiti il rispetto della liturgia bizantina e il calendario giuliano. L'iniziativa fu immediatamente contestata da alcuni vescovi orientali; un presagio delle grandi difficoltà a cui l'unione sarebbe andata incontro negli anni a venire.

Non è nostra intenzione passare in rassegna per intero la storia dell'unione. Qui è sufficiente ricordare che, finché è esistito lo stato polacco-lituano, la Chiesa greco-cattolica godette di grande libertà e conobbe un notevole sviluppo.

Giovanni VIII Paleologo (1425-1448) intraprese delle trattative per cercare l'appoggio dell'Occidente. Egli stesso partecipò al concilio di Ferrara del 1438. Durante il concilio ferrarese—che dal gennaio 1439 si era spostato a Firenze—si raggiunse un accordo sui punti cruciali discordanti: il *Filioque*, la questione del purgatorio, la materia e la forma dell'Eucaristia e il primato del papa. L'atto di unione fu firmato il 6 luglio 1439 (*Laetentur coeli*). Come accadde a Lione, anche qui si assistette a una forte opposizione da parte del basso clero e del popolo. La promulgazione ufficiale dell'unione avvenne a Costantinopoli nel dicembre del 1452, pochi mesi prima dell'attacco dei Turchi. Il 29 maggio 1453 la città cadde nelle mani degli Ottomani ed ebbe fine l'iniziativa dell'unione. Cfr. Oskar Halecki, "From Florence to Brest" in *Sacrum Poloniae Millennium*, 12 voll. (Rzym: s.n., 1954-1966) V, 15-16.

⁵ Cfr. Giorgio Fedalto, *Le Chiese d'Oriente: Dalla caduta di Costantinopoli alla fine del Cinquecento* (Milano: Jaca Book, 1993) pp. 128-35.

La situazione cambiò radicalmente alla fine del Settecento in seguito alle spartizioni della Polonia. In forza di ciò la Russia ottenne la maggior parte dei territori abitati dagli uniati e solo una piccola parte passò sotto il governo austriaco. L'unione fu soppressa e gli uniati furono considerati ortodossi. Nella seconda metà dell'Ottocento sopravviveva a Chełm, nell'odierna Polonia orientale, un'unica diocesi uniata.

Nel 1863 in seguito al fallimento dell'insurrezione polacca contro la potenza degli zar, si innescarono dure rappresaglie, tra cui l'abrogazione totale dell'unione, già soppressa nei territori ad est del fiume Bug. La resistenza dei greco-cattolici di Podlachia alla decisione del governo russo scatenò molteplici persecuzioni di cui i martiri di Pratulin, uccisi nel 1874 mentre difendevano strenuamente la loro chiesa e l'integrità della propria fede, rimangono oggi l'emblema maggiormente conosciuto e documentato. Il 6 ottobre del 1996 i 13 martiri di Pratulin sono stati beatificati da Giovanni Paolo II. La loro beatificazione, avvenuta in occasione dell'anniversario dei quattrocento anni della nascita dell'unione di Brest-Litovsk, ha finalmente riportato alla luce un periodo assai difficile e tormentato della storia della Chiesa in Podlachia (1864-1905).

Negli anni a seguire il martirio di Pratulin, diversi sacerdoti latini sfidarono il divieto imposto dalle autorità russe e si recarono in Podlachia per sostenere la fede degli uniati amministrando loro i sacramenti. In questo quadro si mosse la missione organizzata e portata avanti, per ben 26 anni, dai padri gesuiti della provincia di Galizia.

Già a partire dal 1876 i gesuiti di Galizia pensavano ad una missione tra i perseguitati uniati. Il 6 ottobre del 1876 il padre Marian Morawski⁶ informò con una lettera il generale Pieter Beckx⁷ sulla necessità di una missione della Compagnia in Podlachia, descrivendo la triste situazione in cui versavano gli uniati.⁸ Il governo russo stava usando il pugno di ferro per sradicare l'unione; mancavano sacerdoti greco-cattolici e quelli latini non erano in grado di fornire ai perseguitati alcun aiuto efficace. Il padre continuava scrivendo che la Compagnia era in obbligo ad agire di fronte ad una situazione così drammatica,

⁶ *15.viii.1845 Jeseník (Gräfenberg); SJ 5.xii.1863 Lwów; †6.v.1901 Cracovia; professore di filosofia e teologia a Cracovia, scrittore, primo redattore di *Przegląd Powszechny*, periodico fondato nel 1884 dai gesuiti polacchi. Cfr. Ludwik Grzebień, S.J., ed., *Encyklopedia wiedzy o jezuitach na ziemiach Polski i Litwy 1564-1995* (Kraków: Wyższa Szkoła Filozoficzno-Pedagogiczna "Ignatianum"/Wydawnictwo WAM, 2004) p. 438.

⁷ *8.ii.1795 Zichem; SJ 29.x.1829 Hildesheim; generale della Compagnia dal 2.vii.1853; †4.iii.1887 Roma (DHCJ, II, 1671-675).

⁸ La lettera, conservata nell'ARSI (Provincia Galiziana, t. 1007, fasc. XVI, doc. 1), è stata pubblicata in *Nasze Wiadomości* 2 (1907) 353-55.

altrimenti si sarebbe corso il rischio che le future generazioni degli abitanti della Podlachia non avrebbero saputo resistere alle persecuzioni e avrebbero definitivamente abbandonato l'unione. Morawski concluse la sua perorazione ricordando che da sempre i gesuiti avevano appoggiato l'iniziativa dell'unione e quindi si doveva continuare sulla stessa strada inviando alcuni missionari; ne sarebbero bastati due o tre e parecchi tra i suoi confratelli si erano dichiarati pronti a partire.

Il generale scrisse una lettera al provinciale di Galizia, Franciszek Kautny,⁹ il 12 ottobre del 1876, in cui lo informava che gli era giunta notizia della difficile situazione in Podlachia, ma riteneva che i tempi non fossero ancora maturi per avviare una missione.¹⁰

Il 14 marzo del 1877 Morawski scrisse al generale una seconda lettera insistendo sulla missione.¹¹ Questa volta sosteneva che aiutando gli uniati si sarebbe salvata l'unione in quanto tale perché solamente da quelle parti era ancora in vita—secondo il padre i greco-cattolici in Galizia subivano il forte influsso dell'ortodossia. Dopo aver tracciato le tappe successive alla soppressione della Chiesa greco-cattolica, il gesuita metteva in evidenza come nelle province prive dell'aiuto pastorale cattolico si fosse introdotta, col passar del tempo, l'ortodossia. Per evitare che la stessa situazione si ripetesse anche in Podlachia era necessaria una missione. Morawski concludeva la sua lettera con un appello: non c'era più tempo da perdere, bisognava agire e in fretta!

Il generale rispose ad entrambe le lettere di Morawski il 23 luglio del 1877 scrivendogli che avrebbe rimandato al papa la decisione di un'eventuale missione, il quale, per ora, non sembrava affatto favorevole.¹² Infatti, nel maggio 1877 durante una visita a Roma,¹³ Beckx conferì con Pio IX sulla questione e il pontefice rispose che, almeno per il momento, non avrebbe autorizzato alcuna

⁹ *1.ix.1810 Tištin; SJ 1.ix.1830 Graz; †28.vii.1885 Stara Wieś; provinciale della provincia di Galizia negli anni 1871-1877 (*Encyklopedia wiedzy o jezuitach*, p. 274).

¹⁰ Archivum Provinciae Poloniae Meridionalis [=APME], segn. 1312/II, f. 440^r; anche ARSI, Epistolarum Registra. Provincia Galiciana, t. 4: (1870-1894) p. 128.

¹¹ Cfr. ARSI, Provincia Galiciana, t. 1007, fasc. XVI, doc. 2. Anche questa lettera venne pubblicata in *Nasze Wiadomości* 2 (1907) 355-58.

¹² Cfr. Archivum Provinciae Poloniae Maioris et Mazoviae [=APMA], Fondo Jan Urban, scatola 8 (Il fondo è composto da una quarantina di scatole e tutti i documenti relativi alla missione in Podlachia si trovano nella scatola 8. L'intero archivio è in corso di ordinamento e inventariazione. I materiali provenienti da questo archivio saranno qui citati: APMA, Urban).

¹³ Nel 1873 a Roma venne applicata una legge che stabiliva la soppressione ed espropriazione degli ordini religiosi. Per questa ragione, negli anni 1873-1895, la Curia Generalizia dei gesuiti si spostò a Fiesole.

missione.¹⁴ Il generale informò il provinciale Kautny con una lettera datata 4 agosto 1877.¹⁵

Nel contempo Feliks Laudowicz, sacerdote dell'arcidiocesi di Poznań, parti in missione segreta per la Podlachia.¹⁶ Il promotore dell'iniziativa fu l'amministratore ecclesiastico dell'arcidiocesi, Jan Koźmian,¹⁷ al quale era ben nota la drammatica situazione della popolazione greco-cattolica. Koźmian reputò fondamentale non abbandonare gli uniati a loro stessi affinché non si ripetesse ciò che era avvenuto dopo il 1839 nei territori ad est del fiume Bug, dove l'unione scomparì del tutto a causa della mancanza di aiuti. Il 19 luglio del 1877 l'amministratore ecclesiastico inviò a Roma una lettera in cui esponeva le sue preoccupazioni sul futuro degli uniati e, conoscendo bene i gesuiti di Galizia, avanzava la proposta che fossero proprio loro ad occuparsi di un'eventuale missione. Nella lettera faceva i nomi dei padri Henryk Jackowski¹⁸ e Marian Morawski.¹⁹

A Roma venne chiesto al polacco Włodzimierz Czacki,²⁰ segretario della Congregazione per gli Affari Ecclesiastici Straordinari, di occuparsi dell'affare descritto da Koźmian e di mettersi in contatto con il generale dei gesuiti. Czacki scrisse al generale il 4 settembre 1877 per comunicargli che il pontefice, malgrado non fosse sua intenzione mandare alcuno al martirio, vista la gravità della situazione in Podlachia, avrebbe benedetto quei gesuiti di Galizia che fossero stati disposti ad andarvi in missione.²¹ Il generale rispose alla lettera il

¹⁴ Cfr. Adrien Boudou, *Le Saint-Siège et la Russie. Leur relations diplomatiques au XIX^e siècle*, t. 2 (Paris: Plon, 1925) p. 444.

¹⁵ Cfr. ARSI, Epistolarum Registra. Provincia Galiciana, t. 4 (1870-1894) p. 145.

¹⁶ Cfr. Hanna Dylagowa, *Źródła do dziejów*, p. 82. Anche Boudou cita la relazione su questa missione: "Commentarius Expeditionis Sacrae a Presbytero Felice Laudowicz per provincias Ruthenas Bialtiensem, Chelmensensem et Lublinskensem...peractae, 3 Augusti 1877" (*Le Saint-Siège et la Russie*, p. 442); una copia del testo si trova nell'APMA, Urban.

¹⁷ Jan Koźmian (1814-1877) amministrava l'arcidiocesi di Poznań dal 1876. Cfr. *Encyklopedia Katolicka*, 11 voll. (Lublin: Katolicki Uniwersytet Lubelski, 1973-) IX, col. 1124-125.

¹⁸ *8.viii.1834 Jabłowo; SJ 31.xii.1861 Stara Wieś; †6.iii.1905 Chyrów; negli anni 1881-1887 provinciale della Provincia di Galizia (*DHCJ*, III, 2119).

¹⁹ La lettera fu indirizzata ad un cardinale il cui nome non venne mai menzionato. Cfr. Boudou, *Le Saint-Siège et la Russie*, p. 442.

²⁰ Włodzimierz Czacki (1834-1888), dal 1867 segretario del papa Pio IX, partecipò ai lavori di vari dicasteri vaticani; nel 1879 fu ordinato vescovo e nel 1882 cardinale. Cfr. *Encyklopedia Katolicka*, III, col. 747-748.

²¹ Cfr. ARSI, Provincia Galiciana, t. 1007, fasc. XVI, doc. 3. Tutta la corrispondenza Czacki-Beckx si trova anche nel sopra menzionato Archivio Storico del Consiglio per gli Affari Pubblici della Chiesa. Cfr. Boudou, *Le Saint-Siège et la Russie*, p. 443.

13 ottobre 1877 esponendo le proprie perplessità e quelle dei suoi assistenti. Nei territori russi l'attività di spionaggio era condotta in modo così capillare che era difficile anche solo immaginare una simile missione. Tuttavia, se quello era il volere del pontefice, la Compagnia si rendeva disponibile ad intraprendere l'azione.²² La volontà di Pio IX rimase immutata e di ciò Czacki informò il generale con le lettere del 21 settembre, del 12 ottobre²³ e del 22 ottobre 1877.²⁴

Un mese più tardi, il 22 novembre 1877, la Congregazione per gli Affari Ecclesiastici Straordinari ufficializzò la missione trasferendo al provinciale di Galizia, Michał Mycielski,²⁵ la giurisdizione necessaria.²⁶ Il documento fu emanato il 7 dicembre 1877²⁷ e la missione poté prendere avvio.

Henryk Jackowski, rettore del collegio di Stara Wieś, fu il primo gesuita a partire. Da diverso tempo egli rifletteva con il confratello e insegnante nel medesimo collegio, Marian Morawski, sul da farsi. Fu addirittura quest'ultimo a teorizzare una missione segreta vista l'impossibilità di qualsiasi altra azione, ma non vi prese parte probabilmente a causa della salute malferma.²⁸ Del disbrigo delle formalità se ne occupò, nell'ottobre del 1877, l'allora provinciale fresco di nomina, Michał Mycielski, durante un soggiorno a Fiesole e a Roma. Nello stesso periodo anche Koźmian si trovava a Roma e offrì un primo contributo per le trattative di mediazione, prima che la morte lo colpisse improvvisamente a Venezia durante il viaggio di ritorno.²⁹ Il generale Beckx si premurò di scrivere a Jackowski una lettera il 19 dicembre 1877, impiegando un linguaggio e una forma che non lasciassero trasparire ad un lettore casuale il vero significato della missiva, in cui esprimeva tutto il suo appoggio all'impresa e l'augurio di una buona riuscita.³⁰

Il 23 dicembre 1877 Jackowski si congedò dall'incarico di rettore e lasciò Stara Wieś. Si fermò a Cracovia il tempo necessario per ottenere la licenza di

²² Cfr. ARSI, Provincia Galiziana, t. 1007, fasc. XVI, doc. 6.

²³ Cfr. ARSI, Provincia Galiziana, t. 1007, fasc. XVI, doc. 4-5.

²⁴ Cfr. ARSI, Provincia Galiziana, t. 1007, fasc. XVI, doc. 7.

²⁵ *14.xii.1826 Gorzyczki; SJ 11.iii.1856 Baumgartenberg; †21.xi.1906 Chyrów; provinciale negli anni 1877-1881 e 1887-1893 (DHCJ, III, 2790).

²⁶ I documenti riguardanti la seduta della Congregazione si trovano nel fondo archivistico della Congregazione. Cfr. Boudou, *Le Saint-Siège et la Russie*, p. 445.

²⁷ Cfr. Felicjan Paluszkievicz, *W cieniu Hermesa* (Londyn: Veritas, 1987) p. 45.

²⁸ Cfr. Gustaw Fihauser, "Z zapisków i wspomnień o ś.p. o. Henryku Jackowskim," *Nasze Wiadomości* 2 (1907) 359-89.

²⁹ Cfr. Fihauser, "Z zapisków i wspomnień" 360.

³⁰ Cfr. ARSI, Epistolarum Registra. Provincia Galiziana, t. 4 (1870-1894) pp. 149-50.

mercante e farsi crescere una barba che ne camuffasse l'identità. All'inizio di febbraio del 1878 partì alla volta di Varsavia per raccogliere informazioni sulle possibilità e condizioni della missione. Comprese ben presto che recitare la parte del grande mercante non sarebbe stato affatto utile per i suoi propositi e si convertì in commerciante ambulante. All'epoca molti di questi giravano per i villaggi della Podlachia a vendere le proprie mercanzie. Jackowski decise di ritornare in Galizia per passare poi in Ungheria e Austria con lo scopo di allestire la sua impresa "mercantile." Nel contempo si procurò un passaporto falso con il nome di Otto Hilsner.

Il 25 marzo 1878 Jackowski ritornò nei territori occupati dai russi. A Varsavia entrò in possesso del permesso di esercitare il mestiere di mercante fino alla fine dell'anno e il 29 di marzo partì per Łuków dove acquistò un cavallo e un carro. La cosa destò immediatamente i sospetti dei commercianti ebrei perché nessun mercante ambulante si sarebbe mai potuto permettere una spesa del genere. Lasciata Łuków si diresse verso Włodawa fermandosi di tanto in tanto a vendere le proprie merci. La sua incapacità ad esercitare il mestiere non tardò a manifestarsi. Jackowski rivelò da subito la sua totale inettitudine nello svolgere semplici azioni manuali come tagliare la stoffa e mostrò grande confusione con i prezzi. Tutto ciò non passò inosservato e lo fece cadere in sospetto. Il 30 di marzo giunse nei pressi di Radzyń. Si fermò in una locanda per passare la notte e a sua insaputa fu spiato dal proprietario.³¹ Il 1 di aprile arrivò a Radzyń dove fu interrogato dalla polizia e il giorno successivo arrestato. Durante la perquisizione dei bagagli gli agenti trovarono dei paramenti liturgici per la celebrazione della messa e qualche lettera di raccomandazione.³² Messo alle strette, il missionario ammise la sua professione e confessò le ragioni del viaggio, ma non rivelò, né allora né in seguito, di essere gesuita. Durante gli interrogatori dichiarò anche il suo vero nome.

Il 4 di aprile lo sfortunato missionario venne imprigionato a Siedlce e vi rimase fino al 16 novembre del 1879. Fu proprio lì che ebbe inizio la sua missione. Già dai primi giorni di prigionia egli tentò di informare il provinciale sulla sua situazione. Scrisse una lettera all'inglese Charles Bodenham, zio di Morawski. A questa lettera ne aggiunse un'altra, destinata al provinciale. Entrambe furono scritte in francese e in modo tale da celare il vero destinatario delle notizie.³³

³¹ Di questo inizio poco fortunato se ne trova traccia anche nelle memorie di Jackowski cfr. *Nasze Wiadomości* 9 (1930) 459-62.

³² Si trattava di una lettera scritta da un sacerdote uniate sfuggito alle persecuzioni in Galizia. Tramite questa lettera Jackowski sarebbe potuto entrare in contatto con gli uniati ed iniziare il suo lavoro. Il destinatario era un greco-cattolico di Włodawa, morto poco tempo prima, e ciò evitò al missionario spiacevoli conseguenze. Fortunatamente anche le altre carte, tra cui l'indirizzo di una famiglia di Varsavia, non causarono alcun danno. Cfr. *Nasze Wiadomości* 2 (1907) 366.

³³ Le lettere sono pubblicate in *Nasze Wiadomości* 2 (1907) 368-70.

All'inizio della sua prigionia Jackowski fu messo in isolamento e sotto stretta sorveglianza. Il gesuita ne approfittò per fare gli esercizi spirituali di 30 giorni. A poco a poco la sorveglianza si allentò e il padre cominciò a rivolgere la parola agli altri prigionieri, molti dei quali erano uniati che si trovavano lì per la loro resistenza all'ortodossia. Grazie alla tolleranza di alcuni carcerieri, il missionario fu in grado di confessare diversi detenuti confermandoli nella loro fede e apprendendo la triste e drammatica situazione in cui si trovavano i greco-cattolici di quella regione. Gli fu possibile, inoltre, celebrare alcuni matrimoni e battezzare un certo numero di bambini. Le autorità cercarono di bloccarlo quando vennero a conoscenza dell'influenza che esercitava sugli uniati. Il 23 luglio del 1879 il governatore russo di Siedlce, Moskwini, ordinò al direttore del carcere di mettere il missionario sotto speciale sorveglianza per impedirgli qualsiasi contatto con gli altri detenuti.³⁴

La condizione di Jackowski era piuttosto singolare. Nel codice penale non esisteva alcun divieto riguardo alle missioni religiose segrete e nessuno degli ufficiali russi sapeva che cosa facesse del gesuita. All'inizio gli fu detto che sarebbe stato condannato per essersi servito di un passaporto falso e che si stavano preparando a celebrare il processo, ma al processo non si arrivò mai. Jackowski inviò varie petizioni alle diverse istanze giuridiche russe per far andare avanti la sua causa. Tutto però procedeva molto lentamente. Anche i gesuiti di Galizia tentarono di aiutarlo. Il provinciale Mycielski si rivolse all'imperatore austriaco il quale diede l'ordine di intervenire con una missione diplomatica, ma l'eccessiva lentezza della burocrazia imperiale spinse il provinciale a suggerire una nuova strategia: organizzare la fuga dal carcere. Non fu difficile per Jackowski, grazie ai suoi nuovi amici, procurarsi una copia delle chiavi che teneva sempre pronte in attesa del momento più opportuno. Vennero preparati anche un carro e un cavallo per portare in salvo il fuggiasco, ma non ve ne fu mai bisogno.³⁵

All'improvviso il 16 novembre del 1879 Jackowski fu liberato—grazie all'intervento dell'imperatore austriaco presso lo zar - a condizione di lasciare immediatamente i confini dell'impero russo senza mai più rientrarvi. Venne accompagnato sotto scorta alla frontiera di Tomaszów che riuscì ad attraversare

³⁴ Cfr. *Nasze Wiadomości* 2 (1907) 376.

³⁵ Cfr. *Nasze Wiadomości* 2 (1907) 388-389. In questo articolo viene citata la relazione di Ignacy Mellin (*19.ix.1852 Orłowo; SJ 10.ii.1872 Stara Wieś; †13.xii.1916 Kiev [*Encyklopedia wiedzy o jezuitach*, p. 415]) che racconta come ancora nel 1904 alla portineria della casa provinciale dei gesuiti a Cracovia si presentò un contadino della Podlachia a chiedere che cosa dovesse fare del cavallo e del carro destinati alla fuga di Jackowski e che stava custodendo da 25 anni. La relazione sull'organizzazione della fuga è stata pubblicata anche da Kazimierz Konopka (*10.i.1879 Tarnów; SJ 10.i.1894 Stara Wieś; †26.vi.1941 Lwów [*Encyklopedia wiedzy o jezuitach*, p. 300]), a cui venne raccontata dallo stesso Jackowski. Cfr. *Nasze Wiadomości* 9 (1930) 459-62.

nonostante le rimostranze sollevate dall'ufficiale austriaco. Il 21 novembre Jackowski raggiunse Cracovia e così si concluse la prima tappa della missione segreta in Podlachia che, malgrado lo scenario, non fu un fallimento.³⁶ È verosimile che se Jackowski fosse rimasto in libertà non sarebbe stato in grado di fare tutto ciò che fece durante la sua prigionia. Sarebbe stato molto difficile prendere contatto con gli uniati, visto che il destinatario della lettera di raccomandazione che recava con sé era già morto. Per di più, la notizia che un missionario inviato dal papa era stato imprigionato dai russi ebbe tra gli uniati una grande eco e sortì un importante effetto di sostegno morale.

Lo stesso Jackowski, poco dopo la liberazione, narrò le vicende della sua prigionia e la situazione dei perseguitati,³⁷ ma il frutto più prezioso dell'impresa fu il contatto che egli riuscì a stabilire con alcuni di loro in previsione delle missioni future.³⁸ Nel 1881 egli fu nominato provinciale dei gesuiti a Cracovia e continuò concretamente il suo appoggio alla missione mandandovi nuovi missionari. Nel 1885 pubblicò sotto lo pseudonimo di Padre Konstanty, superiore della missione per gli uniati, il fascicolo *Do Wiernych Unitów Chełmskiej i innych Dyecezyj w Państwie Rosyjskiem* (Ai fedeli uniati della diocesi di Chełm e delle altre diocesi dello stato russo) che forniva informazioni catechetiche e istruzioni sulle modalità di amministrare i sacramenti. L'opuscolo venne ristampato due volte.³⁹

³⁶ La Santa Sede, visto l'insuccesso di Jackowski, pensò di affidare la missione agli scolopi. Dal 1879 Walerian Słotwiński, il loro superiore di Cracovia, avrebbe dovuto iniziare la preparazione dei futuri missionari, ma il fatto che gli scolopi, accanto all'azione religiosa, desiderassero promuovere l'iniziativa nazionale polacca, fece in modo che il Vaticano decidesse di far continuare la missione ai gesuiti, i quali non entravano nelle questioni nazionali. Cfr. Maksymiuk, "Opieka duchowieństwa," p. 170, che cita lo stesso Słotwiński (*Unia podlasko-chełmska 1875-1885* [Kraków, 1893]). Maksymiuk ha valutato negativamente tutta l'azione dei gesuiti accusandoli di aver trascurato gli ideali nazionali polacchi. Egli riporta un'opinione di Jackowski secondo cui non bisognava trascurare l'opera dell'unione ecclesiale per motivi nazionali. L'opinione fu espressa nel contesto del nazionalismo ucraino che allora muoveva i suoi primi passi in Galizia.

³⁷ Cfr. ARSI, Provincia Galiciana, t. 1007, fasc. XVI, doc. 11. Jackowski scrisse addirittura più versioni della sua missione. Abbiamo anche diversi racconti orali, messi su carta da altri gesuiti, come il sopra citato Kazimierz Konopka, Ignacy Mellin e Łukasz Łaszczyk (*17.x.1848 Bytom; SJ 6.v.1871 Stara Wieś; †17.xii.1928 Kraków [*Encyklopedia wiedzy o jezuitach*, p. 385]) menzionati in *Nasze Wiadomości* 2 (1907) 359-89.

³⁸ Jackowski dispose anche le modalità con cui gli uniati avrebbero dovuto contattare il missionario, conoscere i luoghi per un eventuale incontro e le parole-chiave per riconoscersi; segreti che il missionario non voleva svelare neppure mentre redigeva la relazione destinata a *Propaganda Fide*. Cfr. *Nasze Wiadomości* 2 (1907) 383.

³⁹ Cfr. APMA, Urban.

Il secondo gesuita che partì per la Podlachia fu Walerian Mrowiński.⁴⁰ Con una lettera datata 19 aprile 1882 egli accettò l'invito del provinciale Jackowski senza nascondergli, però, il proprio scetticismo sul buon esito dell'impresa.⁴¹ Ricevette un passaporto prussiano a suo nome e il 1 agosto 1882 arrivò a Siedlce sotto le spoglie di un commerciante di legname. In due settimane visitò diversi villaggi nei dintorni esercitando di notte il ministero sacerdotale. Successivamente si spostò verso la regione di Poznań. La sua seconda missione ebbe inizio alla fine dello stesso mese. Visitò altri villaggi spingendosi fino a Brest e Pratulin. All'inizio di ottobre, mentre attraversava in treno la regione di Białystok, fu riconosciuto da un sacerdote ortodosso che, sospettando la sua vera identità, lo denunciò alle autorità. Fermato nei pressi di Toruń, al valico della frontiera russo-prussiana, Mrowiński venne rilasciato quasi subito perché il passaporto risultò in ordine e poté quindi attraversare indenne il confine. Tutto ciò accadde il 4 ottobre del 1882. I risultati della sua missione furono, oltre alle numerose visite ai villaggi uniati, parecchie confessioni, alcuni matrimoni e un migliaio di battesimi.⁴²

Dopo le esperienze di Jackowski e Mrowiński si fece chiaro che la missione necessitava di un punto stabile di riferimento e di appoggio per evitare i problemi che erano apparsi nel corso dell'attività dei missionari itineranti.

Nell'agosto del 1883 il provinciale Jackowski inviò a Varsavia il padre Franciszek Broër⁴³ in qualità di insegnante di lingue. Fu sua l'iniziativa di aprire nel centro della città una bottega di articoli coloniali ed alimentari dove lavorava una commessa e, in seguito, anche un fratello gesuita: Józef Jankiewicz.⁴⁴ La bottega fungeva per gli uniati da punto di ritrovo. Lì si potevano incontrare senza farsi notare troppo e ricevere tranquillamente i sacramenti nel retrobottega.⁴⁵

⁴⁰ *1.xii.1832 Śrem; SJ 19.x.1867 Stara Wieś; †27.i.1901 Czermiowce (Bukowina) (*Encyklopedia wiedzy o jezuitach*, pp. 443-44).

⁴¹ Cfr. APMA, Urban.

⁴² Cfr. Paluszkievicz, *W cieniu Hermesa*, p. 58. Inoltre l'APMA Urban contiene il materiale riguardante la missione di Mrowiński (il passaporto, le lettere etc.).

⁴³ *2.ii.1844 Wrocław; SJ 11.xi.1859 Stara Wieś; †21.viii.1885 Nowy Sącz (*Encyklopedia wiedzy o jezuitach*, p. 69).

⁴⁴ *4.iii.1849 Staniątki; SJ 11.vii.1872 Stara Wieś; †1.iii.1901 Stara Wieś (*Encyklopedia wiedzy o jezuitach*, p. 238).

⁴⁵ Sin dall'inizio della missione a Varsavia i gesuiti furono aiutati dal sacerdote, Marceli Sikorski, che forniva loro preziose informazioni. Egli conosceva bene la situazione in Podlachia perché vi aveva fatto alcune visite negli anni 1878-1882 (cfr. Maksymiuk, "Opieka duchowieństwa," p. 167). Occorre ricordare che anche altri sacerdoti prestarono il loro aiuto ai missionari: offrendo ospitalità,

Broër prese da subito contatti con gli uniati e alcuni di loro collaborarono attivamente con il missionario mandandogli, per esempio, coppie alle quali amministrare il sacramento del matrimonio e preparandogli il terreno per l'apostolato, preannunciando nei vari villaggi il suo arrivo.

Il missionario gesuita progettò la sua prima spedizione per il mese di gennaio del 1884. Il giorno dodici arrivò a Sokołów Podlaski, ma un gendarme russo di stanza nel luogo ricevette una "soffiata" sul suo arrivo e preparò un'imboscata per catturarlo. Il gesuita si salvò soltanto grazie al tempestivo intervento degli uniati che, strappatolo dalle mani del gendarme, lo nascosero e durante la notte lo caricarono su un carro riportandolo a Varsavia. Subito dopo Broër partì per l'estero e ritornò a Varsavia solo alla fine di gennaio, dopo aver trascorso qualche settimana di cura a Wrocław, a casa del fratello medico. Il gesuita continuò il suo apostolato nella bottega fino al 25 febbraio del 1884 quando venne richiamato a Cracovia. Ritornò a Varsavia un'altra volta, all'inizio di marzo, mentre si dirigeva in missione a Wilno, Połock e Pietroburgo, allo solo scopo di informarsi sulle possibilità di trasportare a Cracovia il corpo del beato Andrea Bobola⁴⁶—all'epoca si trovava a Połock—dopo di che lasciò definitivamente la missione.⁴⁷ Broër dovette recarsi a Roma a rendere conto a Leone XIII e al generale dei gesuiti della situazione della Chiesa nei territori sotto il dominio russo.

Nel gennaio del 1884 arrivò a Varsavia un nuovo gesuita, Antoni Mühl.⁴⁸ Egli compì solo due viaggi in Podlachia, ad aprile e in autunno, perché il provinciale decise di ritirarlo a causa della salute cagionevole e per aver dimostrato di possedere nervi poco saldi per affrontare situazioni tanto delicate.⁴⁹ Mühl venne sostituito dal padre Józef Franke.⁵⁰ Anch'egli si stabilì a Varsavia nella bottega fondata da Broër e, come i suoi predecessori, continuò ad amministrare i sacramenti agli uniati e a visitare di tanto in tanto alcuni villaggi.

Il 1885 fu un anno particolare per la storia della missione. Padre Franke venne affiancato da altri due gesuiti. Nel gennaio del 1885 giunse a Lublin,

partecipando direttamente alle azioni, fornendo arredi liturgici e informazioni utili (cfr. Maksymiuk, "Opieka duchowieństwa," p. 164; Urban, *Wśród unitów*, pp. 35-36, 82-83, 86, 100, 127-28).

⁴⁶ *30.xi.1591 Strachocin; SJ 31.vii.1611 Wilno; †16.v.1657 Janów Poleski; beatificato nel 1853 e canonizzato nel 1938 (DHCJ, I, 465-466).

⁴⁷ Cfr. Paluszkiewicz, *W cieniu Hermesa*, p. 61.

⁴⁸ *22.v.1838 Orneta; SJ 31.v.1882 Stara Wieś; †11.vi.1912 Wrocław (*Encyklopedia wiedzy o jezuitach*, p. 446).

⁴⁹ Nell'archivio dei gesuiti a Varsavia (APMA, Urban) si trova un manoscritto che contiene la relazione di questa missione: "Über die Geheimpastoration der unirten Ruthenen in Podlachien."

⁵⁰ *1844; SJ 1862; †1918 (*Encyklopedia wiedzy o jezuitach*, p. 820). Cfr. anche il materiale sulla sua missione in APMA, Urban.

Teodor Sozański,⁵¹ con l'intento di organizzare un punto di riferimento per la missione nella parte meridionale della Podlachia e nella regione di Chełm; qualcosa di molto simile a ciò che Broër aveva creato a Varsavia. Affittò un appartamento nei pressi della stazione da dove partiva per alcune escursioni in provincia, accompagnato da qualche guida e dai preziosi consigli di un sacerdote diocesano di Lublin, Wincenty Przesmycki. Tra il 15 e il 18 febbraio, Sozański visitò diversi villaggi della regione e il 24 arrivò a Zamość e da lì si spinse in altre località. All'inizio di marzo intraprese una nuova spedizione in direzione di Biała. Alla metà di marzo arrivò a Varsavia, in aiuto di Sozański, il padre Maciej Szaflarski, fingendosi professore di lingue.⁵² Il giorno seguente partì insieme a Franke, di ritorno da Wilno, per visitare alcuni villaggi uniati.

Alla metà di aprile il provinciale Jackowski convocò in Galizia Franke, Sozański e Szaflarski. La missione cominciava a destare l'attenzione e insospettiva le autorità russe. Il generale governatore Hurko incaricò un certo Mirosław Dobrianskij, originario della Galizia, di occuparsi della vicenda degli uniati, e sarà proprio costui che svelerà la missione dei gesuiti.⁵³

Alla fine di maggio Jackowski mandò di nuovo Franke a Varsavia per raccogliere informazioni sulla situazione in Podlachia e alla fine di giugno Szaflarski rientrò in azione. Si fermò a Lublin ospite presso una famiglia fidata e da lì si recava in provincia o amministrava i sacramenti direttamente in casa. La sua missione non ebbe vita lunga. L'apostolato del gesuita fu scoperto da un falso uniato che di lì a poco lo denunciò. Il 15 di agosto l'impostore ritornò dal gesuita accompagnato da Dobrianskij e dalla polizia. Szaflarski venne arrestato e imprigionato a Lublin. In ottobre fu trasferito nel famigerato padiglione numero 10 della cittadella di Varsavia. Furono tratti in arresto anche i suoi collaboratori, alcuni dei quali vennero identificati grazie agli appunti ritrovati nell'appartamento da lui preso in affitto.

Szaflarski rimase in prigione senza processo e senza condanna. Il 2 ottobre 1887 scrisse al provinciale una lettera, che riuscì ad eludere la censura, in cui lo invitava a non pagare alcun riscatto per il suo rilascio. Dobrianskij, infatti, aveva chiesto una somma considerevole. Nel settembre del 1888 il gesuita fu liberato e ritornò a Cracovia.⁵⁴

⁵¹ *14.xii.1826 Kozłówka; SJ 7.ix.1846 Stara Wieś; †14.ii.1901 Nowy Sącz; (*Encyklopedia wiedzy o jezuitach*, p. 634).

⁵² *11.x..1847 Czarny Dunajec; SJ 4.vii.1865 Stara Wieś; †26.xi.1903 Stara Wieś (*Encyklopedia wiedzy o jezuitach*, p. 656).

⁵³ Maksymiuk scrive che l'attività di Dobrianskij contribuì non poco a frenare la missione dei gesuiti ("Opieka duchowieństwa," p. 172).

⁵⁴ Cfr. "Excursio in Podlachiam Patris Mathiae Szaflarski ejusque incarcerationio," APMA, Urban ff. 1'-11'; "Wycieczka dwudniowa księdza Macieja Szaflarskiego (pod imieniem temsamem, a z profesyi: "nauczyciela prywatnego") z księdzem Józefem Frankem w Marcu 1885 do Guberni

Durante il periodo di maggior repressione e controllo di Dobrianskij, un altro missionario, Teodor Sozański, decise di ritornare in Podlachia per la seconda volta. Nell'ottobre del 1885 si stabilì a Varsavia da dove partivano le sue visite in provincia accompagnato dal fratello gesuita, Józef Guzicki, che era nato e cresciuto in Podlachia.⁵⁵ Il fratello gesuita non era nuovo a questo genere di imprese. Impiegato da Broër nella bottega di Varsavia prima dell'arrivo di Jankiewicz, già nel giugno del 1885 aveva accompagnato in missione Szaflarski perché conosceva bene il territorio e la popolazione. Durante il mese di ottobre Sozański visitò molte località attorno a Siedlce e solo alla fine del mese fece rientro a Cracovia. I risultati della missione furono incoraggianti: diciotto villaggi visitati, la celebrazione di un centinaio di matrimoni, di diverse centinaia di battesimi e innumerevoli confessioni.

Sozański intraprese la sua terza missione alla metà di novembre nella zone di Biała e Sokółów, ma inseguito dai gendarmi dovette ritirarsi dopo due settimane. Ritornò in Podlachia alla fine di gennaio del 1886 visitando Międzyrzec e Konstantynów, ma alla fine di febbraio lasciò definitivamente la missione ritornandosene in Galizia.⁵⁶

La missione cominciò a trovarsi in grave difficoltà. Anche il fratello Guzicki, che più volte era riuscito a sfuggire alla polizia, fu arrestato a Varsavia nel febbraio 1886 e finì nella notoria cittadella. Sottoposto a lunghi interrogatori, nel 1887 fu deportato in Russia a Kiryłow. Ottenuto il permesso di cambiare luogo di deportazione, ne approfittò per darsi alla fuga e ritornarsene in Polonia nel 1889.⁵⁷

A partire dal 1887 si assistette ad un cambiamento radicale nella tattica di lavoro dei missionari. I vecchi punti di riferimento, il negozio di Varsavia e i contatti che i padri riuscirono a stabilire a Lublin, furono scoperti dalla polizia.

Siedleckiej,” “Dyaryusz Ks. Szaflarskiego z cytadeli z ostatnich dni przed wypuszczeniem,” APMA, Urban, ff. 1^a-7^a); *Nasze Wiadomości* 7 (1906) 652-59.

⁵⁵ *1855 Kudelczyn; SJ 1884 Stara Wieś; uscì della Compagnia nel 1897 (*Encyklopedia wiedzy o jezuitach*, p. 824). In alcuni testi il fratello viene chiamato Gruzewski o Grudzewski.

⁵⁶ Si conservano le relazioni della sua missione: “Notitiae quaedam pro Historia Missionis Podlachicae. Mea excursio ab 23 Jan. ad 17 Apr. an. 1885 (R.P. Theodosii Sozański S.J.); Mea excursio ad 4-ta ad 30-am Octobris ejusdem an. 1885; Mea excursio a 12-a Nov. ad 1-am Dec. ejusdem an. 1885; IV Excursio. A 20 Januarii usque ad 20 Februarii an. 1886,” APMA, Urban.

⁵⁷ Per ordine dei superiori Guzicki mise per iscritto le memorie della missione e dell'esilio che sono conservate in APMA, Urban.

Nell'autunno del 1887 arrivò a Łódź Arnold Waschitza,⁵⁸ inviato per riprendere la missione sospesa, in qualità di maestro di musica; una professione che non fece sorgere alcun sospetto. Egli utilizzava i giorni liberi per visitare i villaggi nella zona di Sokołów. Il suo lavoro durò fino a marzo 1888, quando rientrò in Galizia richiamato dal provinciale Mycielski.⁵⁹

Nel febbraio del 1889 giunse nei territori occupati dai russi il padre Klemens Baudiss.⁶⁰ Per due settimane si occupò esclusivamente degli affari della ditta che rappresentava (commercio di legname), ma si ritirò presto in Galizia perché non trovò nessuno che lo potesse guidare attraverso la Podlachia. Di lì a poco ritornò per la seconda volta come rappresentante di una ditta vinicola. Fu allora che riuscì a visitare alcune città e a prepararsi ad entrare in azione. Iniziò la sua missione da Sokołów alla fine di marzo del 1889. Visitò alcuni villaggi nei dintorni, ma molto presto dovette fuggire davanti alla polizia che lo inseguiva. Raggiunta Cracovia si rese conto che probabilmente i russi avevano scoperto la sua missione.

Alla fine del 1889 venne mandato in Podlachia Wojciech Płukasz.⁶¹ Vi rimase solo pochi giorni, nella regione di Biała e Sokołów, a causa della diffidenza che gli uniati manifestavano nei confronti dei sacerdoti. Poco tempo prima alcuni finti preti tentarono di ingannarli per estorcere loro del denaro.⁶²

Nel 1890 la missione di un altro gesuita, Leopold Markefka,⁶³ ebbe maggior fortuna e durò ben dieci mesi. Il missionario per non farsi scoprire non portò con sé né paramenti né testi liturgici. La sua copertura ufficiale, commerciante

⁵⁸ *30.07.1849 Potworów; SJ 9.08.1866 Stara Wieś; lasciò la Compagnia nel 1906 e si trasferì negli Stati Uniti dove si dedicò all'insegnamento nel seminario polacco di Orchard Lake (*Encyklopedia wiedzy o jezuitach*, p. 725).

⁵⁹ All'epoca Michał Mycielski era provinciale per la seconda volta - la prima fu nel 1878 quando ebbe inizio la missione. Egli era contrario a continuare l'apostolato perché troppo difficile e rischioso. La missione fu sospesa per alcuni anni (1891-1896). Cfr. Paluszkievicz, *W cieniu Hermesa*, p. 96.

⁶⁰ *26.xi.1840 Husiatyn; SJ 21.ii.1857 Baumgartenberg; †28.iv.1902 Kraków (*Encyklopedia wiedzy o jezuitach*, p. 31). Il materiale sulla sua missione si trova in APMA, Urban: "Wycieczka misyjna O. Klemensa Baudissa na Podlasie."

⁶¹ *14.iv.1847 Ruda; SJ 13.iii.1867 Stara Wieś; †11.xii.1914 Staniątki (*Encyklopedia wiedzy o jezuitach*, p. 518).

⁶² Anche i gesuiti chiedevano offerte per il loro ministero sacerdotale. Servivano per pagare le guide, il trasporto, per aiutare gli uniati più bisognosi e per mantenersi durante la missione. Cfr. Maksymiuk, "Opieka duchowieństwa," p. 179.

⁶³ *16.ix.1851 Bytom; SJ 6.x.1869 Stara Wieś; †12.vi.1926 Kraków (*Encyklopedia wiedzy o jezuitach*, p. 407).

di maiali per una ditta della Silesia, era perfetta e non suscitò alcun sospetto. Riuscì facilmente e tranquillamente a spostarsi da un villaggio all'altro, ma dovette lasciare la missione nel giugno del 1891 per motivi di salute e non poté più ritornarvi poiché le autorità scoprirono le autentiche ragioni del suo soggiorno.⁶⁴

Il controllo della polizia fu davvero forte e capillare, come lo dimostrano le vicende dei gesuiti coinvolti nella missione. Di fronte a ciò e alle persistenti voci che suggerivano di non continuare a lungo un lavoro così rischioso, il provinciale Mycielski decise di sospendere la missione in attesa di circostanze più favorevoli.⁶⁵

La missione fu ripresa solo cinque anni più tardi da Henryk Pydynkowski.⁶⁶ L'idea iniziale fu di fingersi commerciante ambulante e di girare per i villaggi con la scusa di acquistare uova, ma cambiò presto opinione e, seguendo l'esempio dei suoi predecessori, aprì un negozio di generi alimentari a Varsavia sotto il nome di Henryk Baumgartner. Nell'autunno del 1896 il gesuita iniziava le sue visite in Podlachia nei villaggi uniati. Le sue attività di apostolato furono efficaci e portate avanti per cinque anni.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ Esiste un relazione della sua missione: APMA, Urban: "Misja podlaska O. Leopolda Markefki T.J."

⁶⁵ Cfr. Paluszkiwicz, *W' dniu Hermesa*, p. 96. Diversi autori ammettono di non conoscere il motivo della sospensione della missione (cfr. Urban, *W'śród unitów*, p. 22) o di non aver trovato alcuna informazione utile nelle fonti consultate (cfr. Maksymiuk, "Opieka duchowieństwa," p. 183). Verosimilmente devono essere scaturite tra i gesuiti alcune tensioni o divergenze sulla missione, perché Paluszkiwicz, nel passo sopra citato, menziona una lettera del fratello Guzicki al provinciale, scritta il 9 agosto 1893, in cui chiede di non sospendere la missione. Questo è uno dei punti della storia della missione che necessiterebbe di maggiore approfondimento. Maksymiuk, basandosi sul memoriale di Guzicki, scrive di un intervallo di un anno circa (1884-1885) causato probabilmente dall'intervento dell'arcivescovo di Varsavia, Wincenty Chościak-Popiel, che, temendo delle persecuzioni sulla chiesa cattolica di rito latino, chiese al papa la sospensione dell'azione dei gesuiti ("Opieka duchowieństwa," p. 178). La stessa Maksymiuk osserva però che il testo di Guzicki contiene numerose inesattezze cronologiche e storiche. Per quanto riguarda la successiva sospensione, Maksymiuk la colloca tra il 1890 e 1895; da altre pubblicazioni si evincerebbe tra il 1891 (fine della missione di Markefka) e il 1896 (inizio dell'azione di Pydynkowski). Paluszkiwicz scrive addirittura di un intervallo durato 4 anni (*W' dniu Hermesa*, p. 97) mentre Urban attesta la presenza di Pydynkowski in Podlachia nel 1897 (*W'śród unitów*, p. 22).

⁶⁶ *19.i.1847 Osiek; SJ 25.ix.1874 Stara Wieś; †15.i.1936 Kalisz (*Encyklopedia wiedzy o jezuitach*, p. 555).

⁶⁷ E' difficile indicare l'esatta datazione anche di questa vicenda in quanto le fonti consultate indicano spesso anni differenti. Maksymiuk scrive che la missione fu intrapresa nel 1895 ("Opieka duchowieństwa," p. 183) mentre Cz. Seybuk registra il 1896. Jan Urban riporta il 1896, quando i gesuiti di Galizia decisero di riprendere la missione sospesa e Pydynkowski si fece vedere in Podlachia nell'aprile del 1897 e poi nell'autunno del 1899. La bottega di Varsavia venne organizzata nella primavera del 1900 e poco dopo venne arrestata la commessa, Julia Markiewicz (*W'śród unitów*,

Pydynkowski cambiò radicalmente la strategia di missione. Ora non si serviva più delle guide locali, lo aiutavano i fratelli albertini e alcune suore originarie della Podlachia.⁶⁸ Essi operavano non solo come guide, ma preparavano la popolazione alla visita del gesuita, davano una mano nella catechesi, nella preparazione ai sacramenti e si incaricavano dei documenti relativi. L'ulteriore novità fu che Pydynkowski non si impegnò a celebrare un gran numero di battesimi, matrimoni e confessioni, ma si prodigò soprattutto ad organizzare tra la popolazione confraternite o promuovere l'idea del Terzo Ordine Franciscano con lo scopo di generare delle strutture d'appoggio per le azioni missionarie future. Gli uniati venivano inoltre istruiti sulle modalità di amministrazione del battesimo e del matrimonio che, in caso di urgenza, potevano celebrare anche senza la presenza del sacerdote, servendosi della facoltà concessa loro dalla Santa Sede.

Pydynkowski rientrò in Podlachia nel luglio 1901, ma durante la notte tra il 15 e il 16 luglio, assieme ad uno dei fratelli albertini, Szymon (Stefan Olisiejuk), venne fermato e arrestato. Per fortuna la polizia trovò loro addosso solo alcune metriche di battesimo; erano riusciti a disfarsi di tutto il resto. Passarono comunque parecchie settimane in carcere e il 22 settembre del 1901 furono accompagnati alla frontiera russo-austriaca. I russi li misero in stato di arresto. Durante quella prigionia accadde un fatto singolare. Pydynkowski chiese aiuto ad un uomo per il disbrigo di alcuni piccoli affari. In seguito lo stesso uomo si presentò a Cracovia da Fratel Albert Chmielowski (fondatore dei fratelli albertini, oggi santo) portando una presunta lettera del gesuita con una richiesta di denaro. La missiva fu portata immediatamente al provinciale dei gesuiti, Włodzimierz Ledóchowski,⁶⁹ il quale constatò che la scrittura non era quella del padre Pydynkowski. Il latore della lettera fu arrestato perché scoperto essere una spia russa. Il quotidiano di Cracovia, *Czas*, ne pubblicò la notizia e il timore fu che la situazione dei gesuiti nelle mani dei russi potesse aggravarsi. Fortunatamente i padri vennero rilasciati poco prima che la notizia raggiungesse Varsavia e riuscirono tranquillamente ritornarsene a Cracovia.⁷⁰

pp. 22-23). Secondo Paluszkievicz, invece, Pydynkowski, già nell'autunno 1896 fece alcune visite in Podlachia, reiterate nella primavera dell'anno successivo. L'arresto della Markiewicz avvenne nel maggio del 1897 (*W cieniu Hermesa*, 97-100).

⁶⁸ Oltre ai due fratelli, Szymon e Marian, collaboravano alla missione anche alcune suore albertine: Kunegunda (Maria Siluk), Felicja (Maria Maksymiuk), Róża (Elżbieta Daniłko) e Joanna (Barbara Walma). Cfr. Paluszkievicz, *W cieniu Hermesa*, p. 98.

⁶⁹ *7.x.1866 Loosdorf; SJ 24.ix.1889 Stara Wieś; generale della Compagnia dal 11.ii.1915; †13.xii.1942 Roma (*DHCJ*, II, 1687-690).

⁷⁰ Cfr. Paluszkievicz, *W cieniu Hermesa*, pp. 106-07. Per completare il quadro della missione di Pydynkowski, occorre aggiungere che durante quegli anni egli arrivò clandestinamente fino a Mosca e Novgorod, dove diede gli esercizi ad alcuni russi convertiti al cattolicesimo e a sacerdoti latini che lavoravano in zone che erano state sotto il dominio polacco. Cfr. la lettera di Pydynkowski a Luis

Nel 1902 arrivò in Podlachia Jan Urban⁷¹ che narrò le vicende della sua missione nel libro *Wśród unitów na Podlasiu. Pamiętnik wycieczek misyjnych*, pubblicato a Cracovia nel 1923. Egli annotò, giorno dopo giorno, le sue due visite missionarie, riportando i nomi dei villaggi, delle persone e il numero delle confessioni, battesimi, comunioni e conferme impartiti in Podlachia.

Il missionario, accompagnato da frate Marian della congregazione degli albertini, seguì il metodo di Pydynkowski.⁷² Egli si spacciò per un venditore di sementi e il fratello per un semplice operaio. La prima missione durò dal 18 luglio al 14 agosto e furono visitati diciassette villaggi.

Alla fine di marzo del 1903 arrivò in Podlachia, accompagnato ancora da frate Marian, Julian Wolszlegier,⁷³ ma dopo nemmeno un mese di lavoro dovettero entrambi fuggire, incalzati dalla polizia, e ritornarsene in Galizia.

Il 17 luglio Urban ritornò in Podlachia e vi rimase fino al 23 agosto visitando trentacinque villaggi. Rientrato in provincia continuò l'apostolato con i suoi scritti. Nel 1904 pubblicò *Czytania podlaskie*, un'operetta dedicata ai contadini uniati dove racconta, usando toni semplici, l'origine e la storia dell'unione, con lo scopo di rafforzarne la resistenza all'ortodossia. Nello stesso anno pubblicò *Wskazówki dla unitów* dove istruisce gli uniati sui sacramenti, in particolare sul battesimo e sul matrimonio, spiegando loro le modalità di celebrazione senza l'assistenza del sacerdote cattolico. Nel 1906 pubblicò, inoltre, *Święty Józefat Kuncewicz*, una breve biografia del santo vescovo, martire dell'unione.⁷⁴

Martín (*19.viii.1846 Melgar de Fernamental; SJ 13.x.1864 Loyola; generale della Compagnia dal 2.x.1892; †18.iv.1906 Roma [DHCJ, II, 1676-82] del 11 I 1897 (ARSI, Provincia Galiziana, t. 1009, fasc. XVI, doc. 5). Nell'archivio dei gesuiti a Varsavia si trova una relazione della missione di Pydynkowski in Podlachia: "Historia uwięzienia i ocalenia X. Pydynkowskiego" (APMA, Urban).

⁷¹ *23.i.1874 Brok; SJ 20.xi.1899 Stara Wieś; †27.ix.1940 Kraków. (*Encyklopedia wiedzy o jezuitach*, p. 710).

⁷² Frate Marian – il cui nome di battesimo era Onufry Bucniewicz e proveniva da Koszół, un villaggio della Podlachia vicino a Biała – partecipava fattivamente alla missione già dal 1897. Per accompagnare i missionari attraversò la frontiera austriaco-russa ben quindici volte, spesso in circostanze pericolose e drammatiche. Cfr. Paluszkievicz, *W cieniu Hermesa*, pp. 100-104.

⁷³ *13.vi.1850 Pięknopol Pelpliński; SJ 22.v.1890 Stara Wieś; †16.i.1911 Opawa (*Encyklopedia wiedzy o jezuitach*, p. 757).

⁷⁴ L'APMA contiene anche altri manoscritti del gesuita: "Podlasie pod względem religijnymoralnym. Uwagi z misyjnej wycieczki Ks. Jana Urbana w lecie roku 1902"; "Brevis Relatio de Missione peracta mensibus Julio et Augusto a. 1902 in Podlachia apud Catholicos Ruthenos rit. graec., religionis causa vexatos a regimine Rossiaco"; "Stan aktualny Unitów w Królestwie Polskiem, r. 1904"; "De statu Catholicorum ritus graeci in diocesi Chełmensi, a Gubernio Russiaco schismati a. 1875 adiuncta"; "Z Podlasia. Położenie obecne Katolików obrządku ruskiego w dawnej diecezji Chełmskiej pod panowaniem Rossyjskiem"; "O obrządku grecko-katolickim w Rosyi"; "De ritu

Dopo la seconda missione di Urban, il provinciale Ledóchowski propose l'apostolato in Podlachia ad Apoloniusz Kraupa.⁷⁵ Il missionario, spacciandosi per un costruttore di pozzi, iniziò il suo lavoro nei primi giorni di dicembre del 1903, ma già alla fine del mese dovette rientrare in Galizia perché inseguito dalla polizia. Nel gennaio del 1904 fratel Marian partì di nuovo alla volta della Lituania e Bielorussia (Słonim, Mińsk, Wilno), dove si impegnò nelle catechesi degli uniati che dal 1839 erano rimasti senza aiuto pastorale. In agosto incontrò a Brest Kraupa, che aveva ripreso la sua attività, e insieme proseguirono verso ovest, attraversando diversi villaggi. In uno di questi furono sul punto di essere catturati, ma grazie all'aiuto dei contadini riuscirono, anche questa volta, a scappare.

Alla fine di agosto Kraupa ritornò in missione per la terza volta con un nuovo passaporto sotto il nome di Jan Grzegocki, sempre fingendosi costruttore di pozzi. Anche questa volta era accompagnato da fratel Marian. Vicino a Zamość vennero entrambi arrestati e confinati prima a Krasiczyn e poi a Lublin. Dopo tre mesi di prigionia furono rilasciati e rientrarono a Cracovia.⁷⁶

L'arresto di Kraupa fu usato da alcuni gesuiti contrari alla missione come pretesto per bloccare l'apostolato. Come era già accaduto alcuni anni prima, dovette aver luogo un acceso dibattito a riguardo, se padre Urban intervenne ad asserire che non si poteva e doveva abbandonare un popolo che già aveva tanto sofferto per la sua fedeltà alla chiesa.⁷⁷ Fortunatamente il provinciale Ledóchowski era a favore della missione, anzi, lo interessava in particolar modo la situazione degli uniati che abitavano i territori a est del fiume Bug. Inviò per una missione di "avanscoperta" il padre Marcin Czermiński,⁷⁸ che partì da Cracovia il 1 marzo del 1904 per raggiungere a Mińsk (Bielorussia) il fratel Marian, dopo aver attraversato Lwów e Pińsk. Gli uniati che abitavano quei territori erano stati per così lungo tempo privati dell'aiuto pastorale che erano diventati tutti ortodossi. Finalmente Czermiński raggiunse la zona di Mińsk,

graeco-catholico in Russia restituendo" (APMA Urban).

⁷⁵ *17.iv.1871 Kozłów; SJ 29.iii.1888 Stara Wieś; †9.xii.1919 Katondwe (Zambia) (*Encyklopedia wiedzy o jezuitach*, p. 329).

⁷⁶ Nell'archivio dei gesuiti a Cracovia esistono due manoscritti con la relazione della missione di Kraupa: APME segn. 989: "Pierwsza wycieczka misyjna do Unitów guberni siedleckiej i lubelskiej w Królestwie polskiem ks. Apoloniusz Kraupa od 3-21 grudnia 1903 r. ; II Wycieczka misyjna do Unitów w guberniach siedleckiej i lubelskiej w r. 1904 ks. Apoloniusz Kraupa." Alcuni documenti si trovano anche in APMA, Urban: "Misya X. Kraupy w r. 1903."

⁷⁷ Cfr. Paluszkievicz, *W cieniu Hermesa*, p. 123.

⁷⁸ *7.i.1860 Glińsk (Ucraina); SJ 8.viii.1885 Stara Wieś; † 8.i.1931 Lwów (*Encyklopedia wiedzy o jezuitach*, p. 111).

dove incontrò fratel Marian, per spingersi poi fino a Smoleńsk, dove la situazione religiosa degli uniati rimaneva più o meno identica a quella dei territori appena visitati. Nel viaggio di ritorno Czermiński fece una sosta a Łahiszyn (provincia di Augustów) dove confessò molti uniati e celebrò una messa. Mancò poco che il gesuita fosse arrestato, però tutto finì bene e alla fine di marzo ritornò in Galizia.⁷⁹

All'inizio del 1904, con l'aiuto di alcuni gesuiti, un nutrito gruppo di uniati—all'incirca una cinquantina di persone—si diresse a Roma per incontrare il papa Pio X al quale fu consegnato un memoriale delle persecuzioni subite, smascherando così la propaganda ufficiale russa che negava in Polonia l'esistenza del problema. La visita ebbe un'eco fortissima. I mass-media diffusero la notizia, portando a conoscenza dell'opinione pubblica europea la vicenda degli uniati in Podlachia.⁸⁰

Il 30 aprile del 1905 lo zar Niccolò II firmò l'*ukase* con il quale concedeva agli abitanti della Russia la libertà religiosa, ma le difficoltà per i greco-cattolici di Podlachia non terminarono. La maggioranza di loro tentò di passare alla chiesa latina, ma l'amministrazione russa ostacolava burocraticamente il passaggio. L'unico beneficio evidente fu che cessarono le sanzioni nei confronti dei sacerdoti latini e poterono svolgere con relativa tranquillità la loro azione pastorale, malgrado le ostilità dell'amministrazione russa. Ora le ragioni della segretezza erano venute meno e fu così che si concluse la missione dei gesuiti.

La Chiesa greco-cattolica, nata dall'unione di Brest-Litovsk, è sopravvissuta in Ucraina e in Polonia fino ai nostri giorni.⁸¹ Oggi il periodo delle persecuzioni sembra essere giunto finalmente al termine. Purtroppo le ferite e le incomprensioni si possono tuttora scorgere nelle difficili relazioni tra l'ortodossia russa e l'unione e tra la Santa Sede e il Patriarcato di Mosca.

La questione sul futuro dell'unione rimane, come sempre, aperta. Quella del passato, invece, costituisce ancora una sfida, oltre che uno stimolo, ad uno studio approfondito in cui la missione segreta dei gesuiti non ne è che una piccola parte.

⁷⁹ Cfr. Paluszkiwicz, *W' cieniu Hermesa*, pp. 126-29; APMA, Urban: "Memoryał z misji w Guberni Mińskiej i sąsiednich; *Relacya przewodnika Jerzego*."

⁸⁰ Non fu l'unica azione di questo tipo. Già alcuni anni prima giunsero a Roma dalla Podlachia alcuni testimoni delle persecuzioni. Cfr. Roman Soszyński, *400-lecie Unii Brzeskiej 1596-1996* (Marki-Struga: Michalineum, 1996) pp. 203-14.

⁸¹ Oggi in Podlachia sopravvive solo una piccola parrocchia di rito greco-cattolico nel villaggio di Kostomłoty, a circa 15 chilometri sud-ovest di Brest. Nei luoghi del martirio degli uniati esistono parrocchie di rito latino e ancora oggi lì l'ortodossia è in minoranza.

Summary

During the years 1878-1904, Jesuits from the province of Galicia established and maintained a secret pastoral mission among the Uniate Catholics in the region of Podlachia (today eastern Poland). Jesuit activities, considered outside the laws of the Russian authorities, consisted in the celebration of Mass, and the administration of the sacraments of baptism, confession, and matrimony. Several missionaries were arrested, imprisoned; some were exiled in Russia. This article presents a little known episode in the modern history of the Society of Jesus.

Sumario

En los años 1878-1904, los jesuitas de la Provincia de Galitzia emprendieron una misión secreta con el fin de prestar ayuda pastoral a los uniatas que habitaban en la región de Podlaquia (hoy Polonia oriental). La actividad de los jesuitas, considerada ilegal por las autoridades rusas, consistía en el ejercicio de los ministerios sacerdotales: misas, bautizos, confesiones, bodas, etc. Algunos de los misioneros involucrados, fueron arrestados y encarcelados, otros fueron deportados a Rusia. El propósito de este artículo es recordar un episodio todavía poco conocido de la historia de la Compañía de Jesús.

Catholic Resistance in Elizabethan England: Robert Persons's Jesuit Polemic, 1580-1610

Victor Houliston



During his lifetime Robert Persons was arguably the leading figure fighting for the re-establishment of Catholicism in England. Whilst his colleague Edmund Campion may now be better known it was Persons's tireless efforts that kept the Jesuit mission alive during the difficult days of Elizabeth's reign. In this new study, Persons's life and phenomenal literary output are analysed and put into the context of recent Catholic scholarship. The book bridges the gap between historical studies and literary studies by concentrating on Persons's contribution as a writer to the polemical culture of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

As well as discussing his wider achievements as leader of the English Jesuits—founding three seminaries for English priests, corresponding regularly with Catholic activists in England, writing over thirty books, holding the post of rector of the English College in Rome, and being a trusted consultant to the papacy on English affairs—this study looks in detail at what is arguably his greatest legacy, *The First Booke of the Christian Exercise* (more commonly known as the *Book of Resolution*). That book, first published in 1582, was to prove the cornerstone of Persons's missionary effort, and a popular work of Catholic devotion, running to several editions over the coming years.

Although Persons was ultimately unsuccessful in his ambition to return England to the Catholic fold, the story of his life and works reveals much about the ecclesiastical struggle that gripped early modern Europe. By providing a thorough and up-to-date reassessment of Persons this study not only makes a significant contribution to our understanding of the polemical context of post-Reformation Catholicism, but also of the Jesuit notion of the “apostolate of writing.”

Bibliotheca Institutii Historici Societatis Iesu 63. Co-published with Ashgate Press.

€ 50,00 (€ 35,00 to subscribers).

RICHARD SMITH VERSUS ROBERT PERSONS: A DOUBLE DENUNCIATION OF *THE* *JUDGMENT OF A CATHOLICKE ENGLISH-* *MAN AT THE HOLY OFFICE*

Ginevra Crosignani*

Nearly forty years into the reign of Queen Elizabeth I, the “Wisbech Stirs,” a quarrel over issues of ecclesiastical discipline among the Catholic clerical prisoners at Wisbech Castle in 1595, and the subsequent Archpriest Controversy (1598-1602), revealed the full extent of the fractures within the English Catholic community, and especially its clergy.¹ Despite petitions from some secular clergy, and indeed some English Jesuits, for the creation of an episcopal hierarchy, Rome decided in 1598 to create an archpresbyterate with limited

* Dr. Crosignani, author of *De Aduersis Ecclesiis Protestantium*: Thomas Wright, Robert Persons, S.J., e il dibattito sul conformismo occasionale nell'Inghilterra dell'Età Moderna (Roma: Institutum Historicum Societatis Jesu, 2004), is currently a post-doctoral fellow at the California Institute of Technology, Pasadena.

¹ About the year 1595 some forty Catholic priests were held prisoner at Wisbech Castle in Norfolk. When the Jesuit William Weston tried to impose his set of disciplinary rules, a strong reaction arose from a small group of seculars led by Thomas Bluet and Christopher Bagshaw. This is usually regarded as the key factor in the creation of factions in the Catholic clergy, between seculars and Jesuits. See Penelope Renold, ed., *The Wisbech Stirs 1595-1598* (London: Catholic Record Society [= CRS], 1958) CRS 51; John Bossy, *The English Catholic Community 1570-1850* (London: Darton, Longman & Briggs, 1975), pp. 35-49; John C. H. Aveling, *The Handle and the Axe. The Catholic Recusants in England from Reformation to Emancipation* (London: Blond & Briggs, 1976), pp. 68-69; Arnold Pritchard, *Catholic Loyatism in Elizabethan England* (London: Scolar Press, 1979) ch. 5.

jurisdiction over the secular clergy of England and Scotland.² The man invested with the archpresbyteral dignity was George Blackwell, who was widely regarded among secular clergy as a protégé of the Jesuits, and this exacerbated rather than alleviated the tension. Since Blackwell was obliged to consult Henry Garnet, superior of the Jesuits in England, and obtain his approval for major administrative decisions, some secular clergy protested that this novel type of ecclesiastical governance subjected the secular clergy to the control of the Society of Jesus. Although many of them had relied upon the Society of Jesus's organization and structure, many of them balked at what they saw as the prospect of Jesuit rule. In the ebb and flow of the subsequent controversy, as each side sought allies, even going so far (as some of the so-called Appellants did) as to cooperate with the English government, Pope Clement VIII finally resolved the dispute in 1602 with a brief forbidding any consultation between the archpriest and Jesuits in matters of government.³ Encouraged by the papal decision, the leaders of the secular clergy renewed their campaign for the establishment of a bishop with effective jurisdiction over secular and regular clergy (almost all of whom were Jesuits). Crucial to their success was a resident agent in Rome, a man who lobbied the papal court with petitions and suits not just for a grant of episcopal status to one of their number but for a host of other proposed reforms (for example in the governance of the seminaries). The future Jesuit Thomas Fitzherbert⁴ was Blackwell's first agent in Rome; Richard Smith replaced him in 1608. He, in turn, was replaced by Thomas More in September of 1610. Both Smith and More had been chaplains to Lady Magdalene (Dacres) Browne, Viscountess Montague, step-grandmother of Anthony Maria Browne, second Viscount Montague, and now the principal aristocratic patron on whom the seculars relied.⁵ But their task was not easy.

² See Michael Questier's introduction to *Newsletters from the Archpresbyterate of George Birkhead* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) Camden Society, Fifth Series, Volume 12, pp. 1, 3, 6.

³ See Thomas G. Law, *The Archpriest Controversy*, 2 vols. (London, 1896, 1898) Camden Society, Second series, Volumes 56, 58; John H. Pollen, S.J., *The Institution of the Archpriest Blackwell. A Study of the Transition from the Paternal to Constitutional and Local Church Government among the English Catholics, 1595-1602* (London: Longmans & Co., 1916). The brief of 2 October 1602 can be found in Mark A. Tierney, ed., *Dodd's Church History of England from 1500 to the year 1688*, 5 vols. (London, 1839-1843) III, pp. clxxxi-clxxxiii.

⁴ *1552 Swynnerton, (Staffordshire); SJ 31.vii.1614 Rome; †17.viii.1640 Rome (MHSA, *Mon. Ang.*, II, 310; *Sommervogel*, III, 763-66).

⁵ Questier, *Newsletters*, p. 6. On this topic see Antony F. Allison, "Richard Smith, Richelieu and the French Marriage. The political context of Smith's appointment as bishop for England in 1624," *Recusant History* 7 (1964) 166; Michael Questier, *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England: Politics, Aristocratic Patronage and Religion c. 1550-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006) pp. 317-18).

Jesuit lobbyists reinforced the doubts of a wary papacy with accounts of continued persecution and increased difficulties after the Gunpowder Plot of 1605. According to the 18th-century Catholic priest and historian, Charles Dodd, notorious for his anti-Jesuit sentiment, the agents faced almost insuperable obstacles.⁶ The archpriest George Birkhead informed Smith on 11 October 1609 that he had heard, via Robert Persons,⁷ that the Holy Office had decided that they would not proceed with any discussion regarding episcopal government without the consent of the entire secular clergy.⁸ Birkhead had been forced to admit that securing this unanimity would not be a straightforward matter: "some will never give their consent: and therefore, if the greater part will

⁶ Tierney, *Dodd's Church History of England*, V, 14 ss; Allison, "Richard Smith," 166-67; Questier, *Newsletters*, p. 6. Richard Smith was absolutely convinced Persons was responsible for his failure in Rome, although, according to Francis Edwards, S.J., the Jesuit "was only reflecting the general attitude of Roman authority" (*Robert Persons. Biography of an Elizabethan Jesuit 1546-1610* [St. Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1995] p. 379). Long before Smith's agency began, Persons had shown himself hostile towards granting episcopal authority to the Appellant clergy even though he had actually been a proponent of an early scheme to create two bishops for the English Catholics in the late 1590s (Questier, *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England*, p. 305 n. 41). A document containing arguments in favour of, and against the restoration of the episcopal rule in England "Rationes pro Episcopis in Angliam mittendis exhibitae" (Archivio della Congregazione per la Dottrina della Fede [=ACDF], St. Ss1 – b, "Anglicana," ff. 87^v-91^r; ARSI, Anglia 31/II, ff. 323^r-325^v), was presented to the Congregation of the Holy Office in June 1607 by John Sweet (Joseph Gillow, *A Literary and Biographical History: or, Bibliographical Dictionary of the English Catholics, from the Breach with Rome, in 1534, to the Present Time* (London: Burns & Oates, 1885-1902) IV, 536). Sweet was a secular priest who joined the Society in 1609. Although he was to be later addressed by John Mush as "Persons's parassite" (Law, *Archpriest Controversy*, II, p. 47), Sweet embraced, at the time, the Appellants' views on the subject. In fact, the memorial contains strong arguments in favor of the Appellants' petitions: it is everybody's opinion that the fruits deriving from the restoration of the episcopal hierarchy will be many and great in these times. The bishop's own example will have a great influence both on the quality of the instruction of the missionary clergy, as well as on their spirit. The presence of ecclesiastics who had been granted the faculty of ordaining priests, will encourage Catholics to bear persecutions more firmly (ACDF, St. Ss1 – b, "Anglicana," ff. 88^v-89^r). The document is most probably a summary of arguments on either side, which Persons himself had "many times" offered to the cardinal protector of the English nation, and was now supported by Sweet (Edwards, *Robert Persons*, pp. 358-59). In July 1607 the Pope asked for the opinion of three men on this matter: his nuncio in Flanders, Guido Bentivoglio, the English archpriest and Maffeo, Cardinal Barberini in Rome, who were to provide, eventually, a list of candidates whom they considered appropriate for the office of bishop (ACDF, St. Ss1 – b, "Anglicana," ff. 90^v-91^r). A copy of Bentivoglio's Memorial, dated 24 November 1607, survives in the Archives of the former Roman Holy Office (ACDF, St. Ss1 – b "Anglicana," ff. 214^r-219^v), but provides a negative opinion on the opportunity of restoring the episcopal rule in England. This suggests the pope's opinion had been influenced in that direction much earlier than 1609, and not by Robert Persons.

⁷ *24.vi.1536 Somerset; SJ4.vii.1575 Rome; †15/25.iv.1610 Rome (MHSA, *Mon. Ang.*, II, 432).

⁸ Birkhead to Smith, 11 October 1609 (Tierney, *Dodd's Church History of England*, V, p. lxxxiii; Questier, *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England*, p. 349).

not serve, then, I suppose, the suit for the bishops will be in the dust.”⁹ As the archpriest struggled to collect signatures, he instructed his agents to raise other matters, specifically the restrictions imposed on English secular clergy regarding higher degrees at continental universities.¹⁰ Consequently, the archpriest decided to set aside temporarily the question of the creation of an episcopal hierarchy while he tried to secure other desired reforms.¹¹ In particular, Smith sought an audience with the pope concerning other grievances about the instruction of the secular clergy, and in particular about the restrictions about higher academic degrees in continental universities.¹²

Smith and More arrived in Rome on 12 May 1609;¹³ by June they had made contact with Robert Persons, with whom, inevitably, they would have to deal,¹⁴ because of the extent of his influence throughout large swathes of the English Catholic community.¹⁵ Among the other topics they discussed were a couple of

⁹ Birkhead to Smith, 25 June 1609 (Tierney, *Dodd's Church History of England*, V, 19 n. 2).

¹⁰ Questier, *Newsletters*, p. 4.

¹¹ Allison, “Richard Smith,” 166-67; Questier, *Newsletters*, p. 7.

¹² Questier, *Newsletters*, p. 4.

¹³ Leo Hicks, S.J., ed., *Letters of Thomas Fitzherbert 1608-1610* (London: Catholic Record Society, 1948) CRS 41, pp. 135-36.

¹⁴ “At Rome, every letter and application to the Holy See passed open through the hands of Persons, to be delivered or suppressed as he might judge convenient,” or so Dodd claimed (Tierney, *Church History of England*, V, 15 & n.). At times Persons went beyond the letter of the pope’s instructions and wishes (Thomas M. McCoog, S.J., *The Society of Jesus in Ireland, Scotland, and England 1541-1588: ‘Our Way of Proceeding?’* (Leiden: EJ Brill, 1996) pp. 135, 145 n. 56), yet he was never officially rebuked by the Holy See for his zeal (Edwards, *Robert Persons*, p. 364). Persons was chosen by the pope as a point of contact between himself and the secular clergy (*Robert Persons*, p. 351). In his study of relationships between Spanish and English Jesuits during 1592-1605, Thomas McCoog points out Persons’ talent for dealing with people. Over the years Persons had, for all the difficulties he caused, provided a degree of unity within the English mission, and his “handling of domestic problems reveals a dimension of his personality generally ignored by historians more concerned with his political manoeuvres: his concern for fostering harmony within the Society, his sensitivity to Spanish fears and anxieties, his desire to treat Jesuits justly and fairly, and his awareness of just how much the English mission depended on the Spanish” (“Fostering Harmony and Respect: English Jesuits in Seville, 1592-1605”). I am very grateful to the author for allowing me to read a draft of it. There is a Hungarian version in *Historicus Societatis Iesu Szász László Emlékkönyv*, ed. Molnár Antal, Szilágyi Csaba, and Zombori István (Budapest: METEM, 2007) pp. 151-68.

¹⁵ Some Catholic apologists regarded Persons as “the only great spiritual writer of the time,” (Aveling, *Handle and the Axe*, p. 72). For full bibliographical references, see Victor Houlston, “Robert Persons’ Scholarship,” *AHSJ* 142 (2002) 369-78. A year after his death the Jesuit was still considered a forceful authority in England, and seculars were very much aware of his posthumous influence. In November 1611 Birkhead told More that Persons’s “credit . . . is greater in this land than the credit of xx such as you and I” (Questier, *Newsletters*, p. 129).

subsidiary demands from the seculars, such as the setting up of a college, or, rather, a writers' institute, which would produce polemical books in the Catholic cause; this was inextricably linked to their demands for the removal of the restrictions imposed by the 1597 papal brief on the award of higher degrees to English clergy.¹⁶ These and other petitions were presented to the vice-protector of England, Lorenzo, Cardinal Bianchetti¹⁷ on 26 June 1609. Ultimately, however, the pope consented only to the creation of a house of studies in Paris—Arras College¹⁸ over which Smith presided from 1613 to 1625 (before succeeding William Bishop in the titular see of Chalcedon).¹⁹ In a 1617²⁰ list of suitable successors to the archpriest, Richard Smith is described as “very much learned,” “bold,” and “intrepid,” yet known to be “the first enemy of the Jesuits.”²¹ The agent’s “bitterness,” as Antony Allison describes it,²² was

¹⁶ Edwards, *Persons*, p. 378. The more senior seculars were allowed to reside and study at Douai, while the young seminarians lacked the education considered appropriate to their missionary task (Questier, *Newsletters*, p. 4 & n. 13).

¹⁷ Descendant of an ancient aristocratic family, he was born in Bologna in 1545. He was made judge of the Roman Sacred Rota around 1572. In 1582 he was Rector of the University of Rome, “La Sapienza.” In 1588 he was asked to follow Ippolito, Cardinal Aldobrandini, at the time papal nuncio in Cracow. In 1589 he was sent to France in the service of Enrico, Cardinal Caetani, whose task was to discuss the election of a Catholic king and explore the possibility of a conversion to Catholicism of Henry of Navarre. When Aldobrandini was elected Pope with the name of Clement VIII (1592), Bianchetti was made cardinal. He died in Rome in 1612 (*Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Roma: Istituto dell’Enciclopedia Italiana, 1960-) X, 51-52).

¹⁸ Paul V commended the initiative and promised funds for the printing of anti-heretical books (Tierney, *Dodd’s Church History of England*, IV, 135; Edwards, *Robert Persons*, p. 378), but referred this matter and the demand concerning doctorates to the Inquisition. On 23 July the Holy Office substantially rejected the petitions of the archpriest’s agent (Edwards, *Robert Persons*, p. 379; Hicks, *Letters of Thomas Fitzherbert*, pp. 51-52; Allison, “Richard Smith’s Gallican Backers and Jesuit Opponents,” *Recusant History* 19 (1989) 255-58).

¹⁹ Joseph Gillow, *Dictionary of the English Catholics*, V, 511; *sub voce* in H.C.G. Matthew & Brian Harrison, eds., *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 61 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

²⁰ John Colleton and his assistants’ list of candidates had been sent to the Pope on 28 July 1614 (Tierney, *Dodd’s Church History*, V, pp. clxvii-clxviii; also Daniel Shanahan, “The Death of Thomas More, Secular Priest, Great-Grandson of St. Thomas More,” *Recusant History*, 7 (1963) 23) but Smith, born in 1567, is said to be fifty years old, so this list should be dated 1617.

²¹ “Richardo Smitheo è di 50 anni, dottissimo, ha scritto qualche cosa in latino, è coraggioso, et intrepido, et ha sempre abborrito con perfetto odio il giuramento; ma contro i detti Giesuiti è più vehemente d’ogni altro” (ACDF, St. St. Ss1- b, “Anglicana,” f. 145”) The list we refer to (ACDF, St. St. Ss1- b, “Anglicana,” ff. 145’-146”) is said to reflect the will of the whole English clergy: friends and opponents of the Jesuits as well as Benedictines [“Convengono tutti questi sacerdoti Inglesi tanto i boni quanto i mali affetti a’ i Padri Gesuiti, et anco i Padri Benedettini della Congregazione Anglicana, che sono qui in nominare e proporre per Arciprete. . . .” (ACDF, St. St.

probably increased by an episode that occurred during his Roman stay.²³ According to Mark Tierney, in 1609 and in 1611 “Persons and his friends” denounced a book Smith had written in 1605.²⁴ In this rejoinder to Thomas Bell’s *Downfall of Popery*,²⁵ Smith did not condemn this notorious renegade’s position on the papal deposing power because he could not demonstrate it to be a question *de fide*.²⁶

The issue of the lawfulness of the papal deposing power, specifically the faculty of the pope to excommunicate sovereigns endangering the survival of the Catholic religion, became the target of controversial debates after July 1606, after the oath of allegiance passed into law during the 1606 session of the first Jacobean parliament. The relationship between spiritual and civil power and the eventual superiority of the former over the latter is still an issue of major concern and should be discussed in its own appropriate context. Here it will be enough to point out that, although many Catholic theologians denied that it should be considered strictly and simply as an article of faith, the majority of Roman theorists agreed on the legitimacy of the papal deposing power: a simple denial of the pope’s faculty of deposing princes represented a rejection of his spiritual primacy over civil rulers.²⁷ Robert Persons argued that “this point of the popes authority to depose princes, if it be not expressly defined, as many

Ss1- b, “Anglicana,” f.145v) According to this document Smith always truly abhorred the oath, yet his hostility toward the Jesuits remains a cornerstone of his personality (Questier, *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England*, pp. 305, 321, 348-52 *passim*).

²² Allison, “Richard Smith,” 167.

²³ In October 1624 William Reyner, Smith’s cousin, told Bernardino Spada that “the origin of Smith’s hatred of the Jesuits was a book of his in English against Bell . . . [which] Father Persons sent . . . to the Holy Office” (Allison, “Richard Smith,” 177).

²⁴ *Dodd’s Church History of England*, V, p. cxliv, n. 1; Antony Allison and David M. Rogers, *The Contemporary Printed Literature of the English Counter-Reformation between 1558 and 1640* [=ARCR], 2 vols. (Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1989-94), II, num. 703.

²⁵ *The Downfall of Poperie: Propose by way of a new challenge to all English Jesuits and Jesuited or Italianized papists: daring them all jointly, and every one of them severally, to make answer thereunto if they can, or have any truth on their side* (London, 1604).

²⁶ Thomas H. Clancy, S.J., “The English Catholics and the Papal Deposing Power,” *Recusant History* (1962) 208-09; Allison, “The Later Life and Writings of Joseph Creswell, S.J., (1556-1623),” *Recusant History* 15 (1979) 101; Questier, *Newsletters*, p. 8.

²⁷ On this subject see Clarence J. Ryan, “The Jacobean Oath of Allegiance and English Lay Catholics,” *Catholic Historical Review* 28 (1942) 159-83; Clancy, “The English Catholics and the Papal Deposing Power,” *Recusant History* 6 (1961-62) 114-40, 205-27; 7 (1963) 2-10; Johan P. Sommerville, *Politics and Ideology in England, 1603-1640* (London: Longman, 1999); Michael Questier, “Loyalty, Religion and State Power in Early Modern England: English Romanism and the Jacobean Oath of Allegiance,” *Historical Journal* 40 (1997) 311-29, especially 319-20.

learned men do hold, yet by all mens opinion is so neer unto faith that it cannot be denied without a notable error in faith.”²⁸

These statements on their own do not establish that Persons was Smith’s accuser, and the difficulty of establishing when the first denunciation of Smith’s “anti-Bell tract” occurred, if there ever was any, still remains. Leo Hicks, S.J.,²⁹ suggests that it took place towards the end of 1609 because Smith’s complaints had begun around this time.³⁰ Francis Edwards, S.J.,³¹ and Michael Questier both refer to a “Censure”³² of Smith’s book, mostly written in Persons’s handwriting, reproducing most of the opinions on *potestas deponendi* contained in a letter to the agent, where he admonished him “in the sweetest manner” to refrain from dangerous speeches.³³ It is also hard to determine the exact nature of Persons’s contribution to this denunciation: no evidence survives that this censure was ever exhibited to the Inquisition or drawn up at its request. However, in a letter to George Birkhead on 15 September 1609, Persons criticized Smith’s refusal to consider the theory of the papal deposing power a question *de fide*, blaming his frequent speeches on the subject “before divers [persons].”³⁴

On 11 October Birkhead himself warned Smith against speaking too liberally “especially of de potestas deponendi . . . otherwise advantage will be taken against you . . . to the great prejudice of us all.”³⁵ Nevertheless, the archpriest was convinced that Persons was “oppressed with the passion of overmuch

²⁸ A “Discourse against taking the oath in England written by F. Persons. 1606,” Archivum Britannicum Societatis Iesu [=ABSI], Collectanea P I 161-74, point number “4”).

²⁹ *22.ii.1888 Dundalk; SJ 7.ix.1904 Roehampton; †14.iii.1968 Boscombe (*DHCJ*, II, 1922).

³⁰ Letters to Birkhead dated 28 October and 5 December 1609 (Hicks, *Letters of Thomas Fitzherbert*, p. 122 n. 26; Edwards, *Robert Persons*, p. 382).

³¹ *16.i.1922 Clapham (London); SJ 7.ix.1947 Roehampton; †14.ix.2006 London (*AHSJ* 76 [2007] 233).

³² “Censura brevis de quibusdam quae hoc capite primo libri Domini Ricardi Smithei contra Belum haereticum continentur,” ABSI, Anglia, III, n. 24.

³³ Tierney, *Dodd’s Church History*, V, p. lxxvi; the same letter is partially quoted in Hicks, *Letters of Thomas Fitzherbert*, p. 123 n. 26; Edwards, *Robert Persons*, p. 382 n. 42; Questier, *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England*, p. 351 n. 33.

³⁴ Tierney, *Dodd’s Church History*, V, p. lxxv.

³⁵ Tierney, *Dodd’s Church History*, V, p. lxxx.

suspicion and jealousy”³⁶ in his on-going struggle with the archpriest’s agent.³⁷ Smith certainly shared Birkhead’s opinions; in fact his relationship with Persons became extremely cold.³⁸ By the time he left Rome in September 1610, Smith was absolutely convinced that the Jesuit had been instrumental in prejudicing the pope and the cardinals against him.³⁹

Recent research has shown some lack of uniformity in early seventeenth-century Inquisitorial procedures, especially when compared to those carried out in the late second half of the previous century.⁴⁰ However, of one thing we can be reasonably sure: no written proof exists that a trial or any kind of censorial procedure ever took place against Smith. No trace of a formal denunciation survives in the archives of the Holy Office, as confirmed by the records of the Congregation’s weekly sessions. Inquisitorial procedures required denunciations to be written and never to be anonymous.⁴¹

As we shall see, Smith and More persuaded a Catholic convert, William Alabaster, to denounce Robert Persons at the Holy Office, most probably in August or the beginning of September 1609, before More left Rome.⁴² A second denunciation was made by More in July 1611, when Persons was already dead. On this occasion, More deployed Alabaster’s arguments. Smith always claimed to be a victim of Persons’s hatred, yet the account which follows will show that the agents took the initiative in denouncing the Jesuit, who was to be the only object of Inquisitorial examination. By the end of 1609 Smith had addressed a petition to the Inquisition asking to be granted a license to prove that no

³⁶ Tierney, *Dodd’s Church History*, V, p. lxxxi. Birkhead had been warned “somewhat roundly” by Thomas Fitzherbert that “rumours had been spread there amongst our brethren, that I and your old friend [Persons] have crossed Dr. Smith in his petitions” (Fitzherbert to Birkhead, Rome 31 October and 21 November 1609 (Tierney, *Dodd’s Church History*, V, pp. lxxxvi, lxxxvii).

³⁷ Birkhead to Smith, 8 January 1610, Tierney, *Dodd’s Church History*, V, p. xci.

³⁸ Edwards, *Robert Persons*, p. 383.

³⁹ Edwards, *Robert Persons*, p. 379; Allison, “Richard Smith,” 167.

⁴⁰ *The Inquisition in Early Modern Europe: Studies, Sources, and Methods*, Gustav Henningsen and John Tedeschi, editors, in association with Charles Amiel, (Dekalb, Illinois: Northern Illinois University Press, 1986); Giovanni Romeo, *L’Inquisizione nell’Italia Moderna* (Roma/Bari: Biblioteca essenziale Laterza, 2002); Agostino Borromeo, ed., *L’Inquisizione. Atti del Simposio internazionale, Città del Vaticano, 29-31 ottobre 1998* (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2003).

⁴¹ Eliseo Masini, *Sacro Arsenal, ovvero: Pratica dell’ufficio della santa inquisizione* (Bologna per Gioseffo Longhi, 1679), p. 30. On this subject see Adriano Garuti, *La Santa Romana e Universale Inquisizione: strutture e procedure*, in Borromeo, *L’Inquisizione*, pp. 389-91.

⁴² In September 1609 More was in Paris, from where he wrote to Smith (23 September 1609), in Hicks, *Letters of Thomas Fitzherbert*, p. 123 n. 26.

information had been laid against him in the Holy Office (notwithstanding his own recent attempt to get Persons into trouble in a similar manner).

On Wednesday, 23 December 1609, the Congregation examined Richard Smith's "exculpating" memorial addressed to the pope and the "most Illustrious Cardinals" of the Holy Office.⁴³ The document assumes that Smith's book has been denounced, and therefore he asks for a declaration testifying it does not contain unorthodox opinion on the papal deposing power. "Richard Smith, agent of the archpriest of England" explains "to his Beatitude and to their Most Illustrious Lordships" that he was commissioned four years earlier by his superiors to write a rejoinder to a book by a famous apostate, Thomas Bell. Smith's book had pleased many Catholics. Now Smith's book has been denounced "to this sacred tribunal" [ad hoc sacrum tribunal] by claims that it advertises the most false doctrine according to which the papal deposing power pertains to the domain of political action, and cannot be regarded as a matter of faith. Denunciation of his book to the Inquisition provided Smith's enemies with a good excuse to denigrate him and other members of the English clergy, all accused by "a Jesuit" of plotting with the heretics.⁴⁴ Smith provided evidence to support this assertion; he quoted verbatim part of an anonymous letter dated 6 May (although the relevant information has been erased) in which four or five priests are said to be working as intelligencers for the heretical bishops in England:

Quatuor aut quinque Sacerdotes nondum detecti dicuntur esse Intelligentiarii pro Episcopis (Haereticis) et dare notitiam omnium quae norunt: Ex quibus zelo certo nominatur pro uno, praecipuus actor pro Episcopis cum Domino Collingtono, Musheo, R.S. (quibus literis intellegit D: Smitheum) Bishopo,

⁴³ "Die 23 Decembris 1609. Petitur attestatio, nihil contra ipsum ["Smitheum"] extare in Sancto Officio," ACDF, St. St. Ss1-b, "Anglicana," f. 313'.

⁴⁴ "Richardus Smitheus Agens Archipresbiteri Angliae, exponit suae Beatitudini et Illustissimis Dominationibus, quod cum ante quatuor annos, iussu sui Superioris scripserit in Anglia magno cum suo periculo librum pro fideis et Sedis Apostolicae defensione, contra insolentissimam provocationem Thomae Belli famosi Apostatae, qui liber multum placuit Catholicis, et Apostatae ferociam repressit; modo is liber ad hoc Sacrum tribunal a quodam delatus est, tanquam continens hanc falsissimam doctrinam; Quod potestatis Summi Pontificis in deponendis Regibus sit res politicae tantum et nihil spectans ad fidem: Et praeterea idem Agens et praecipui quidam ex Assistentibus Archipresbiteri nominatim, et multi alii ex Clero Angliae tractis nominibus, vocati sunt in suspicionem perfidia in tractando cum Haereticis a quodam Jesuita per literas his verbis" (ACDF, St. St. Ss1-b, "Anglicana," f. 312'). A more blunt and slightly different version of the first few lines of this document is in Tierney's edition of *Dodd's Church History* (V, 25 n. 1) who quotes it as "Smith's Memorial to the cardinals of the Inquisition, original draft in my possession": "R.S., agens archipresbiteri et cleri Angliae, exponit quod, cum ante quatuor annos, jussu sui superioris, scripserit in Anglia librum pro fidei et Sedis apostolicae defensione, *** is liber nuper a quodam delatus est ad hoc sacrum tribunal &c."

et aliis. Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis in diès expectat nova de negotiatione R S.⁴⁵

The anonymous Jesuit accuser was Richard Holtby,⁴⁶ and the aforementioned is a Latin translation of his letter dated 6 May 1609 and addressed to Robert Persons:

... some four or five more, not yet discovered, are said to be intelligencers for the bishops, and to give notice of all they know: whereof Leak is named for one, a principal factor for bishops, with Mr. Colleton, Mush, R.S. (Smith), Bishop and others. My lord of Canterbury looketh daily for news of R.S. his negotiations.⁴⁷

Richard Smith humbly pleaded that, since his book (in which nothing unorthodox has been found) has actually been denounced at the Holy Office, his Holiness declare it immune of any imputation of error. Since his only concern is for the archpriest's reputation, now stained with dishonor, and for that of the English clergy which he represented, he feared that those among his confreres who were still in England defending the Catholic faith would back off, fearing defamation. He hoped the Sacred Tribunal would not suffer further molestation in consequence of this episode and that these calumnies will not produce further dissension between English seculars and the Society of Jesus.⁴⁸

Actually, the only evidence Smith was able to produce was Holtby's letter which did not mention his book or his opinions on the papal deposing power. In Dodd's account, Holtby is shown to have collected "a body of slanders" (with the connivance of Persons and Fitzherbert) to induce Birkhead to recall

⁴⁵ ACDF, St. St. Ss1-b, "Anglicana," f. 312'.

⁴⁶ *1553 Frainton; SJ 5.x.1582 Verdun; †25.v.1640 Durham(DHCJ, II, 1948-949), Superior of the English Jesuit Mission after Henry Garnet's death (1606), Holtby had been succeeded by Robert Jones on 28 March 1609, MHSI, *Mon. Ang.*, I, p. lxxxvi; Edwards, *Robert Persons*, p. 372.

⁴⁷ Tierney, *Dodd's Church History*, V, 25 n.1; Questier, *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England*, p. 346 n. 19. The "praecipuus actor," "principal factor," unmentioned in the Latin translation of Holtby's letter, is in the original English version identified with Thomas Leak.

⁴⁸ "Supplicat humillime dictus Agens ut quoniam denunciatio contra dictum suum librum extat in Inquisitione, eamque adversarii eius aliis retulerunt, nihil autem inventum est eiusmodi in libro; Dignentur vestra Beatitudo et Illustrissimae Dominationes declarare librum illum immunem esse (prout est) a praestata imputatione, ne suum dedecus cedat in opprobrium optime meriti Archipresbiteri et Cleri Angliae a quibus huc missus est, et ne paucissimi illi Consacerdotes sui qui in Anglia scriptis fidem tuentur, metu calumniarum in posterum a scribendo deterreantur: Et ut obviam eant huiusmodi teterrimis calumniis, ne et huic tribunali perpetuam molestiam, et Clero Angliae infamiam pariant; et inter eundem Clerum et Societatem, maiorem quam unquam ante discordiam excitent," (ACDF, St. St. Ss1-b, "Anglicana," f. 312').

Smith to England.⁴⁹ Yet the cited passage may well prove that enemies of the secular clergy leadership wanted to undermine the seculars' program of reforms.⁵⁰ Statements which Persons made in his "Memorial against Smith" (1609), specifically that some Catholics thought "Doctor Richard" and his eager opinions were responsible for the animosity between English Catholic clergymen,⁵¹ certainly proved that the agent was not on his list of friends. But Persons alone could not have dictated a course of action in matters of church policy. The claims by appellants such as John Mush that the final decision on the question of whether a bishop would be appointed to exercise authority over English Catholics lay with Persons, were purely polemical.⁵² Although aware of the existence of a papal brief forbidding official communication between seculars and Jesuits,⁵³ it is obvious that Persons disliked the idea that he and the Society were cut off from important aspects of the governance of the English Catholic community.⁵⁴ Having worked so hard and for so long to create a viable English mission, he was convinced that he knew what was good for it, however irritating it was to others. Yet he knew how far he could go. The secret machinations attributed to him were not demonstrably contrary to the will of

⁴⁹ Tierney, *Dodd's Church History of England*, V, 24-26.

⁵⁰ Edwards, *Robert Persons*, p. 379. The Appellant controversy, and, in particular, the appellant public disdain for the Society of Jesus, obviously "aroused Persons' deepest indignation." Persons could not tolerate the Jesuits and himself being portrayed as "self-promoting power-seekers prepared to sacrifice their co-religionists for their own advantage" (Victor Houlston, "Baffling the Blatant Beast: Robert Persons' Anti-Appellant Rhetoric, 1601-1602," *Catholic Historical Review* 90 [2004] 444-45).

⁵¹ Quoted in Tierney, *Dodd's Church History*, V, 25 n. 1. In a letter dated 17 September 1609, a few days before the examination of Smith's Memorial, Birkhead informed his agent that he had told Persons many times that this calumnious information was false, but the Jesuit did not seem to believe him.

⁵² Edwards, *Robert Persons*, p. 363.

⁵³ Mark Tierney points out that in his attempts to maintain epistolary contact with the archpriest, Persons ignored the papal brief forbidding the participation of the Jesuits in the administration of the secular clergy, a directive which had been reaffirmed by Odoardo, Cardinal Farnese, Cardinal Protector of England. The seculars were, however, free to deal with the Jesuits on every matter of doctrine and conscience and anything of a spiritual nature (Tierney, *Dodd's Church History*, V, p. xxxix n.). It is true that in August 1608, Persons wrote to Birkhead that "the prohibition was to be understood only of treating together matters of state, or that might justly offend the state (Tierney, *Dodd's Church History*, V, p. xxxix). Yet, in June 1609, Persons accurately remarked that the prohibition pertained "only quoad dispositionem subditorum et materiae status; but in matters of doctrine, cases of conscience, or spiritual affairs you should be free to deal with whom you would" (Persons to Birkhead, 6 June 1609, Tierney, *Dodd's Church History*, V, p. lxiv).

⁵⁴ Tierney, *Dodd's Church History*, V, p. 357.

the pope and the curia.⁵⁵ In his correspondence with the archpriest in 1608-1609, the Jesuit stressed his desire for cooperation for the sake of the English clergy.⁵⁶ He felt very frustrated when Birkhead tried to withdraw from his "confidence."⁵⁷ Those who "falsely" supposed that the pope was "ruled" by Persons would like him to have

... neither eyes, nor ears, nor tongue . . . and would annihilate me from the face of the earth . . . but here must I live, while obedience doth appoint it so; where I shall be ready to serve my country, and them also, if they will use me. Neither may I hold my peace, if his holiness demand my opinion, nor were it reason.⁵⁸

No doubt Father Persons regarded Smith to have a hot temper, and to be made "of a very stiff nature, founded in a good opinion of himself"⁵⁹ as well as very "passionate and captious."⁶⁰ The agent had very little confidence in the sacred laws of diplomacy so much cultivated and appreciated by the Roman Court. Thomas Fitzherbert many times tried to advise him on these conventions, but could obtain nothing from a person who refused to listen to him.⁶¹ He concluded that Smith had a paranoid conviction that everyone was crossing him "yet he should have no reason to doubt of the equity of his

⁵⁵ Edwards, *Robert Persons*, pp. 356-57. Thomas Fitzherbert confirmed that the response on the episcopal issue collected the opinions of "many cardinals" (not only of Robert Persons): "I perceive Mr. Doctor is somewhat disgusted with the evil success of his business here; though truly he may rather ascribe it to the nature and quality of the matters propounded than to anything else, and especially to any man's labour against him; for his propositions being considered by so many cardinals, and so well explicated by himself, both by word and writing, he cannot justly fear partiality" (Fitzherbert to Birkhead, 19 September 1609, Tierney, *Dodd's Church History*, V, p. lxxix).

⁵⁶ Tierney, *Dodd's Church History*, V, pp. xxxvii-xxxviii.

⁵⁷ Persons to Birkhead, 4 October 1608, Tierney, *Dodd's Church History*, V, pp. lxix-li.

⁵⁸ Tierney, *Dodd's Church History*, V, pp. xlix-l.

⁵⁹ Tierney, *Dodd's Church History*, V, p. lxxv.

⁶⁰ The pope could not ignore the reciprocal "antipathy" between Persons and Smith; he personally asked for their reconciliation. The Jesuit thought Smith was "preoccupied with humours quite opposite unto all true peace and confidence between us" (Persons to Birkhead, 20 March 1610 (Tierney, *Dodd's Church History*, V, p. xcvi)).

⁶¹ Fitzherbert to Birkhead, 21 November 1609 (Tierney, *Dodd's Church History*, V, pp. lxxxvii-lxxxviii). Social conventions were considered an essential part of ecclesiastical diplomacy. When passing through Douai, Smith did not pay a visit to the nuncio in Flanders. Since he was going to petition the pope in Rome, it would have been appropriate to offer his regards to the papal representative (Tierney, *Dodd's Church History*, V, p. lviii). As Michael Questier points out, Smith was clearly not the right person "for the delicate task of prolonged negotiation" (Questier, *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England*, p. 350).

holiness's judgment, and of the cardinals of the inquisition."⁶² Possessed of a brilliant mind, Smith appears to have been an emotionally sensitive character, prone to nervous breakdowns and melancholy.⁶³ He probably compensated for this sensitivity with what to others looked like arrogance.⁶⁴ Even after his appointment as Bishop of Chalcedon, Smith failed to bring peace and order to the English Catholic community. According to the historian John Aveling, Smith's "sheer tactlessness" alienated Benedictines and Franciscans; his "rigid authoritarianism and extreme views seemed, to a good many scrupulously devout people . . . to challenge the papal primacy . . . His petty and vindictive sniping at individual Jesuits" (he accused John Gerard⁶⁵ of involvement in the Gunpowder Plot) prevented any possible *detente* with the Society.⁶⁶

Minutes of the session held by the Congregation of the Holy Office on Wednesday, 23 December 1609, record the discussion of Smith's memorial in the presence of the pope, and the decision by the cardinal inquisitors that no charge be laid against him in the Holy Office.⁶⁷ Yet, in the following plenary

⁶² Fitzherbert to Birkhead, Rome 31 October 1609 (Tierney, *Dodd's Church History*, V, p. lxxxvi).

⁶³ In August 1611 when Smith was back in Paris after a short stay in England, the secular priest Anthony Champney informed More that the agent had just recovered from "some malenchie" at his first arrival" (Questier, *Newsletters*, p. 9 n. 42). "Word went around that he had been seen weeping, from either frustration or fear, outside the Inquisition's offices in Rome" (Questier, *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England*, p. 351).

⁶⁴ In Edwards' words (*Robert Persons*, p. 377) Smith "used no more tact in dealing with Pope and cardinals than with the Jesuits." When informing Birkhead of Smith's first oration in front of the pope, Persons pointed out that "in comparison of priests and religious men, and of their labours in England, so gloriously advancing the one above the other, did displease all that heard it, to my knowledge: and it could not but make his holiness to see a great spleen among us, even in those that came to pretend peace" (Persons to Birkhead, 6 June 1609, Tierney, *Dodd's Church History*, V, pp. lxxvii-lxxviii; Edwards, *Robert Persons*, p. 377). On Smith's bad temper, see also Edward I. Watkin, *Roman Catholicism in England from the Reformation to 1950* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1957) pp. 89-90.

⁶⁵ *4.x.1564 Etwall; SJ 15.viii.1588 Rome; †27.vii.1637 Rome (DHCJ, II, 1716).

⁶⁶ Aveling, *Handle and the Axe*, pp. 119-20.

⁶⁷ "Richardi Smithei Archiepiscopi Angliae lecto memoriali, Illustrissimi Domini ordinaverunt sibi dare attestationem, nihil contra ipsum extare in Sancto Officio, facto prius verbo in Congregatione coram Sanctissimo" (ACDF, S.O. Decreta, 1608-09, f. 511). The Congregation of the Holy Office met regularly on Wednesdays at the Dominican convent of Santa Maria sopra la Minerva. The session consisted of two separate meetings: the first secret, in which only the cardinals, Father Commissary, the Assessor and the Fiscal Attorney participated; to the second, called "public," the consultors were also admitted. On Thursday, under the presidency of the pope, a plenary session took place, the one called *coram Sanctissimo* (Borromeo, "La congregazione cardinalizia dell'Inquisizione (XVI-XVIII secolo)," in Borromeo, *L'Inquisizione*, pp. 341-42). As we can see, the record of the session of Wednesday, 23 December shows that the decision to grant

session, Thursday, 31 December 1609,⁶⁸ Pope Paul V ordered that the agent should not be granted any document officially stating that his book had not been denounced. Smith should not be granted a “license of immunity.”⁶⁹ During his Roman agency Smith had taken great pride in expressing openly and liberally his ideas on the papal deposing power. This behaviour was a source of concern to the archpriest, who admired his agent’s courage but rebuked and warned him against his over-liberal speech.⁷⁰

1610 must have been *annus horribilis* for Smith. In January, he was desperately trying to obtain from the Inquisition a declaration exculpating him. Hence he wrote a letter to the pope on 12 January to defend his reputation and express grief over the denunciation of his book.⁷¹ In Birkhead’s reply on 18 January 1610 to his agent’s letters of 28 October and 5 December 1609, the archpriest described the denunciation as a recent episode and identified Father Persons as the accuser.⁷² The agent found a supporter in Edward Weston who wrote to the cardinals of the Inquisition from London in February 1610. Weston defended the agent against unnamed denouncers.⁷³ Eight months later, on 26 October, Smith spoke explicitly of his “anti-Bell tract” being denounced at the Holy Office. He told More that on his way to Paris from Rome, he had met a secular priest, Philip Woodward, with whom he had a brief conversation. They discussed about the seculars’ demands and aspirations, but also touched on, as Smith was to state later, “the casting of my booke into the inquis[ition].”⁷⁴ This suggests that news of Smith’s denunciation was indeed widespread among the English clergy.

Smith the attestation had been “previously taken *coram Sanctissimo*,” which means on the previous Thursday, 17 December. Yet records of that session, contained in the *Decreta* series, state that on that day English affairs were discussed (in particular, the enmity within the English clergy), but are silent on Smith’s case. The only explanation is that the decision favorable to Smith was probably taken on 17 December, but was actually registered only in the following week (Wednesday, 23 December).

⁶⁸ Antonio Cappelli, *Cronologia, Cronografia e Calendario perpetuo* (Milano: Hoepli, 1983) p. 93.

⁶⁹ “Die 31^a Decembris 1609. Sanctissimus mandavit supersederi in danda attestazione Richardo Smitheo Anglo, quod nihil contra ipsum extat in Sancto Officio” (ACDF, S.O., *Decreta*, 1608-1609, f. 516^v).

⁷⁰ Birkhead to Smith, 11 October 1609 (Tierney, *Dodd’s Church History*, V, p. lxxxix).

⁷¹ Hicks, *Letters of Thomas Fitzherbert*, p.122 n. 26. I have not been able to trace this document in the Archives of the Congregation for the Doctrine of Faith.

⁷² Hicks, *Letters of Thomas Fitzherbert*, p.123 n. 26.

⁷³ Allison, “Life of Creswell,” 111.

⁷⁴ Richard Baker (*vere* Smith) to Thomas More, 26 October 1610, in Questier, *Newsletters*, p. 85.

On 2 March John Redman⁷⁵ informed Cardinal Bianchetti that he had received from “D. [Matthew] Wilsonum”⁷⁶ a manuscript copy of a book by Richard Smith and assured him that he would take care of “the issue” speedily.⁷⁷ Redman was alluding to Smith’s *Prudentiall Balance*,⁷⁸ the only book Smith had published the previous year, a copy of which had been requested by Bianchetti. Did the Holy Office request a copy of the agent’s work to ascertain that it did not contain other unfortunate opinions? Possibly, but Redman was actually to “congratulate” Smith on the happy turn taken by the whole situation. On that same day, Redman wrote to Smith explaining the difficulties in distributing his book printed “about the middest of December,” and expressing his grief about the news of his “other book . . . accused to the Inquisition.” It is reasonable to suppose that Smith himself told his friend about this denunciation, but he must have also been forced to tell him that, indeed, no action had been taken against him. In fact Redman says he is “glad that al hath turned to your commendations, I trust that God will turne al to the best.”⁷⁹ On 28 March the Benedictine John (Augustine) Bradshaw, a friend of the seculars, told Smith that it was common knowledge in England that he wept a lot because of the condemnation, but that he should have found witnesses to testify that it had actually been denounced to the Inquisition.⁸⁰

⁷⁵ Redman (or Redmayne), John, studied at Rheims and Douai and was ordained a priest in 1594. As a Doctor of Divinity, he left the university in 1601 in order to teach divinity at a monastery of regular canons at Bethune. Later he became canon of the Cathedral at Saint Omer, where he died in 1617 (Gillow, *Biographical Dictionary of the English Catholics*, V, 400; *sub voce* in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*).

⁷⁶ *24.ii.1582 Catchburn (Northumberland); S.J. 2.x.1606; †4/14.i.1656 England (*DHCJ*, IV, 4040-401).

⁷⁷ “Perlectis literis Illustrissimae ac Reverendissimae Dominationis Vestrae nulla interposita mora D. Wilsonum adivi, ab eoque librum manuscriptum Reverendi Domini Richardi Smithei petivi, et accepi, quem etiam iuxta Reverendissimae et Illustrissimae Dominationi Vestrae mandata apud me detineo, celeri huius negotii expeditione significare contendens promptum meum animum quo tam in his quam in aliis quibuscumque Illustrissimae ac Reverendissimi Domini Vestrae quam humillime inservire cupio (...)” (ACDF, St. St.Ss1-b, “Anglicana,” f. 320’).

⁷⁸ *The Prudentiall Ballance of Religion, whrein the Catholike and Protestant Religions are weighed together with the weights of Prudence and right Reason. The first Part* ([n.p.], 1609) ARCR, II, num. 709.

⁷⁹ This document can be found in the Archives of the Archdiocese of Westminster. I am extremely grateful to Dr. Michael Questier who informed me of this letter and allowed me to use his transcript.

⁸⁰ Questier, *Newsletters*, p. 9 n. 42.

The pope's reply to Smith's request came on 31 December 1610. In it he confirmed his previous decision that, for the time being, the agent would not be granted an "immunity" license.⁸¹ The pontiff did not wish to condemn him but was, at the same time, reluctant to absolve him by means of a public statement. On that very same date, Cardinal Bianchetti was ordered to instruct the former appellant clergy to abstain from any kind of discord with the Jesuits.⁸² This might have been a subliminal message to prevent Smith and the faction he ideologically represented⁸³ from squabbling with the Society.

Smith's frustration does not seem to have been assuaged. In autumn 1611 the secular John Jackson told Thomas More that Smith was still "much grieved at his hol[iness] for censuring his booke and tells strange storyes of the Ies[uites]."⁸⁴

A newsletter, dated most probably 1614, from the superior of the Jesuit mission, Robert Jones,⁸⁵ explained why the pope decided to keep the sword of Damocles over the agent's head. The document described the opposition of the English clergy in Paris to persons "most faithful" to the Holy See, in particular William Singleton.⁸⁶ Most students at Douay College hoped the latter would be replaced by Richard Smith,⁸⁷ who had written that "the papal deposing power

⁸¹ "31 Decembris 1610. Sanctissimus mandavit supersederi in danda attestationem Richardo Smitheo, qua nihil contra eum extet in Sancto Officio," ACDF, S.O. Decreta 1610, f. 8; "Die 31 Decembris 1610 a nativitate. Sanctissimus mandavit supersederi in danda attestatione: Richardo Smitheo Anglo, qua nihil contra ipsum extet in Sancto Officio" (ACDF, St. St. Ss1 – b, "Anglicana," f. 313').

⁸² "[Die 31 Decembris 1610] Idem mandavit Illustrissimo Domini Cardinali Blanchetto, ut (...) faciat aliquos ordine servandos a presbiteris Appellantibus Anglis, et Patribus Jesuitis in Anglia commovant per benevolentiam et discordia inter se retinenda" (ACDF, St. St. Ss1-b, "Anglicana," f. 313').

⁸³ Aveling, *Handle and the Axe*, p. 118.

⁸⁴ Undated. 8 November in text [1611], Questier, *Newsletters*, pp.126-27.

⁸⁵ *c. 1564 St. Asaph; SJ 26.v.1583 Rome; †20.viii.1615 England (DHCJ, III, 2153).

⁸⁶ ACDF, St. St. Ss1-b, "Anglicana," f. 292'. Together with Edward Weston, Singleton (at the time assistant to Mathew Kellison, president of Douai College) had been the only member of the college in 1616 to refuse to make a public statement of his detestation of the oath (Allison, "Life of Creswell," 108).

⁸⁷ ACDF, St. St. Ss1-b, "Anglicana," f. 292'. On 20 April 1614, a petition was signed by fifteen of the principal students of the college (Tierney, *Dodd's Church History*, V, pp. cxcv-cxcvii) asking that the current assistants Edward Williamson and William Singleton, both described by Kellison as "useless," be removed. Smith did not replace them. According to Anthony Champney, this was due to the opposition of the Jesuits (Tierney, *Dodd's Church History*, V, 70 & n., 71, 73n). On the campaign to replace Singleton with Smith see Allison, "Life of Creswell," 116-18.

is not a question de fide. Because of this opinion, said book should have been censured in Rome some time ago." But now it was considered wiser to avoid promoting proponents of such unorthodox opinions "ad vitandum maius malum" [in order to avoid a greater evil].⁸⁸ Smith could claim that this book contained nothing inappropriate regarding papal deposing power, but this was still a controversial issue, at least as far as Rome was concerned. The license of immunity had not been retracted (although the book escaped censure) probably because the pope was not convinced of his innocence: he knew Smith's position and was also aware of his violent anti-Jesuit activity in England. During his audience with the pope on 24 May 1609, Smith had stressed the fact that he "was not the agent of [a] party, but the representative of the whole body of the secular clergy."⁸⁹ Not everybody, however, would have agreed with him. Ralph Stamford, for example, one of the archpriest's assistants, did not think he properly represented the view of all the secular clergy.⁹⁰ Nevertheless, Smith could claim to be, in the words of John Aveling, "the intellectual leader of the secular clergy," the majority of which shared the appellants' views on the interpretation of the oath of allegiance and on the papal deposing power issue.⁹¹ Through their publications,⁹² the appellant priests had assumed the role of spokesmen for all the clergy, and now their influence on the latter had become very strong.⁹³ Former appellant priests William Bishop, who had signed the protestation of loyalty to Queen Elizabeth in 1603,⁹⁴ John Colleton and Edward Bennett were all assistants of the archpriest; both Bishop and Colleton were known to have admitted, in some sense, the lawfulness of the oath.⁹⁵

⁸⁸ "Da Francia si scrive che li R.P. Benedettini stanno disunitissimi tra se, come ancora quei sacerdoti Inglesi in Parigi che non sono ammessi tra l'altri Inglesi Scrittori contrastano con detti Scrittori. Et questi Scrittori più che mai s'oppongono alle persone più fedeli alla Santa Sede Apostolica come in particolare al Dottore Singletono Assistente del Presidente del Collegio Inglese di Douai cercando levarlo dal detto Collegio et mettere in luogo suo il Dottore Smiteo quale in un libro stampato dice che l'autorità del Sommo Pontefice in deporre li Principi non è cosa di fede et per ciò il suo libro si saria censurato in Roma alcuni anni sono se non fusse stato giudicato meglio per il bene commune dissimulare questa cosa Ad vitandum maius malum" (ACDF, St. St. Ss1-b, "Anglicana," f. 292).

⁸⁹ Tierney, *Dodd's Church History*, V, 22, lx.

⁹⁰ Questier, *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England*, p. 305.

⁹¹ *Handle and the Axe*, pp. 117-18.

⁹² See Peter Milward, S.J., *Religious Controversies of the Elizabethan Age. A Source of Printed Sources* (London: Scholar Press, 1977) pp. 116-20.

⁹³ Edwards, *Robert Persons*, pp. 354, 361.

⁹⁴ Allison, "Life of Creswell," 101.

⁹⁵ Questier, *Newsletters*, p. 52 n. 81.

Unfortunately, Smith ended up enjoying very little credit with Paul V,⁹⁶ for he had “unwisely been defending the priests in London’s Clink prison who would not accept the absolute denunciation of the Jacobean oath of allegiance,” and now his association with the appellants was inevitable.⁹⁷ Therefore, the Holy Office might have decided, as it did in other similar circumstances, that the best strategy was to abstain from conferring notoriety on ideological miscreants of this kind through public censure.⁹⁸ Ideally publicity should be denied to such persons who were not regarded in all quarters as sound even on the issue of conformity to the Elizabethan settlement of religion.⁹⁹

During the 30 June 1610 session, Smith was granted the faculty of reading prohibited books in order to write against heretics.¹⁰⁰ This concession was probably a precursor to the foundation of the house of writers in Paris (the Arras College), but it certainly proves his book was not censored; otherwise he would never have been allowed this faculty.

In a manuscript entitled “An Apologeticall Answer . . .,” written in c. 1628 by one of Smith’s patrons, Anthony Maria Browne, second Viscount Montague, the author refers to Smith’s claim that his book was returned from the Inquisition “with a verie honorable testimonie of that profound devine and

⁹⁶ Edwards, *Robert Persons*, p. 354.

⁹⁷ Questier, *Newsletters*, p. 8 & n. 36.

⁹⁸ The “ad vitandum scandalum” was not a new issue in the Inquisitorial policy. During the first decade of the seventeenth century former Jesuit Thomas Wright became the centre of rumours accusing him of apostasy. See Ginevra Crosignani, “Thomas Wright and Occasional Conformity,” *AHSI* 71 (2002) 149–55. In the second part of his rejoinder to Wright’s manuscript pamphlet in favor of Catholic attendance at sermons (*Quaestiones Duae de Sacris Alienis non Adeundis*, [n.p. (St. Omer), 1607]), Persons addressed him as “Incertus Author” to avoid sponsoring him, although perfectly aware of his identity. On this see Ginevra Crosignani, “*De Adeundis Ecclesiis Protestantium*”: Thomas Wright, *Robert Persons, S.J., e il dibattito sul conformismo occasionale nell’Inghilterra dell’Età Moderna* (Roma: Institutum Historicum Societatis Jesu, 2004) Ch. 6.

⁹⁹ In December 1695, the Jesuit theologian Juan Bautista Gormaz compiled a “Iudicium circa casum Anglicanum,” in which he argued that Catholics could not take an oath of allegiance to a secular prince if the promised obedience concerned spiritual matters (ARSI, Anglia 36/II, ff. 373^v–380^r). According to Birkhead, the Clinkers who refused to take the oath were “but three or foure, and cannot do much harme but to themselves” (George Salvin [*vere* Birkhead] to Richard Baker [*vere* Smith], 23 April 1610, Questier, *Newsletters*, p. 78), yet priests in Newgate prison petitioned the pope for a more flexible interpretation of the Oath (Tierney, *Dodd’s Church History*, IV, pp. ccv–ccviii) as did a group of Jesuits and seculars: “Supplicatio sacerdotum Angliae ad Suam Sanctitatem quoad iuramentum fidelitatis” (ARSI, Anglia 31/I, ff. 225^v–226^r).

¹⁰⁰ “Richardi Smithei Angli lecti memoriali, Illustrissimi Domini concesserunt sibi licentiam legendi libros prohibitos ad effectum scribendi contra haereticos (...)” (ACDF, S.O., Decreta, 1610, f. 278^r).

excellent ornament of these tymes, the most illustrious and most reverend Cardinall Bellarmine of famous memorie.”¹⁰¹ Robert, Cardinal Bellarmine¹⁰² had been a member of the Congregation of the Holy Office until his death in 1621. This episode, therefore, must have occurred in the ten years following Smith’s presumed delation. Although Browne could not but quote Smith’s testimony, it is the agent himself who testifies his book was not censured. Bellarmine’s favour supports this interpretation.¹⁰³ That Smith’s book did not undergo any kind of censure is confirmed in a 1612 tract written by the renegade Catholic priest John Copley. Describing the itinerary of his apostasy for a Protestant audience, Copley says that it was Robert Persons “and another priest devoted unto him” who presented Smith’s book “into the Inquisition to be examined . . . ; but the book cleared itself, and the Author got commendations for it.”¹⁰⁴

Years later in 1624, Smith identified Thomas Fitzherbert as his most probable accuser,¹⁰⁵ behind whom loomed the shadow of his “master,” Robert Persons. At the beginning of Smith’s agency, specifically June 1609, Fitzherbert had expressed concern about Smith’s defence of the clerical inmates of the Clink prison who had sworn the oath (and who consequently had been deprived of their ecclesiastical faculties).¹⁰⁶ Birkhead had, for the time being, believed that Persons would behave with discretion.¹⁰⁷ But, on 3 October 1609, he decided to suspend formal links between Smith and Fitzherbert, and removed the latter from the agency.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰¹ Questier, *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England*, p. 351 n. 36.

¹⁰² *4.x.1542Montepulciano; SJ 21.ix.1560 Rome; †17.ix.1621(*Sommervogel*, I, 1152).

¹⁰³ In the last six months of 1612, the cardinal had shown some sympathy for the requests coming from the party Smith represented, but a subsequent hope for his support was soon to be disappointed (Questier, *Newsletters*, p. 14).

¹⁰⁴ *Doctrinall and Morall Observations Concerning Religion wherein the author declareth the reasons of his late unenforced departure from the Church of Rome* (London, 1612.) p. 105. This important passage was pointed out to me by Dr. Michael Questier.

¹⁰⁵ In November 1624 Richard Smith wrote from Paris to Thomas More in Rome that “it were not amisse to suggest how Father Fitzherbert was one of the accusers of my booke against Bel to the Inquisition and how falsly they accused that and yet continew that course” (partially quoted in Questier, *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England*, p. 351 n. 36). I wish to thank Dr Questier for allowing me to use his transcription of the whole passage.

¹⁰⁶ Swynnerton (vere Fitzherbert) to Salvin (vere Birkhead), 27 June 1609 (Hicks, *Letters of Thomas Fitzherbert*, pp. 51-54, and n. 9). See also Persons to Birkhead, 21 August 1608, and 4 July 1609 (Tierney, *Dodd’s Church History*, V, pp. xxxix, lxxii-lxxiii; Edwards, *Robert Persons*, pp. 378-79).

¹⁰⁷ Birkhead to Smith, 11 October 1609 (Tierney, *Dodd’s Church History*, V, p. lxxxii).

¹⁰⁸ Tierney, *Dodd’s Church History*, V, p. lxxx ; George Salvin (vere Birkhead) to Richard Backer (vere Smith), 17 September 1609 (Questier, *Newsletters*, p. 52).

Documentary evidence survives to show that Smith, along with Thomas More, denounced Robert Persons to the Holy Office through William Alabaster. This gifted poet, converted to Catholicism in 1597 by the former Jesuit Thomas Wright,¹⁰⁹ began to have second thoughts about his conversion to the Roman faith circa 1608, following some quarrels he had with students of the English College and with Persons himself.¹¹⁰ In fact, the Jesuit had given Peter Worthington¹¹¹ a detailed description of Alabaster's heresies,¹¹² and had strongly criticized the unorthodox contents of a work Alabaster had published the previous year, *Apparatus in Revelationem Jesu Christi*.¹¹³ During the 7 February 1608 session of the Congregation of the Holy Office, Alabaster was accused of "errores sub haeresis" [errors of heresy]. He declared that he firmly adhered to every point of the Catholic doctrine ["firmissime tenere omnia puncta Catholicae fidei"] but the pope thought the business was not straightforward ["negotium non esse integrum"], and thus requested more detailed information from his nuncio in Flanders (Cardinal Bentivoglio).¹¹⁴ On 20 March the pope ordered that Alabaster's *Apparatus* should be examined by three cardinals among whom was Bellarmine.¹¹⁵ On 20 June 1608, John Blackfan, S.J.¹¹⁶ then confessor at the English College, and Robert Persons were asked to make a

¹⁰⁹ John Hungerford Pollen, S.J., "William Alabaster, a newly discovered catholic poet of the Elizabethan Age?," *The Month* 103 (April 1904) 426-30; Robert V. Caro, S.J., "William Alabaster: Rhetor, Mediator, Devotional Poet," *Recusant History* 19 (1988) 62-79; Theodore A. Stroud, "Father Thomas Wright: A Test Case for Toleration," *Biographical Studies* (now *Recusant History*) 1 (1951). Wright: *c. 1562 York; SJ 3.ii.1580 Rome; dis. spring 1595?; † 1623 (MHSI, *Mon. Ang.*, II, 542-43).

¹¹⁰ Michael Questier, *Conversion, Politics and Religion in England, 1580-1625* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996) pp. 45, 55, 71, 95, 189, 190. Persons had given Peter Worthington, a Jesuit novice, a detailed description of Alabaster's heresies (Archivio Segreto Vaticano [=ASV], Fondo Borghese, IV, 86, f. 30^v). See also Questier, *Newsletters*, p. 87 n. 290).

¹¹¹ *c. 1581 Lancashire; SJ 27.x.1602 Rome; †6.iii.1613 Valladolid (MHSI, *Mon. Ang.*, II, 540)

¹¹² ASV, Fondo Borghese, IV, 86, f. 30^v; Questier, *Newsletters*, p. 87 n. 290.

¹¹³ (Antwerp, 1607) *ARCR*, I, num. 5. See also Questier, *Conversion, Politics and Religion*, p. 55 and n. 76.

¹¹⁴ ACDF, S.O., Decreta, 1608-1609, f. 29^v.

¹¹⁵ ACDF, S.O., Decreta, 1608-1609, f. 55^v. On 10 April the pope ordered Bellarmine to hear Alabaster's deposition and persuade him to recant his errors (ACDF, S.O., Decreta, 1608-1609, f. 71^v). On 22 May a relation was drawn up on the arguments which Father Commissary Stefano de Vicariis had discussed extrajudicially with Alabaster, "and if he fears the latter's flight, may Fr Commissary keep him by himself" (ACDF, S.O., Decreta, 1608-1609, ff.104^v); i.e., he was already in the custody of the Inquisition. On 25 May Alabaster was "humilem" and willing to accept prohibition of his book (ACDF, S.O., Decreta, 1608-1609, f. 99^v).

¹¹⁶ *1560 Horsham; SJ 8.iii.1594 Valladolid; †15/24.i.1641 Lincoln (MHSI, *Mon. Ang.*, II, 236; *DHCJ*, I, 457).

deposition on Alabaster's case. The pope also ordered that a list of witnesses be drawn up by Persons and sent to Cardinal Bentivoglio for examination.¹¹⁷ However, Alabaster's informal inquiry with the Inquisition had started at the beginning of the year (1608) and he was later to say that it was William Baldwin, S.J.,¹¹⁸ who denounced him.¹¹⁹ When the volume fell under suspicions of heresy, the Inquisition imprisoned Alabaster in 1608.¹²⁰ Alabaster abjured in January 1609, and in September 1610 his book was censured.¹²¹

During his stay at the English College, Alabaster's disagreements with Persons had become irreconcilable.¹²² Alabaster's continuous strife with the students finally drove Persons to try to shorten his stay.¹²³ The pope would not grant this request, but he did order Alabaster's segregation from the other scholars. He was finally released from the college (where he lived in a sort of nominal confinement), granted him a sum of money, and in January 1610,

¹¹⁷ ACDF, S.O., Decreta, 1608-1609, f. 129°.

¹¹⁸ *10.x.1562 Cornwall; SJ 2.ii.1590 Rome; †28.ix.1632 Saint Omer (MHSA, *Mon. Ang.*, II, 220; *DHCF*, I, 329).

¹¹⁹ Newsletters of Summer 1610, ARSI, Anglia 31/I, f. 372°. Despite Alabaster's accusations, Baldwin resided in Brussels from April 1598 until 1610. By November of the same year he was in the Tower of London, accused of being a conspirator involved in the Gunpowder Plot. There he remained until June 1618 (*sub voce* in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*).

¹²⁰ On 23 October 1608, Alabaster is said to be "carceratus": he will be confronted by witnesses against him, and assigned an advocate (ACDF, S.O., Decreta, 1608-1609, f. 221°). Alabaster finally abjured his errors "in Sancto Officio," on 27 January 1609 (ACDF, S.O., Decreta, 1608-1609, f. 277°).

¹²¹ On 18 December 1609 Alabaster's book was censured and later prohibited (ACDF, Diarii, volumen II, 1607-1620, f.10°). Cf. Jesus M. de Bujanda, ed., *Index Librorum Prohibitorum 1600-1966* (Montréal/Genève: Médiaspaul-Droz, 2002) p. 55. On 30 January, 1610 the *Apparatus* was to be declared heretical, and all copies (except those corrected by the author with the approval of the Master of the Sacred Palace) were confiscated (ACDF, Indice, Protocolli, f. 509°). See Bujanda, *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*, p. 55; Questier, *Newsletters*, p. 127 n. 532. Newsletters from the Inquisition of Florence and Pisa, respectively dated 14 and 20 June, confirm Alabaster's intentions of going back to Protestantism (ACDF, S.O., Decreta, 1610, ff. 275°, 283°). On 16 September, 1610 Alabaster's book was placed on the *Index* (ACDF, S.O., Decreta, 1610-1611, ff. 165°-166°). On 2 October the papal nuncio in Flanders informed the pope that Alabaster was in Amsterdam, where he intended to write "contra auctoritatem papae" to win the English heretics' benevolence. He is said to be willing to create a new sect (ACDF, S.O., Decreta, 1610, f. 460°).

¹²² ARSI, Anglia 8, Necrologium, 1573-1651, ff. 252°, 257°; Edwards, *Robert Persons*, p. 197.

¹²³ Only if necessary, would another place be chosen for this troublemaker: "die 22 Januarii 1609. P. Roberti Personii petentis, ne Gulielmus Alabaster mittatur ad Collegium Anglorum lecto memoriali, Sanctissimus decrevit ut maneat in praedicto Collegio secretum ab alumnis, et si opus fuit, alibi ipsum collocare" (ACDF, S.O., Decreta, 1609, f. 36°).

provided him with employment in Rome by the Fathers of the Congregation of Saint Jerome of Charity.¹²⁴

In a letter to the archpriest dated 11 September 1610, More resentfully spoke of *The Iudgment of a Catholicke English-Man*,¹²⁵ “an anonymous book against the king,” as it is known to contain “many vain and unlikely assertions, which we expect to provoke an even worse persecution.”¹²⁶

The archives of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith contain a document, “Ragioni perche non si deve ammettere la nuova accusa del libro del P. Personio scritti contra il giuramento di lealtà” [Reasons why the latest denunciation of Fr Persons’s book written against the Oath of Allegiance,

¹²⁴ From May to September 1609, Alabaster asked to be released and petitioned the Holy Office to grant him a pension (ACDF, S.O., Decreta, 1609, ff. 186^r, 388^r, 393^r, 397^r, 410^r). By the last week of October, the pope had granted him the faculty of moving about freely in Rome (ACDF, S.O., Decreta, 1609, f. 442^r), and before providing him an occupation by the Congregation of Charity (14 January 1610, ACDF, S.O., Decreta, 1610, f. 31^r) he ordered that Alabaster be granted ten *scudi* from the funds of the Holy Office: “die xxii Decembris 1609. Gulielmi Alabastri Angli lecto memoriali (...): circa assignanda ei congruum pensionem, qua decenter se sustinere possit in Urbe, et Interim sibi dantur scuta decem in elemosinam de pecuniis Sancti Officii” (ACDF, S.O., Decreta, 1609, f. 539^r). In spite of this, newsletters from the Inquisition of Florence and Pisa, dated respectively 14 and 20 June 1610, witness to Alabaster’s clear intentions of going back to Protestantism (ACDF, S.O., Decreta, 1610, ff. 275^r, 283^r). On 2 October, the papal nuncio in Flanders informed the pope that Alabaster was in Amsterdam where he intended to write “contra auctoritatem papae” [against the pope’s authority] to win the English heretics’ benevolence and was said to be willing to create a new sect (ACDF, S.O., Decreta, 1610, f. 460^r). After a couple of years Alabaster was back in England (newsletters, dated March 1611, testify to his presence in his native country, ACDF, St. St. Ss1-b, “Anglicana,” f. 418^r; Questier, *Newsletters*, p. 87 n. 290) where he was re-established in his old position at Cambridge, yet, he “makes open profession of Catholicism” (ACDF, St. St. Ss1-b, “Anglicana,” ff. 418^r).

¹²⁵ The book is obviously Persons’ *Judgment of a Catholicke English-Man, Living in Banishment for his Religion: Written to his private friend in England. Concerninge a late Booke set forth, and entituled; Triplici nodo, triplex cuneus, Or, An Apologie for the Oath of Allegiance. Against two Breves of Pope Paulus V. to the English Catholickes of England; & a Letter of Cardinall Bellarmine to M. George Blackwell Arch-priest. Wherein the said Oath is shewed to be unlawfull unto a Catholicke Conscience; for so much, as it contayned sundry clauses repugnant to his Religion* (n.p. [St Omer] 1608) ARCR, II, num. 628.

¹²⁶ “Habbiamo inteso qui che c’è un libro contra il Rè senza nome d’autore, il quale è tanto pungente per conto d’assertioni vane, et improbabili, ch’aspettiamo che causerà piu grande persecutione” (ACDF, St. St. Ss1-b, “Anglicana,” f. 404^r). More also alluded to an apologetical Latin defense of Henry Garnet (by the Jesuit Andreas Eudaemon Ioannes: *Apologia pro R.P. Henrico Garnet* [Cologne, 1610]), viciously wondering “why a private man, a foreigner, worries about defending an Englishman condemned by the public authority”: [“c’è ancora un’Apologia in latino per il Padre Garnetto, non so quel che contiene, ma pare cosa strana, che un forastiere, et huomo privato voglia difendere un inglese condannato per autorità pubblica”] (ACDF, St. St. Ss1-b, “Anglicana,” f. 404^r). He did not consider Garnet a martyr: he is just an English fellow, justly condemned by the civil authority.

cannot be admitted],¹²⁷ which claims that the *Judgment*, anonymously published in 1608, was twice denounced to the Holy Office. The first denouncer was Alabaster, but his accusation was not considered by the consultors of the Holy Office.¹²⁸ Now Richard Smith and Thomas More have denounced the book to the Inquisition, who evidently intended to ignore the first denunciation.¹²⁹ According to this document, the two secular priests had “used at that time [of the first denunciation] Alabaster, not for zeal of religion but for enmity and unjust revenge; in fact they were convinced that Dr. Smith’s book had been denounced at the Inquisition by Father Persons, which is not true, as it clearly appears from the Registers of the Holy Office.”¹³⁰ Entangling Persons’s book in the machinery of censorship appeared an imprudent move because the author was an esteemed writer of proven doctrinal orthodoxy: “if these persons who are now accusing Fr Persons were acting in the name of true zeal of religion against the oath, they would have first denounced the appellants’ books, which had inspired the former, Richard Sheldon’s book,¹³¹ and those priests who had sworn the said oath or induced others to take it following their example.”¹³² Persons’s accusers were guilty of the same errors contained in Dr. Smith’s book, specifically his assertion that papal deposing power must be considered only a spiritual faculty and thus cannot be regarded as a question *de fide*. This position had been publicly proclaimed by More (as he would surely confirm) during his time in Rome. Given these considerations, the two agents “should not be heard.”¹³³

Smith’s “anti-Bell tract” probably deserved to be censured, but the Holy Office decided not to do so in order to avoid “helping the heretics’ side, seeing the book itself had been written against a heretic.”¹³⁴ A public denunciation would play into the hands of the Jacobean government by deepening the division in the ranks of the English clergy. Newsletters confirmed that priests

¹²⁷ ACDF, Indice, Protocolli S, ff. 464^r-65^r. This document has been transcribed and included in the Appendix (I).

¹²⁸ ACDF, Indice, Protocolli S, f. 464^r.

¹²⁹ ACDF, Indice, Protocolli S, f. 464^r.

¹³⁰ ACDF, Indice, Protocolli S, f. 464^r.

¹³¹ *Certain general reasons, proving the lawfulness of the Oath of Allegiance . . . whereunto is added, the treatise of that learned man, M. William Barclay, concerning the temporall power of the Pope; and with these is ioyned a sermon of M. Theophilus Higgons, preached at Paules Cross the third of March last because it containeth something of like argument* (London, 1611).

¹³² ACDF, Indice, Protocolli S, f. 464^r.

¹³³ ACDF, Indice, Protocolli S, f. 464^r.

¹³⁴ ACDF, Indice, Protocolli S, f. 464^v. See the appendix.

residing in Paris collaborated with the English ambassador against the Jesuits.¹³⁵ The Society was targeted because its members were the strongest opponents of the oath. Their opposition was founded on Persons's doctrine (as he clearly stated in his book).¹³⁶ A condemnation of Persons's book would cause considerable scandal since the works of Sheldon, Smith, and the appellants in general never received as much as a slap on the wrist.¹³⁷ Even a rumour of the denunciation of the *Judgment* would convince many that swearing the oath was a lawful act.¹³⁸ Moreover Father Persons was a prolific writer against the heretics, more so than any of his contemporaries.¹³⁹ If any possible doubt arose over the interpretation of Persons's words (although the Holy Office denied that there was any, contrary to the claims of the denunciation), his rebuttal of William Barlow's book¹⁴⁰ undermines both denunciations.¹⁴¹

A document in ARSI confirms the course of the denunciations against Persons as outlined in the "Ragioni."¹⁴² Sections xxix, xxx, xxxi, xxii from Persons's *Judgment* had been actually denounced twice to the Holy Office, the first time by William Alabaster, who had been instigated "by others."¹⁴³ The author does not mention by name Smith and More. Smith instead was described as a gossip: "himself, Alabaster and others spread rumours here in Rome."¹⁴⁴ According to these rumours, Blackwell and other supporters of the oath, appealed to Persons' *Judgment* to uphold their position. Rome sought more concrete information on this. Everyone marvelled about these unsubstantiated

¹³⁵ ACDF, Indice, Protocolli S, f. 464^v.

¹³⁶ ACDF, Indice, Protocolli S, f. 464^v.

¹³⁷ ACDF, Indice, Protocolli S, f. 464^r.

¹³⁸ ACDF, Indice, Protocolli S, f. 464^v.

¹³⁹ ACDF, Indice, Protocolli S, f. 464^r. In 1606 Persons had asked Cardinal Bellarmine to make some statement against the lawfulness of the oath (Tierney, *Dodd's Church History*, IV, pp.cxxxv-cxxxvi). Like other members of the Society, he had yearned for a formal declaration from the pope (ACDF, St. St. Ss1-b, ff. 177^{r-v} & ss.) and yet, as proved by the "Ragioni," no favourable answer came from Rome, probably to avoid furthering the division among the Catholic clergy.

¹⁴⁰ On 20 October 1609, Manello Solinardi, Assessor of the Holy Office, sent to Robert Persons, Barlow's reply to his *Judgment: An Answer to a Catholicke Englishman* (London, 1609). His rejoinder was to be published *post mortem* in 1612 as *A discussion of the answer to Mr Barlow to the book intituled The Judgment of a Catholick concerning the Apology of the new oath of allegiance* (Edwards, *Robert Persons*, p. 382 n. 42).

¹⁴¹ ACDF, Indice, Protocolli S, f. 464^v.

¹⁴² ARSI, Anglia 36/II, ff. 228^r-232^r.

¹⁴³ ARSI, Anglia 36/II, f. 231^r.

¹⁴⁴ ARSI, Anglia 36/II, f. 232^r.

reports.¹⁴⁵ Blackwell's nephew, a student at the English College, testified that his uncle had never mentioned Persons's book as a defence of his own position.¹⁴⁶ Aware that their earlier denunciation of Persons had been rejected, they now repeated them under a different name. Nevertheless, the Inquisition refused to censure someone who wrote so much and in so learned a fashion against heresies and English heretics.¹⁴⁷ Persons was the only one who had written a book in English against the oath. The intention of the accuser must therefore be to "abase also the credit of his other works, and maybe of all English Catholic writers, among whom he was always considered prominent, having alone written more books in English than all his contemporaries."¹⁴⁸ The *Judgment* was explicitly intended to alter the opinions of those who had taken the oath, namely the former archpriest and some of the seculars, through a detailed explication of the unlawfulness of the oath: its final clause forbids the use of equivocation and mental reservation, and requires the king's subjects to reject papal deposing power as "impious, heretical and damnable." Moreover papal *breves* clearly forbade the oath.¹⁴⁹ As a matter of fact, the *Judgment* caused many to refuse the oath. Consequently if it were censured, many English Catholics would be misled. Unable to understand Latin books written against the oath, they would believe it could be lawfully taken.¹⁵⁰ They would be scandalized if Persons's book was censured while those by the appellants (from which this oath is extracted) were allowed to circulate. Not even Dr. Smith's book, in which he clearly stated that papal deposing power was not a question *de fide*, had ever been censured. Later his successor, Thomas More, repeated the same view so often that students of the English College consulted Cardinal Bellarmine. His view, of course, differed from that of More.¹⁵¹

That Persons helped the Catholic cause was proven by the ire of the English king, who actually commissioned William Barlow to reply. Persons, in turn, at the explicit request of the Holy Office, rebutted Barlow.¹⁵² Barlow was well

¹⁴⁵ According to the document these replies "are still at the English College" (ARSI, Anglia 36/II, f. 232').

¹⁴⁶ ARSI, Anglia 36/II, f. 232'. Actually, Blackwell had mentioned Robert Persons only once in his examination, and only to say that he supposed the addressee of his *Quaestiones Duae* was Thomas Wright (ARSI, Anglia 36/II, ff. 281'-282'; ACDF, St. St. Ss1-b, "Anglicana," f. 105').

¹⁴⁷ ARSI, Anglia 36/II, f. 231'.

¹⁴⁸ ARSI, Anglia 36/II, f. 231'.

¹⁴⁹ ARSI, Anglia 36/II, f. 231'.

¹⁵⁰ ARSI, Anglia 36/II, ff. 231'-v.

¹⁵¹ ARSI, Anglia 36/II, f. 231'.

¹⁵² ARSI, Anglia 36/II, f. 231'.

aware of the division among the Catholic clergy and would have exploited Persons's arguments against other Jesuits if any had approved of the oath. But, the author of this document claimed, from every source he had heard that Persons's book had strengthened resistance. Thus this denunciation was not credible.¹⁵³

In July 1611 the *Judgment* was again denounced by Thomas More who pretended to be ignorant of the book's authorship. He informed the pope of unnamed Catholic priests who took the oath with a safe conscience,¹⁵⁴ believing they were following the pope's true intentions. They did so, claimed More, because of an English pamphlet written against the king's apology.¹⁵⁵

A translated copy of sections of the *Judgment* concerning the oath, were enclosed for the pope's evaluation and judgment.¹⁵⁶ On 7 July the pope rejected

¹⁵³ ARSI, Anglia 36/II, f. 231'.

¹⁵⁴ More had admitted this in a letter to Birkhead (Questier, *Newsletters*, p. 129 n. 544) that is confirmed by the latter's reply to him on 8 November 1611, where he says: "My verie good Sir, I have already written unto you, how one told me upon your putting fa persons [Fr Persons] wordes to be censured, that all the laitie wold forsake us, and leave us destitute of all help . . . But no man I thinke can justly blame you for that, so many heare groundinge upon those wordes, the lawfulness of the oath" (Questier, *Newsletters*, pp. 128-29). The "Ragioni" confirm More as the second denouncer: in his reply, expressly commissioned by the Holy Office, to Barlow's *Answer to a Catholike English-Man*, Persons demonstrated as groundless "the first denunciation by Alabaster," as well as "Thomas More's present objections" (ACDF, Indice, Protocolli S, f. 464').

¹⁵⁵ "Beatissimo Padre. L'Agente de l'Arciprete d'Inghilterra ha visto, et inteso, che alcuni di quelli Preti Catholici, che presero il giuramento, pretendono stare con la coscienza quieta, et non haver fatto cosa contro la mente de la Santità Vostra, fondandosi ne la Dottrina, che contiene un'Epistola impressa in lingua Anglica senza nome, sotto titolo di *Judicium Catholici etc. contra apologiam Regis Angliae de Iuramento fidelitatis*, sendola fama che l'autore di essa la scrivesse in Roma, et che sapeva, et poteva sapere bene la mente de la Santità Vostra," n.d. ACDF, St St, Ss1-b, "Anglicana," f. 434). Only a few years later, circa 1615-16, Richard Holtby claimed that some in England believed that the students at Douai College and the English writers in Paris followed Smith's theory on the papal deposing power. The Jesuit thought that the only remedy would be their deprivation of ecclesiastical faculties: "Essendo dunque così che questa dottrina (che l'autorità del Papa sopra li Principi temporali in temporalibus, non è de fide) è tanto commune in Inghilterra nel Collegio in Duai, e tra li Dottori Inglesi in Parigi, quali sottoscrissero a un giuramento contro l'autorità della santa Sede Apostolica come cosa pubblicamente da libri stampati con le loro sottoscrittioni, chiara cosa è che il rimedio unico di questo male è il punire li Dogmatizanti almanco con levargli le loro facoltà, perche così li loro penitenti non s'infetteranno più dalla dottrina loro, anzi vedendoli castigati, verranno a conoscere la gravezza del peccato" (ACDF, St. St. Ss1-b, "Anglicana," ff. 291').

¹⁵⁶ "et con questo si dà una copia interpretata de' li Capitoli che concerneno il detto giuramento, acciò la Santità Vostra dichiarare la sua mente, che detto Agente si persuade, che sarà il mezzo più soave, et più sicuro, per far che questi tali resipiscant, et lascino il suo errore, che il tutto si dice per gloria di Dio, il quale mantenga molti anni la Santità Vostra in questa Santa Sede" (ACDF, St. St.

More's petition in his presence but ordered him to inform the cardinals.¹⁵⁷ More obeyed, stating that his petition was meant to procure some pious and learned theologians to examine the doctrine followed by those who swear the oath. He did not expect the pope to make any "breve or declaration"; he only wanted this doctrine to be submitted to experts for their examination. Their response would be communicated to the archpriest through private letters in England so the scandal would cease, and those who were induced into error would finally mend their ways.¹⁵⁸

Unlike Smith's work against Bell, the incriminating propositions extracted from Persons's *Judgment* were examined by the censors. On 27 July the pope ordered the same propositions to be examined by the "theological advisors" [consultores theologos].¹⁵⁹ In the archives, More's denunciation is immediately followed by a copy of three sections¹⁶⁰ extracted from the first paragraph of

Ss1-b, "Anglicana," f. 434).

¹⁵⁷ "Die 7^a Julii 1611. Summus dixit se coram eiusdem Agentis petitionem reiecisce ac mandavit, ut Idem Agens informet Illustrissimos Dominos Cardinales" (ACDF, St. St. Ss1-b, "Anglicana," f. 439).

¹⁵⁸ "Illustrissimi et Reverendissimi Domini. In memoriali illo quo supplicavi suae [Sanctitati] ut committeret personis piis et doctis examinandam doctrinam quandam in qua fundant se quidam qui Iuramentum reprobatum Regis Angliae praestiterunt non erat intentum petere Breve aliquod Declarationem, sed tantum ut censuram subiret hac doctrina doctorum et piorum qui illam approbarent vel reprobarent, deinde per literas privatas vel Illustrorum Cardianalium vel Illustrissimi Protectoris daretur notitia Reverendissimo Archipresbitero Angliae, quo loco habenda esset, quo scandalum cessaret, et resipiscant qui in errorem inducti sunt"(ACDF, St. St. Ss1-b, "Anglicana," f. 440').

¹⁵⁹ ACDF, St. St. Ss1-b, "Anglicana," f. 451'.

¹⁶⁰ "30. Soe I can not but in charitie approve myself that those being Catholickes, took the said Oath (for so much as were with the Popes authoritie in dealing with temporal Princes) in some such lawful sense, and interpretation, (as being by them expressed, and accepted by the Magistrate) many stand with the integrity and sincerity of the Catholicke doctrine, and faith. So with that the Pope hath not Authority without iust cause to proceed against them. Quia illud possumus, quod iure possumus, saith the law. Our authoritie is limited by Justice. Directlie also the Pope maybe denied to have such authoritie against Princes, but indirectly only in ordine ad spiritualia, and when certain great, important, and urgent cases concerning the Christian religion fal out, which we hope will never be between our Sovereign, and the Sea Apostolicke for so much as they have past already many years (though in different Religion and in peace).

"31. But concerning the general question to deny simply and absolutely that the Pope as supremum Pastor of this Catholicke Church hath anie authority left him by Christ either directly, or indirectly, with cause or without cause in never so great a necessitie, or for never so great, and publick an utilitie of the Christian Religion to proceed against anie Prince whatsoever temporally, for his restraint, or amendement, or to permit other Princes to doe the same: this I suppose was never their meaning that took the Oath: for that they shold thereby contradict the general consent of al Catholick Devines, and confesse that Gods providence for the conservation, and preservation

Persons's *Judgment* along with Latin translations.¹⁶¹ In the extracted sections, Persons explained the oath as interpreted by those who had pronounced it.¹⁶² Although the papal deposing power must be admitted indirectly "in ordine ad spiritualia, and when certayne great, important, and urgent cases, concerning Christian religion fall out," the pope "maybe denied" to "proceed" against sovereigns in want of a just cause.¹⁶³ Of course Persons hoped no "just cause"

of this Church, and Kingdom upon earth hath bene defectuous, for that he shold have left no lawful remedie for so great, and excessive an evil, as that may might fal out.

"32. Wherefore for so much as some such moderate meaning must needs be presumed to have bene in those that took the Oath for safeguard of their consciences, if it might please his Maiestie to like well, and allow of this moderation, and favourable interpretation, as all forreigne Catholicke Kings, and monarchs do, without anie preiudice at al of their saftie, dignitiy, or Imperial preheminence. I doubt not but he shold find most ready conformity, in all his said English Catholick Subjects to take the said Oath, who nowe have great scruple and repugnance of Conscience therin: both for that the chief of learned man of their Church do hold the same for utterly unlawful, being mixed and composed, as it is, and the voice of their chief Pastour, to whom by the Rules of their religion, they think themselves bound to harken in like cases hath utterly condemned the same and the verie tenoure of the Oath it self, and last lines thereof are. That everyone should swear without Equivocation and mental reservation at all, that is to say hartely, wilingle, and truly, upon the true faith of a Christian. Whereby being so, they see not how they may, take the said Oath in truth of Conscience: for so much as they find no such willingnes in their hartes nor can they induct themselves in a matter so neerly containing the confession of their faith to Equivocate, or swear in anie other sense, then from his Maiestie is proposed: and therefore do think it bad such to deny plainly and sincerely to swear, then by swearing nether to give satisfaction to God, nor to his Maiestie nor to themselves, nor to their neighbours. And so much of this point," (ACDF, St. St. Ss1-b, "Anglicana," ff. 435^v).

¹⁶¹ ACDF, St. St. Ss1-b, "Anglicana," ff. 435^v.

¹⁶² *Judgment of a Catholick English-Man*, (§ 1) XXX.

¹⁶³ *Judgment of a Catholick English-Man*, XXX. In his 1606 still unpublished "Discourse against the Oath," Persons argued: "Now on this one point of the Popes authority to depose the King there is one thing chiefly to be observed, that there is no mention made of actual deposition, that is to say of the execution of the Popes censure or sentence of deposition, but only of his authority to give censure and declare sentence of deposition against him; for the Pope as Pope doth never execute his own sentence, but rather to that effect doth invocare auxilium brachii saecularis" (ABSI, Collectanea P I 161-74, "Discourse," part of the section: "Reasons to prove the oath unlawful in almost every part thereof"). "The common position of all Divines is that the Pope hath authority to excommunicate or depose Princes, whither he doe it justly or unjustly that is an other and impertinent question to the sense of the proposition in generall: and it were a ridiculous exposition to interpret it thus. The Pope has authority to depose the King, that is to say he hath no authority unless you wil express a case wherein he hath not . . . wherefore to deny this proposition the Pope hath authority to depose the King, or to say or swear the Pope has no authority to depose the King, or to say that Princes excommunicate or deprived by the Pope may not be deposed is contrary unto the common doctrine and position of the Church, and consequently in no common sense and understanding can be sworne without perjury or impiety, unlesse you explicate the contrary case understood in your minde, viz. without Christ or unjustly." ("5th devise").

would ever occasion a papal censure against a king of England,¹⁶⁴ but he believed this interpretation of the oath should be accepted by James I “as all forreigne Catholicke kings, and monarchs do, without any preiudice at all of their safety, dignity, or imperiall preheminence.”¹⁶⁵ In fact, this was the only interpretation according to which English Catholics who took the oath thought they had acted “in truth of Conscience.”¹⁶⁶ Catholics could not deny “simply and absolutely”¹⁶⁷ that the pope, as Vicar of Christ, has a lawful authority to “proceed against anie Prince . . . for his restraint, or amendement,”¹⁶⁸ when the survival of the Catholic religion was seriously endangered.¹⁶⁹ However, since they could not “induct themselves in a matter so neerly containing the confession of their faith, to Equivocate or sweare in any other sense, then from his Maiesty is proposed” they preferred to refuse the oath, rather than by swearing neither “give satisfaction to God, nor to his Maiesty, nor to themselves, nor to their neighbours.”¹⁷⁰

A comparison between More’s extracts and the published English version reveal considerable manipulation of the text. Parsons explained the motivation of some Catholics who pronounced the oath thus: “Soe I cannot, but in charity **assure** my self, that they . . . tooke the said Oath . . . in some such lawfull sense.”¹⁷¹ More’s version was: “Soe I can not, but in charitie **approve** myself.” He changed the verb from a more neutral “assure” to “approve” with its implication of consent.¹⁷² Persons’s confidence that those who took the oath did it according to some good intention, was transformed into an approval of their act.

“True zeal of religion” does not seem to lurk behind these manipulations.¹⁷³ However, the following propositions underwent a preliminary examination by the censors, following the rejection of More’s petition:¹⁷⁴

¹⁶⁴ *Iudgment of a Catholick English-Man*, (§ 1) XXX.

¹⁶⁵ *Iudgment of a Catholick English-Man*, (§ 1) XXXII.

¹⁶⁶ *Iudgment of a Catholick English-Man*, XXXII.

¹⁶⁷ *Iudgment of a Catholick English-Man*, XXXI.

¹⁶⁸ *Iudgment of a Catholick English-Man*, XXXI

¹⁶⁹ *Iudgment of a Catholick English-Man*, XXXI.

¹⁷⁰ *Iudgment of a Catholick English-Man*, XXXII.

¹⁷¹ *Iudgment of a Catholick English-Man*, XXX.

¹⁷² ACDF, St. St. Ss1-b, “Anglicana,” f. 435^r.

¹⁷³ ACDF, Indice, Protocolli S, f. 464^r.

¹⁷⁴ “27 Iulii 1611. Propositiones contentae in epistola auctoris anonymi impressa anno 1608. sub hoc tit. Iudicium Catholici Angli ad amicum suum in Anglia de Apologia pro Iuramento novo Fidelitatis censentur per Consultores Theologos, et referantur (...)” (ACDF, S.O., Decreta, 1611, f. 322^r).

1) The priests and laity who took the oath without constrictions, to satisfy the king and avoid any accusation of disloyalty to be cast on them, did it in some lawful sense, according to the true Catholic doctrine.¹⁷⁵

2) The pope does not have the authority to depose sovereigns without just cause.¹⁷⁶

3) The pope does not have the authority to depose princes directly, but only indirectly in circumstances concerning the Christian religion.¹⁷⁷

4) No just cause now exists, nor will ever arise in the future, that would grant the pope the faculty of deposing the king of England nor, given the present situation, has he any authority over the latter.¹⁷⁸

5) English Catholics may lawfully swear the oath if they intend that the papal deposing power cannot be directly exercised against the king of England without just cause.¹⁷⁹

The censors judged the first proposition absolutely false because the oath explicitly stated that all its clauses must be sworn without equivocation, according to the plain and true meaning of the words.¹⁸⁰ The second

¹⁷⁵ "Prima propositio. Sacerdotes, et Layci, qui libere susceperunt iuramentum Fidelitatis erga Regem Angliae, ut illi satisfacerent, et viderent obedientes in aliquo legitimo sensu cum integritate, et sinceritate verae Catholicae doctrinae, et fidei id facere poterunt" (ACDF, St. St. Ss1-b, "Anglicana," f. 436).

¹⁷⁶ "2^a. Propositio. Papa non habet auctoritatem sine iuxta causa procedendi contra Principes"(ACDF, St. St. Ss1-b, "Anglicana," f. 436).

¹⁷⁷ "3^a. Propositio. Papa directe non habet auctoritatem contra Principes, sed tantum indirecte in ordine ad spiritualia in casibus videlicet Religionem Christianam concernentibus"(ACDF, St. St. Ss1-b, "Anglicana," f. 436).

¹⁷⁸ "4^a. Propositio. Papa non habet modo, nec speratur habiturum impostremum iuxta causam agendi contra Regem Angliae: et ita rebus sic stantibus, nec habet potestatem supra illum. Ex quibus deducitur intentum huius auctoris quod est iuramentum cum illis conditionibus, et explicationibus a Catholicis Anglis Regi Angliae prestari nullo modo esse admittendum"(ACDF, St. St. Ss1-b, "Anglicana," f. 436).

¹⁷⁹ "Quinta Propositio: Si ponerentur in iuramento Fidelitatis erga Regem Angliae condiciones istae explicitae, videlicet Agnosco, profiteor, testificor Papam ullam habere auctoritatem sine iusta causa, vel directe deponendi Regem Angliae, ita iuramentum prestari posset a Catholicis qui intellexerent nullam modo adesse talem causam, et potestatem qua Pontifex contra Regem Angliae agere possit" (ACDF, St. St. Ss1-b, "Anglicana," f. 436).

¹⁸⁰ "Prima propositio est omnino falsa, tum quia in eodem iuramento habentur fere in fine illos intelligere iurare absque aliqua equivocatione iuxta expressa verba a illis prolata, et iusta planum, ac communem sensum et intellectum commodum verborum quare etc." (ACDF, St. St. Ss1-b, "Anglicana," f. 436).

proposition implied an interpretation of the oath that denied the use of papal censure against sovereigns in want of a generic “just cause.” Yet, this interpretation employed mental reservation which could be legitimately used whenever grave spiritual matters were involved. Hence, the censors believed that such interpretation opened the way to equivocation: not even a public protestation of faith would exculpate those who denied in words the lawfulness of the papal deposing power and yet hold the contrary in their heart.¹⁸¹ Because the third proposition could mislead the simple and cause scandal among Catholics, it was unacceptable.¹⁸² Moreover, the censors continued, even if the second and third propositions were granted absolutely, they were not applicable in this particular case because they excluded the existence of a just cause for a pope to censure a prince and did not mention his authority over the king of England, who was a heretic and persecutor of Catholics.¹⁸³ The fourth proposition was manifestly false because it implied that there was no objective, just cause for papal action against the English king. Consequently Catholics could not swear the oath according to the official explanations and interpretations.¹⁸⁴ Finally, no Catholic could ever accept what was implied in the fifth proposition, specifically that the pope had no right in the current conditions [“rebus sic stantibus”] to proceed against the king of England.¹⁸⁵

Because the censors considered some propositions as presented by More as partially or totally false,¹⁸⁶ they referred them to a commission of theologians

¹⁸¹ “2^a Nam quando agitur de publica protestatione Fidei non licet excusare aliquem qui verbis neget spectans ad fidem affirmando illum aliter corde tenere” (ACDF, St. St. Ss1-b, “Anglicana,” f. 436’).

¹⁸² “3^a. Nam sine suspicione non licet extrinsecum actum Infidelitatis in detrimentum commune Catholicorum simplicium, et quod ingerat scandalum fidelibus. Tale non est iuramentum prestitum ab illis anglis igitur etc.” (ACDF, St. St. Ss1-b, “Anglicana,” f. 436’).

¹⁸³ “2^a et 3^a Propositio absolute admitti possent, sed non in casu nostro cum abducantur ad excludendam iustam causam, et potestatem Summi Pontificis supra Regem Angliae haereticum, et persecutorem Fidelium, quod salva fide dici nequit” (ACDF, St. St. Ss1-b, “Anglicana,” f. 436’).

¹⁸⁴ “4^a Propositio. Quam exsumptis deducit videlicet non circa causam iustam religionem Christianam concernentem cur Papa agere possit modo contra Regem Angliae, quam sit falsa omnibus patet. Ex quibus deducitur intentum huius auctoris quod est iuramentum cum illis conditionibus, et explicationibus a Catholicis Anglis Regi Angliae prestari nullo modo esse admittendum” (ACDF, St. St. Ss1-b, “Anglicana,” f. 436’).

¹⁸⁵ “Cum excludere intendat potestatem Summi Pontificis iuste agendum contra Regem Angliae rebus sic stantibus, ut modo sunt, quo salva fide nullus catholicus affirmare valet” ACDF, St. St. Ss1-b, “Anglicana,” f. 436’.

¹⁸⁶ “In tribus paragraphis exhibitis ex Epistola impressa cuiusdam Anonimi sub titulo Iudicium Catholici Angli ad amicum suum in Anglia de Apologia pro iuramento fidelitatis reperiuntur propositiones aliquae omnino falsae, aliquae non, quae licet absolute a pluribus Theologis

for further examination and possible censure.¹⁸⁷ The censors of the Holy Office again examined sections 30, 31, 32 and other propositions on 17 and 20 September 1611.¹⁸⁸ In the first session (17 September) the censors focused their attention on the following five allegedly heterodox propositions regarding the oath, which had been copied and translated by More:¹⁸⁹

1) The first proposition called the king of England true and lawful monarch of all his dominions, and in temporal matters inferior only to God.¹⁹⁰

2) The king of England deserved the same allegiance given to him in the past by the English Catholics to their lawful sovereigns, and indeed as any other Catholic prince deserved.¹⁹¹

recipiantur, in casu tamen de quo agitur omnino rejici debent" (ACDF, St. St. Ss1-b, "Anglicana," f. 436).

¹⁸⁷ "(...)Iudicium Catholici Angli ad amicum suum in Anglia de Apologia pro Iuramento novo Fidelitatis censentur per Consultores Theologos, et referantur (...)," (ACDF, S.O., Decreta, 1611, f. 322).

¹⁸⁸ "Hae sunt Censurae de mandato illustrissimi D. N. ac Illustrorum D. N. Cardinalium Generalium Inquisitorum, factae per Infrapositos R.R. P.P. M. Theologos Sancti Officii propositionum Censores, in duabus Congregationibus habitis Romae in Palatio Sancti Officii sub diebus 17 et 20 septembris 1611. in sequentes propositiones, excavatas ex epistola quadam impressa sermone Anglico inscripta, cui titulus est Sententia Viri Catholici Angli, Religionis ergo exulantis, de libro, cui titulus Triplici nodo, triplex cuneus, sive Apologia de Iuramento Fidelitatis, et obedientia Regi praestanda a Catholicis Anglis, absque nomine Auctoris" (ACDF, St. St. Ss1-b, "Anglicana," f. 444). As we shall see (n. 252), this is probably the substance of the first denunciation, made by Alabaster, that More had submitted again to the Inquisition (ACDF, St. St. Ss1-b, "Anglicana," f. 450).

¹⁸⁹ "in prima Congregatione censuratae fuerunt Primae quinque propositiones (...)," (ACDF, St. St. Ss1-b, "Anglicana," f. 444).

¹⁹⁰ "Prima Propositio. Rex Angliae est verus Rex Dominusque legitimus habens verum ac legitimum dominium supra omnia Regna sua. Ita ut in regimine temporali soli Deo sit inferior" (ACDF, St. St. Ss1-b, "Anglicana," f. 444). In section XXVI (§1) of his *Judgment*, Persons had suggested the English Catholics might have lawfully sworn those clauses of the oath explicitly dealing with "Ciuill and Temporall Obedience."

¹⁹¹ "Secunda Propositio. Quilibet Catholicis iurare illi debet quoad omnia quae quacumque ratione ad eiusdem et temporalem obedientiam Regi debitam spectant, tum fidelitatis, quantum unquam quisquam Catholicus Anglus, iam preatentis Catholicis temporibus iuravit Regibus suis legitimis, et in aliis regionibus modo praestatur cuicumque Principi Catholico" (ACDF, St. St. Ss1-b, "Anglicana," f. 444). The king should be acknowledged as "true and lawfull kyng and Soueraigne over all his Dominions . . . as ever any Catholicke Subiect in England, did unto their lawfull King in former tymes, and ages, before the change of King Henry the eyght: or that any forraigne Subiect oweth, or ought to sweare to any Catholicke Prince whatsoever at this day" (Persons, *Judgment*, (§1) XXVI, XXVIII).

3) The title of “Supreme Governor” (of the Church) attributed to the king could be accepted by Catholics when swearing the oath since it merely indicated that he has a supreme authority in all civil matters but not spiritual.¹⁹²

4) The oath could be lawfully sworn if the clause on the papal deposing power was interpreted in the sense that the pope could proceed against the king of England only indirectly and in grave cases concerning the state of the Christian religion.¹⁹³

5) It was hoped that no just cause would ever arise to give occasion for a papal censure against the king of England.¹⁹⁴

In the second session on 20 September, the censors examined three other propositions extracted from Persons’s *Judgment*.¹⁹⁵

6) Presumably those English Catholics who swore the oath, did so by some moderate interpretation of the clause on papal deposing power.¹⁹⁶

7) A law enacted by the Emperor Mauritius in Saint Gregory’s time, that prohibited soldiers and anyone employed in matters of public utility, being received into monasteries, may be regarded as not completely evil if interpreted

¹⁹² “Tertia Propositio. Iuramentum, in quo Protestantes Angli primatum specialem Regi tribuunt, facientes illum non caput, se supremum Gubernatorem Ecclesiae in omnibus casibus, tam spiritualibus, quam temporalibus, minime displicere debet, si per Gubernatorem supremum intelligant, Principis temporalis supremam auctoritatem supra omnes personas omnium suorum dominiorum tam Ecclesiasticas, quam Laicas in rebus temporalibus, excipiente spiritualia sola” (ACDF, St. St. Ss1-b, “Anglicana,” f. 444^r). “But now I perceave they [the Protestants] have passed the same [the title of Supreme Governor] also ouer to His Maiestie not permitting him to inherite the titles, eyther of King Edward, or King Henry; which misliketh not us at all . . . For if they will understand by supreme Governour, the temporall Princes Supreme Authority ouer all persons of his dominions, both Ecclesiasticall, and Temporall, in temporall matters, excepting only Spiritual” (Persons, *Judgment*, (§ 3) VII).

¹⁹³ “Quarta Propositio. Iuramentum Fidelitatis erga Regem Angliae, si fiat eum hac interpretationem videlicet Papa non habet auctoritatem directam, et sine causa procedendi contra Principes sed solum indirectam in ordine ad spiritualia, et in urgentibus casibus Religionem Christianam concernentibus: optime potest cum integritate, et sinceritate verae Catholicae doctrinae, ac fidei a Catholicis praestare” (ACDF, St. St. Ss1-b, “Anglicana,” f. 445^r).

¹⁹⁴ “Quinta Propositio. Speratur Summum Pontificem numquam habiturum causam iustam procedendi contra Regem Angliae, cum hucusque inter ipsum Regem, et Summum Pontificem cuncta transierint in quiete, et pace “ (ACDF, St. St. Ss1-b, “Anglicana,” f. 445^r).

¹⁹⁵ ACDF, St. St. Ss1-b, “Anglicana,” f. 444^r.

¹⁹⁶ “Sexta Propositio. Praesumendum est Catholicos Anglos, qui Iuramentum Regi praestauerunt id facisse cum illa moderatione; quo pacto suis conscientiis contulerant” (ACDF, St. St. Ss1-b, “Anglicana,” f. 445^r).

in some good sense, that is, for example, that soldiers while actively serving in the army needed a special license from the sovereign to become monks.¹⁹⁷

8) More important than air to breath, it is freedom of conscience that should be granted to all Christians.¹⁹⁸

Among the eleven censors were the outstanding canonist Frascisco Peña,¹⁹⁹ the Dominican Ludovico Ystella, Master of the Sacred Palace, and the Jesuit Benedetto Giustiniani²⁰⁰. There was a certain irony here: Ystella and Giustiniani had served with Persons on a papal commission in 1606 to investigate the lawfulness of Catholic attendance at Protestant services in England. They pronounced against the practice.²⁰¹

The first proposition pronounced the king of England as the true and lawful monarch of all his dominions, and in temporal matters inferior only to God.²⁰² Regarding the first part of the proposition, specifically “the king of England is a true and lawful monarch,” the censors disagreed. Four censors, Peter Lombard (Archbishop of Armagh), Serafino Secci, O.P., Andrea Giustiniani, and the Carmelite Giovanni Stefano Barberio, considered it inadmissible but not

¹⁹⁷ “Septima Propositio. Lex data ab Imperatore Mauritio tempora Sancti Gregorii, qua prohibebantur Milites, et qui negotiis rationum publicorum implicati fuissent recipi in Monasterio: Non fuit absolute mala, sed in aliquo bono sensu tolerabilis, videlicet quod Militibus adscriptis Militiae Imperatoris, durante illo vinculo, recipi in Monasterio, absque facultate Principis, non liceret” (ACDF, St. St. Ss1-b, “Anglicana,” f. 445’).

¹⁹⁸ “Neque respiratio, nec aeris usura est magis debita, et communis omnibus, quam hominibus Christianis, debet esse libertas conscientiae, qua unusquisque Deo, et sibi vivit” (ACDF, St. St. Ss1-b, “Anglicana” f. 445’). “For that neither breathing, nor the use of common ayre, is more due unto them, or common to all, then ought to be libertie of Conscience to Christian men, whereby ech liueth to God, and to himselfe,” Persons, *Judgment*, (§ II) XX.

¹⁹⁹ He was one of those appointed to a commission charged with the preparation of the official edition of the *Corpus Juris Canonici* (Rome, 1582). See Agostino Borromeo, “A proposito del Directorium Inquisitionum di Nicholas Eymerich e delle sue edizioni cinquecentesche,” *Critica Storica* 20 (1983) 507-16.

²⁰⁰ *16.iii.1550 Genoa; SJ 1567 Rome; †19.xii.1622 Rome (*DHCJ*, II, 1740).

²⁰¹ Robert Persons, “Casus de adeundis haereticorum ecclesiis in Anglia,” *ARSI*, Anglia 36/II, ff. 325'-333'; Persons, *Quaestiones Duae*, pp. 38-39; Crosignani, *Il dibattito sul conformismo occasionale*, pp.163-64 & n.

²⁰² “Prima Propositio. Rex Angliae est verus Rex Dominusque legitimus habens verum ac legitimum dominium supra omnia Regna sua. Ita ut in regimine temporali soli Deo sit inferior” (ACDF, St. St. Ss1-b, “Anglicana,” f. 444’). In section XXVI (§1) of his *Judgment*, Persons had suggested the English Catholics might have lawfully sworn the clause explicitly dealing with “Ciuiill and Temporall Obedience.”

censurable because the king had not been officially excommunicated.²⁰³ Peña, Ystella, Giustiniani, Tomas de Lemos, O.P, the Augustinian Gregorio Nuñez Coronel, the Theatine Raffaele Rastelli, and Francesco Madaleni di Capoferro, O.P., regarded the proposition as erroneous because the English king was a noted heretic.²⁰⁴ The second clause, “in temporal matters, the king of England is inferior only to God,” was unanimously judged to be “formally haeretical” because it denied due submission to the pope, whose spiritual authority is always superior to any temporal.²⁰⁵ The assertion that the king of England deserved the same allegiance given in the past by the English Catholics to their lawful sovereigns, and indeed as any other Catholic prince²⁰⁶ was pronounced “erroneous” because it implied a comparison between the actual king, who was “notoriously herretical,” and Henry VIII’s predecessors, who were Catholics and devoted to the Roman Pontiff.²⁰⁷

The title “Supreme Governor of the Church” attributed by Protestants to the monarch was not entirely offensive because it implied that the king had supreme authority over his subjects, both ecclesiastical and temporal, in all civil matters but not spiritual ones.²⁰⁸ They unanimously judged that this proposition was

²⁰³ ACDF, St. St. Ss1-b, “Anglicana,” f. 444’.

²⁰⁴ ACDF, St. St. Ss1-b, “Anglicana,” f. 444’.

²⁰⁵ “secundam partem omnes censuerunt esse formaliter haereticam; quia videtur negare subordinationem Summo Pontifici debitam” (ACDF, St. St. Ss1-b, f. 444’).

²⁰⁶ “Secunda Propositio. Quilibet Catholicus iurare illi debet quoad omnia quae quacumque ratione ad eiusdem et temporalem obedientiam Regi debitam spectant, tum fidelitatis, quantum unquam quisquam Catholicus Anglus, iam preatentis Catholicis temporibus iuravit Regibus suis legitimis, et in aliis regionibus modo praestatur cuicumque Principi Catholico”(ACDF, St. St. Ss1-b, “Anglicana,” f. 444’). James should be acknowledged as a “true and lawfull kyng and Soueraigne over all his Dominions . . . as ever any Catholicke Subiect in England, did unto their lawfull King in former tymes, and ages, before the change of King Henry the eyght: or that any forraigne Subiect oweth, or ought to sweare to any Catholicke Prince whatsoever at this day,” Persons, *Judgment*, (§1) XXVI, XXVII.

²⁰⁷ ACDF, St. St. Ss1-b, “Anglicana,” f. 444’.

²⁰⁸ “Tertia Propositio. Iuramentum, in quo Protestantes Angli primatum specialem Regi tribuunt, facientes illum non caput, se supremum Gubernatorem Ecclesiae in omnibus casibus, tam spiritualibus, quam temporalibus, minime displicere debet, si per Gubernatorem supremum intelligant, Principis temporalis supremam auctoritatem supra omnes personas omnium suorum dominiorum tam Ecclesiasticas, quam Laicas in rebus temporalibus, excipiente spiritualia sola” (ACDF, St. St. Ss1-b, “Anglicana,” f. 444’). “But now I perceive they [the Protestants] have passed the same [the title of Supreme Governor] also ouer to His Maestie not permitting him to inherite the titles, eyther of King Edward, or King Henry; which misliketh not us at all . . . For if they will understand by supreme Gouvernour, the temporall Princes Supreme Authority ouer all persons of his dominions, both Ecclesiasticall, and Temporall, in temporall matters, excepting only Spiritual,” Persons, *Judgment*, (§ 3)VII.

“heretical and formally schismatic in its every part.” The proposition was “erroneous” because it denied the primacy of Peter.²⁰⁹ Propositions four, five and six dealt with the papal deposing power and the conditions under which it could be invoked.²¹⁰ Swearing the oath while mentally interpreting the clause concerning papal deposing power in a sense different from that expressed in the words, was equivocation, generally regarded as a heretical practice.²¹¹ Archbishop Lombard added that the proposition caused scandal, and encouraged temerity and taking the oath.²¹²

Hope for peaceful relations between England and Rome depended on the absence of a just cause for papal action. The preservation of peace presupposed that the pope would never be given any just cause for acting against him. All censors considered that proposition heretical except the archbishop who considered it simply fanciful.²¹³ Mental reservation was forbidden. The censors unanimously agreed that the present proposition, the sixth, contained in itself all doctrinal errors previously detected, and considered it scandalous and likely to confirm the obstinacy and error of oath takers.²¹⁴ According to the censors, a law enacted by the Emperor Mauritius in Saint Gregory’s time, as described in the seventh proposition, represented an abuse of power because he had no right to legislate in spiritual matters. It was unanimously considered “an error in faith.” The eighth proposition regarding freedom of conscience, was unanimously judged heretical and the fount of all heresies.²¹⁵

A few months after the censure of the propositions, the pope ordered that a Latin translation of extracts from “an anonymous book, printed in English in

²⁰⁹ “Hanc propositionem omnes censuerunt esse hareticam, et schismaticam formaliter quoad omnem sui partem, intelligendo limitationem ita ut mente tum concipiatur, non autem exprimatur verbis. Si vero limitatio exprimatur verbis, propositio est erronea, et favet haereticis negantibus Sancti Petri Primatum” (ACDF, St. St. Ss1-b, “Anglicana,” f. 444’).

²¹⁰ ACDF, St. St. Ss1-b, “Anglicana,” ff. 445’v.

²¹¹ ACDF, St. St. Ss1-b, “Anglicana,” f. 445’; “Quarta Propositio”: by the author’s interpretation of the oath, the pope only has a “*potestas indirecta*” in matters concerning the Catholic religion.

²¹² ACDF, St. St. Ss1-b, “Anglicana,” f. 445’

²¹³ “Omnes uno excepto Illustrissimo Ardmacano dixerunt hanc propositionem ut supponit quartam, et affirmare videtur haeresim non esse legitimam et iustam causam procedendi contra Regem Angliae, esse haeticam. Illustrissimus Ardmacanus censuit, quia loqui videtur tantum de futura causa, continere tantum votum exoptandum” (ACDF, St. St. Ss1-b, “Anglicana,” f. 445’).

²¹⁴ “Omnes dixerunt hanc propositionem continere in se errorem, et haeresim omnium supradictarum propositionum, acideo esse propositionem scandalosam, et faventem temeritatem, et errorem eorum qui hoc Juramentum susceperunt” (ACDF, St. St. Ss1-b, “Anglicana,” f. 445’).

²¹⁵ ACDF, St. St. Ss1-b, “Anglicana,” f. 445’.

1608” be examined by the rector of the English College.²¹⁶ On 12 February 1612, Thomas Owen, S.J.,²¹⁷ rector of the English College, showed Andrea Giustiniani, the Father Commissary, the whole file on Persons’s case. Included therein were Owen’s introduction, a chronology of the important events, and the reasons why he was asked to examine Persons’s tract. Owen also summarised the denounced passages, and argued against the malicious distortions of Persons’s argument and his very words by the unnamed denouncer.²¹⁸ A second document, also drafted by Owen, described More’s denunciation—indicated as “Errores”—and contrasted passages contained in the denunciation with accurate Latin translations of specific passages from the *Judgment*.²¹⁹ The file also contained Persons’s own Italian translation of sections 29, 30, 31, 32 of the *Judgment*, and his own defence, also in Italian, which Owen now showed to members of the Congregation of the Holy Office.²²⁰ Owen’s account of the double denunciation accurately recorded detailed information on both accusers, and the reaction of the accused. In 1609 Smith and More divulged news that sections of Persons’s book had been denounced at the Inquisition, hoping the rumour would eventually reach his ears. Persons never saw either the denunciation or the Latin translation of the questionable passages. Even though the cardinals of the Holy Office dismissed More’s

²¹⁶ “Die 23 Novembris 1611. Loca traducta in latinum ex epistola auctoris anonymi Idiomatis Angli impressa anno 1608 sub hac titulo Iudicium Catholici Angli ad amicum suum in Anglia de Apologia pro Iuramento novo Fidelitatis, dantur Rectori Collegi Anglicani, ut illa consideret circa recensionem, et dicat quid sibi decurrat, deinde Idem Rector exhibeat in Sancto Officio librum seu epistolam, ex qua propositiones exceptae fuerunt”(ACDF, S.O., Decreta, 1611, f. 507; St St. Ss1-b, “Anglicana,” f. 448”).

²¹⁷ *1556/1557 Winchester; SJ13i.v.1579 Lyons; †6.xii.1618 Rome (MHSA, *Mon. Ang.*, I, 83) He succeeded Persons, who had died on 15 April 1610, as rector of the English College. His knowledge of English, Latin, and Italian, and his controversial skills as witnessed by his *A Letter of a Catholic Man beyond the Seas . . . Touching the imputation of the death of Henry the IIII, late King of France, to Priests, Jesuits, or Catholike Doctrine* (St. Omer, 1610) and *The Copie of a Letter sent from Paris to the Reverend Fathers of the Society of Jesus who live in England. Contayning an Answer to the Calumniationes of Anti-Coton against the same Society in generell, and Fa. Coton in perticuler* (St. Omer, 1611) made him a natural choice to verify the reliability of accusations against a book by a famous polemicist in a language completely foreign to the members of the Congregation of the Holy Office.

²¹⁸ “Circa Librum R. Personii Jesuitae Angli contra Regis Angliae Apologiam pro Iuramento Fidelitatis,” ACDF, St. St. Ss1-e, “Anglicana,” ff. 102^r-09^r). This document has been included in the Appendix (III).

²¹⁹ “Traductio ex libro Anglico cui titulus The Iudgment of a Catholick English Man etc. Id est sententia viri Catholici Angli Religionis ergo exulantis cui titulus triplici nodo triplex cuneus sive apologia pro iuramento fidelitatis etc.,” ACDF, St. St. Ss1-e, “Anglicana,” ff. 113^r-118^r. This document has been included in the appendix (IV).

²²⁰ ACDF, St. St. Ss1-e, “Anglicana,” ff. 111^r-12^r. This document is included in the appendix (II).

denunciation, Persons still wrote up his “Defense” which Owen entrusted to the Inquisition’s Commissioner Andrea Giustiniani. After his departure from Rome, Smith disseminated rumours of Persons’s denunciation and the censure of *Judgment* in Milan, Paris and England even though he was well aware that the Inquisition had dismissed the denunciation. Such behaviour further undermined Smith’s contention that he was motivated by “zeal for religion” and not from a personal animosity rooted in his conviction that the Jesuit had earlier denounced his book to the Holy Office. Baseless as they were, Smith’s rumours did tarnish Person’s reputation.²²¹

In the Latin translation of extracts from *Judgment*, Owen recognised the hand of Alabaster who consciously and maliciously mis-translated passages in order to have them censured. Owen explained Alabaster’s behaviour thus: Alabaster denounced Persons as “lacking any religious zeal or pity, partially to satisfy his own revenge, partially persuaded by heretical malice; he never acted sincerely or with spirit of truthfulness, but with deceit and animosity. Now adding, now omitting, now mixing, now making false translations, changed everything to give it the appearance of something opposite to Fr Persons’s mind and intentions.”²²² In the translation Alabaster had so edited and modified the original English that any reader of the original book would have been astonished by the extent of the fraud.²²³ Owen cited one example: Alabaster had translated the title of the first paragraph “The Iudgment of a Catholicke-Man Concerning the Apology, for the new Oath” as “De Iuramento fidelitatis et obedientia Regi praestanda a Catholicis Anglis,”²²⁴ which not only contradicted the words of the author but the very purpose of the treatise. Never in the book was the oath of allegiance admitted as lawful.²²⁵ In his own defence addressed to the commissioner of the Holy Office, Persons had stressed the fact that his book was expressly written against the oath. When the oath became compulsory, learned men debated whether it could be lawfully pronounced. A few, such as the former Archpriest Blackwell and others, argued that it could; all Jesuits in England and abroad, however, denied that Catholics could pronounce the oath because they refused to justify the use of any equivocation in matters touching faith.²²⁶

²²¹ ACDF, St. St. Ss1-b, “Anglicana,” f. 103^r.

²²² ACDF, St. St. Ss1-e, “Anglicana,” f. 103^r.

²²³ ACDF, St. St. Ss1-e, “Anglicana,” f. 103^r.

²²⁴ ACDF, St. St. Ss1-e, “Anglicana,” f. 103^r.

²²⁵ ACDF, St. St. Ss1-e, “Anglicana,” f. 103^r.

²²⁶ ACDF, St. St. Ss1-e, “Anglicana,” f. 112^r. In the Italian version, Persons spoke of the position taken by the Society as a fact; in the *Judgment* he was more circumspect: “And in these [allowing no Equivocation], I heare say that the Iesuites were among the chiefe and most forward,”

The first mistranslation (“Inscription”) is that of the very title which became in the translator’s words, “Sententia viri Catholici sive Apologia pro Iuramento fidelitatis” in Latin.²²⁷ Persons carefully explained that English Catholics had been allowed to demonstrate temporal allegiance to their king. He offered two major reasons for this: first, James was never formally excommunicated; second, Pope Clement VIII had in fact recommended allegiance in a brief in which the pope had asked for religious toleration in exchange for temporal allegiance.²²⁸ The author of the *Judgment* argued, nonetheless, that the final word always remained with the pope. Whether the pope considered temporal obedience a concession to the king in exchange for religious tolerance, or forbade it, Catholics must always be prepared to obey “the voice of their Universal Pastor.”²²⁹

Unlike many appellants, Persons never offered his allegiance to the king unless he had papal approval for doing so. Nor had he ever favoured the king over the pope. Not a single passage from the *Judgment* contained an assertion that papal deposing power was not *de fide* unlike Smith’s earlier treatise.²³⁰ Contrary to More’s insistence that papal prohibitions were in fact simple exhortations against the oath, Persons argued that Catholics could neither

(§ I), XIII.

²²⁷ ACDF, St. St. Ss1-e, “Anglicana,” f. 103^v.

²²⁸ ACDF, St. St. Ss1-e, “Anglicana,” f. 103^v. Immediately after the Gunpowder Plot, Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, tried to obtain a formal declaration from the pope on temporal allegiance through the influence of the Spanish ambassador in London, Pedro de Zuñiga: he did not succeed (Samuel Gardiner, *History of England from the Accession of James I to the Outbreak of the Civil War 1603-42*, 10 vols. (London, 1883-1884) I, 140-41). The undated brief (yet it must be dated 1603-1605), “*Litera Clementi P. P. VIII ad Jacobum Angliae et Scotiae Regem*” can be found in ACDF, St. St. Ss1-e, “Anglicana,” ff. 121^v-122^v). The pertinent passage is “*Deinde a te emissam petimus, ut Catholicis qui Aui Angliae regnisque tuis sunt te ut hactenus fecisti lentum et mitem praebeas nene quicquam in eos Religionis causa durius aut acerbius agere patiaris; quin potius afflictis, preasertis Angliss, permittes ut ex superioris temporis acerbitate respirare et tamquam post diuturnam tempestem in tuae Clementiae velut quaedam tranquillo portu conquiescere liceat, Quibus te Regem suum agnoscantibus et omni oboedientiae studio colegendibus, illud unum fraudi ne sit, quod actum, et Catholicam Religionem retinent, et profitentur; . . . Nos autem, te plorantem esse, et ista Regnorum tuorum Amplitudine, et gloria diutissime fuit et optamus, ut propenso etiam animo curaturi, et pro nostra virili sedulis daturi sumus, ne tua Regnique tui Amplissimi pax, quies et tranquillitas, ullo loco, ullane parte imminuatur, aut perturbatur*” (f. 121^v).

²²⁹ ACDF, St. St. Ss1-e, “Anglicana,” ff. 103^v-104^r.

²³⁰ Here Fr. Owen admits the “anti-Bell tract” had actually been denounced: “*Nec dicit uspiam, ut dicit D. or Smitheus in praedicto libro suo iampridem denunciato, non esse de fide auctoritatem Papae in deponendis Principibus*” (ACDF, St. St. Ss1-e, “Anglicana,” f. 104^r), but certainly not by Robert Persons.

pronounce the oath nor advance possible toleration as a motive for doing so.²³¹ He remained ever mindful of the authority and dignity of the Apostolic See; only Christian charity prompted him to suggest that Catholics might have taken the oath for good, albeit misguided, reasons.”²³² On page 19, number 31, he considered the Catholic position on the oath.

Catholics could never deny that Christ had given to pontiffs direct and indirect authority to proceed against sovereigns. Any denial of that position ran counter to the general opinion of Catholics. Providence would indeed have been seriously deficient if it had not granted the pope such an important instrument of spiritual censure to safeguard the survival of Christ’s Church.²³³ He repeated this at “the end of number 18”²³⁴ where Persons contended that the pope possessed the power to depose princes whenever certain “grave, urgent, and important” circumstances arose, but nonetheless he hoped that this power would never be the cause of enmity between “our king and the Apostolic See.”²³⁵ Should such circumstances ever arise, the pope would rely on God’s favour to prevent any possible action prejudicial to the king. Persons himself would pray fervently for the king and his Catholic subjects.²³⁶ In his “Defense,” Persons claimed that he never condemned natural obedience to the king on lawful matters. He never asserted that civil obedience was opposed to faith or salvation, but argued that the oath was unlawful because it combined acceptable civil allegiance with matters of faith. One could not pick and choose clauses but had to pronounce the entire oath. Owen wondered whether Persons’s accuser knew that the papal nuncio in Flanders, Ottavio Malvasia, had sent William Gifford to England to command English Catholics to obey the king in all civil

²³¹ The oath could not be sworn in any form whatsoever: “Angli Catholici nullum Iuramentum si formatum admittant, in qua quicquam contineatur contra fidem Catholicam, et autoritatem Papae circa deponendos et excommunicandos Reges” (ACDF, S.O., Decreta, 1608-1609, f. 186’).

²³² ACDF, St. St. Ss1-e, “Anglicana,” f. 104’.

²³³ ACDF, St. St. Ss1-e, “Anglicana,” f. 104’. In “his Philopatry, page 109” (Andreas Philopater, *Elizabethae Angliae Reginae . . . Edictum Promulgatum Londini 29 Novemb. 1591. Cum responsione ad singula capita* (Augustae, 1592), ARCR, I, nums. 889-90, Persons explicitly taught papal deposing power as *de fide*.

²³⁴ ACDF, St. St. Ss1-e, “Anglicana,” f. 104’. The citation is not correct, but it could be a *lapsus calami*: he says “number” 18 while it is at the end of “page” 18 (num. 30).

²³⁵ ACDF, St. St. Ss1-e, “Anglicana,” f. 104’.

²³⁶ ACDF, St. St. Ss1-e, “Anglicana,” ff. 104^{rv}. Owen’s reference is “page 19, number 27” but the correct citation is page 16, number. 27.

matters.²³⁷ In fact Catholics had been allowed to render temporal allegiance to Queen Elizabeth I notwithstanding her excommunication.²³⁸

The second mistranslation deals with the account of St. Gregory's act of obedience to Emperor Mauritius, making it "about the obedience St. Gregory gave to Mauritius the Emperor," which is explicitly contrary to the words of the author who wrote that the emperor forfeited some of his authority by promulgating a law that had been adapted to the divine law by St. Gregory.²³⁹ The accuser also asserted that Persons approved of the title "Supreme Governor of the Church" ("About the King's spiritual primacy according to the oath"). What Persons had actually approved was Protestant insistence that the title granted the king supreme authority *only* in temporal matters.²⁴⁰ The fourth mistranslation concerned Persons's position on freedom of conscience, to which everyone was entitled "no less than the air to breathe." The Jesuit, of course, did not speak in absolute terms; he did not insist that every heretic should be granted such freedom. He simply requested some freedom for English Catholics, and in so doing noted the inconsistency of Protestants who argued in favour of toleration for their fellow religionists in Catholic countries while denying the same freedom to Catholics in Protestant countries.²⁴¹

The fifth and final mistranslation is "About Heretics' abjuration in Catholic tribunals." The accuser added a note to the text: "forcing heretics to abjure is a sin." Yet a more accurate translation of the author's original text would be: "forcing a heretic to abjure against his conscience is a sin, if the enforcer knows it."²⁴² The Catholic Church has an ancient right, a "*ius acquisitum*," to punish heretics as well as baptized members of the Church. English Protestants do not

²³⁷ ACDF, St. St. Ss1-e, "Anglicana," f. 104^v. The letter is dated 1 August 1603 ("A. 1603 Calend. Augusti"): "tum deinceps ut omnes qui nomine Catholicorum godere volunt in Domino hortetur, ut nihil committant quod pacem publicam turbare Principes et Magistratus offendere, religionem nostram odiosam et suspectam reddere possit, sed ita quae sunt Dei Deo reddant, ut quae sunt Caesari non subtrahant" (ACDF, St. St. Ss1-e, "Anglicana," f. 123^r).

²³⁸ ACDF, St. St. Ss1-e, "Anglicana," f. 104^v.

²³⁹ ACDF, St. St. Ss1-e, "Anglicana," ff. 104^v-05^r, 108^r; *Judgment*, (§ II), XL. This is one of the propositions censured at the session on 20 September 1611. Owen confirmed that the author of the first denunciation, unknown to Father Persons, was Alabaster. Behind the second accusation Owen again saw "Alabaster's hand." It is quite obvious the latter is the same denunciation submitted to the Holy Office in 1609 and presented again by More to the cardinals of the Congregation. This actually proves the agents *guided* Alabaster's hand, otherwise More would not have had a copy of his denunciation.

²⁴⁰ ACDF, St. St. Ss1-e, "Anglicana," ff. 105^r, 108^r; *Judgment*, (§ III) VII.

²⁴¹ ACDF, St. St. Ss1-e, "Anglicana," ff. 105^r, 107^v-08^r; *Judgment*, (§ II) XX.

²⁴² ACDF, St. St. Ss1-e, "Anglicana," ff. 105^v, 117^v-18^r.

have this right. Thus whenever they forced Catholics to abjure against their consciences, they sinned. Persons denied that heretics were compelled to abjure their errors against their consciences. Canon law paid scrupulous attention to the sincerity of abjurations. Catholic tribunals only punished heresy. A Catholic judge, exercising his duty to root out heresy, could not be held responsible if a heretic recanted against his conscience. The translator clearly and deliberately omitted sections in order to alter the true meaning of the words and to cast doubt on the author's orthodoxy.²⁴³

Owen invited the cardinals of the Inquisition to examine personally all sentences omitted, freely added, altered, omitted, or transposed by the accuser in his denunciation.²⁴⁴ Owen passed over with barely a mention mistakes based on negligence or ignorance, and concentrated on the intentional errors rooted in the animus of the accuser. These fraudulent charges not only damaged Persons's personal reputation and brought opprobrium upon the cause of the English Catholics, but also insulted the Congregation of the Holy Office. Consequently Owen besought the tribunal to issue a severe condemnation of the denunciation in order to prevent similar attempts in the future, and to protect English Catholics against the machinations of the heretics.²⁴⁵ Owen highlighted the most serious lies, especially those concerning papal deposing power. Persons clearly claimed on page 19, number 31 that a denial of papal deposing power went against the common opinion of all theologians. Only Christian charity, as we noted above, mitigated his condemnation of Catholics who took the oath. Equally clear was his assertion on page 20, number 33 that taking the oath in its current form was forbidden, and that Catholics would not profit from taking it. Catholics who swore the oath, and Protestants who compelled Catholics to do so against their consciences, sinned grievously (page 22, number 35). No wonder the delator omitted these passages.²⁴⁶ Arguably the accuser's most serious lie was the assertion that Persons claimed that the pope had pronounced as unlawful civil allegiance to the king. In so doing, the accuser cleverly omitted page 10, number 15 where Persons forbade the oath despite several lawful clauses, especially concerning civil obedience. Nor did the accuser mention Clement VIII's brief on the "quiet and civil obedience" of Catholics to King James to which Persons referred on page 15 at number 24, and explicitly quoted on page 14 at number 14.²⁴⁷

²⁴³ ACDF, St. St. Ss1-e, "Anglicana," ff. 105^v, 109^v; 117^v-18^r; *Judgment*, (§ I) XXXVI.

²⁴⁴ ACDF, St. St. Ss1-e, "Anglicana," ff. 106^v, 113^v-18^r.

²⁴⁵ ACDF, St. St. Ss1-e, "Anglicana," f. 106^v.

²⁴⁶ ACDF, St. St. Ss1-e, "Anglicana," ff. 107^v.

²⁴⁷ ACDF, St. St. Ss1-e, "Anglicana," f. 107^v.

On page 13, number 22, Persons distinguished between clauses concerned with civil allegiance, and those that treated religion: the first were obviously due to the king but the second, curtailed legitimate papal authority. The accuser omitted Persons's cautionary "prudent reading" and claimed that Persons wished to be a faithful subject, as all subjects must be, without exception.²⁴⁸ Twisting Persons's views into such an erroneous representation demanded the omission of pages 14 and 15, numbers, 23, 24, 25, where Persons discussed Clement VIII's brief, and the distinction between the acceptable and unacceptable clauses. Moreover, at number 26 he explained that he recognised the king "as the legitimate supreme lord" [*legitimum Dominum Supremum*] of his dominions, but he did not call James "Supreme Lord" [*Dominum Supremum*] as claimed by the accuser who added "Dominum" and mistranslated "sovereign" [*Soveranum*] as "supremum." In English "sovereign" referred only to the prince's temporal power whereas supreme lord included ecclesiastical jurisdiction.²⁴⁹

Owen concluded that the accuser well knew that Persons was the only person who had written against the oath in either Latin or English, and that he had written in the vernacular in order to defend papal briefs against the oath. On the other hand, other Englishmen who "publicly show themselves to be true Catholics," had written against the briefs. This in itself cast a suspicious light upon the denunciation.²⁵⁰ By casting aspersion on the orthodoxy of the only treatise that attacked the oath, the accuser hoped to entice more Catholics into taking the oath. The book's censure, Owen opined, would help the cause of the heretics, specifically William Barlow.²⁵¹ Persons completed his rejoinder to Barlow, a treatise explicitly commissioned by the pope and the Holy Office, just before his death, an event greeted with considerable relief by the heretics.²⁵² The accuser, rumoured to be a secret friend of the English government, must therefore be considered an enemy of the Catholic Church and of the Apostolic

²⁴⁸ ACDF, St. St. Ss1-e, "Anglicana," f. 107^v.

²⁴⁹ ACDF, St. St. Ss1-e, "Anglicana," f. 107^v.

²⁵⁰ ACDF, St. St. Ss1-e, "Anglicana," f. 109^v.

²⁵¹ ACDF, St. St. Ss1-e, "Anglicana," ff. 109^{r-v}.

²⁵² "die 14 Octobris 1609. Illustrissimi ordinaverunt, ut consignetur Patri Roberto Personio Iesuita liber idiomatis Angliae, cuius titulus Latine reditus Responsio ad Catholicum Anglum ita a se ipso appellatum, qui sine nomine censuram edidit super Apologiam compositam a Serenissimo ac Maximo Principe Dei gratia Magnae Britanniae, Franciae et Hiberniae Rege pro iuramento fidelitatis quae censura hic exminatur, et confutatur per episcopum Lincolniensem, Londini impressam per Thomas Acclarium 1609," ACDF, S.O., Decreta, 1608-1609, f. 459^v; S.O., Decreta, 1609, f. 426^v; ABSI, Anglia III, 97; Persons to Cardinal Borghese, Rome 23 December 1609, ASV, Fondo Borghese III, 19i, f. 120^r.

See because of his attempt to implement Smith's original design. After denouncing Persons's book, the former agent exploited his professed obedience to the king by publicizing his accusation through letters that strengthened the power of the English State. Smith was surely confident, said Owen, that by disparaging Persons's reputation, he would convince Catholic princes that Catholics who refused the oath, were justly punished by the government.²⁵³ Catholic princes were beginning to listen to the English king, and were speaking out against the papal authority; they too considered English Catholics to be enemies of the commonwealth because they denied their king temporal obedience. Was this accusation intended to defend the Catholic Church? Of course not: the accusation damaged the Catholic Church and favoured the English king.²⁵⁴ According to Leo Hicks, accusations that the *Judgment* had been censured by the Inquisition, continued well after Persons's death. However Owen's detailed defence of Persons so consolidated and strengthened arguments in favour of his innocence that new attempts were nipped in the bud. The *Judgment*, like Richard Smith's tract against Thomas Bell, was never placed on the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*.

The double denunciation of these two books reflected a serious predicament concerning an irreconcilable disagreement among the English missionary clergy. Prior to the Appellant controversy, the English Catholic movement was substantially cohesive. However, the creation of an archpresbyterate was Robert Persons's idea and his unconditional support for Blackwell, generated an opposition which soon became strongly ideologically defined. The adjective "appellant" categorized a group of secular priests whose programme was mainly characterized by non-resistance, anti-Jesuitism, and anti-papalism. To them, the doctrine of the papal deposing power was repugnant: in the words of Peter Holmes, they "assailed the key doctrine of the era of resistance, the theory of papal political power."²⁵⁵ The appellants styled themselves as loyalists, and identified Jesuits with sedition. Appellants argued that Jesuits exaggerated the extent of anti-Catholic persecution in their Jesuit books. Indeed Jesuit pro-resistance writings and plots in the 1580s and 1590s provided the government with a valid excuse to persecute Catholics.²⁵⁶ By 1609 most appellants had refused the oath, and admitted the legitimacy of papal deposing power.²⁵⁷ Smith himself refused to admit that his book contained anything unorthodox. Known

²⁵³ ACDF, St. St. Ss1-e, "Anglicana," f. 109^v.

²⁵⁴ ACDF, St. St. Ss1-e, "Anglicana," f. 109^v.

²⁵⁵ *Resistance and Compromise*, p. 188.

²⁵⁶ Holmes, *Resistance and Compromise*, pp. 190-91.

²⁵⁷ Holmes, *Resistance and Compromise*, pp. 222-23.

as a champion of anti-Jesuitism, Smith knew that rejection of papal deposing power was a hallmark of the appellants' programme and that, if he could show that it was deceitfully supported by Robert Persons in a formally anonymous pamphlet, his reputation would be actually ruined. Smith tried to exploit the power of the Inquisitorial machinery against the man he considered the principal opponent to the appellant agenda regarding the appointment of bishops and the restoration of the hierarchy. If Smith's ploy had been successful, the Holy Office would have censured Persons, and thus finally removed the hated Jesuit from the scene. Persons died in 1610 in the midst of the struggle, and the hierarchy was restored in 1623 with the appointment of William Bishop. Richard Smith succeeded him in 1625.

Appendix

I

Ragioni per cui non si deve ammettere la nuova accusa del libro del P. Personio scritti contra il giuramento di lealtà [1612]

ACDF, Indice, Protocolli S, ff. 464^r-65^v.

Prima. Perché altra volta l'istessa accusa è stata proposta dal Alabastro nella Congregazione del Santo Ufficio et è stata ributtata da Sua Santità e dalli Illustrissimi Signori Cardinali.

2^a Perché adesso si propone di nuovo in altro Giudicio e con fraude sotto titolo di libro anonymo tacendo il nome del P. Personio autore di esso, et dissimulando che fusse altra volta proposto nel Santo Ufficio, essendo massimamente ch'era proposta prima per Instigatione et aiuto del medesimo chi adesso lo propone (et per questo non può pretendere ignoranza del nome dell'autore) cioè del Signor Tomaso Moro insieme al Dre Smiteo quali si servirono allora d'Alabastro.

3^a Per essere stata proposta da loro, tanto la prima volta quanto adesso non per Zelo della Religione, ma per inimicitia, et per modo di vendetta ingiusta, perche la prima volta lo facevano stimando ch'un libro del Dre Smiteo era stato denotato al Santo Ufficio dal Padre Personio, il che non fu vero, come si sa benissimo dalli Registri del Santo Ufficio; et se loro adesso facessero la presente accusa per Zelo di Religione contra il giuramento denontierebbono primo li libri stessi dell'Appellanti, dalli quali è cavato questo giuramento poi il libro del sacerdote Sheldonò il quale ha scritto in difesa del giuramento, et finalmente li altri sacerdoti li quali ò hanno pigliato l'istesso giuramento ò sono stati causa ch'altri lo pigliano.

4^a Perché questa accusa si fa da quelle persone, quali sono colpevole

manifestamente dell'istesso errore perche nel libro del Dre Smiteo si trovano manifestamente queste propositioni, che l'autorità del Papa in deporre principi è solamente spirituale, et in nissuno modo temporale, et che non è cosa di fede; anzi per concludere quel suo trattato afferma essere una bugia il dire che l'autorità del Papa in deporre Principi sia cosa di Religione Cattolica et ch'il suo adversario non l'hà provato, et che non sia di fede lo mantenne pubblicamente in Roma (et credo che non lo negarà) il Signor Tomaso Moro: et per questo non sunt audiendi.

5ª Perche sarebbe gran scandalo in Inghilterra di haver lasciato passare senza censura i libri d'Appellanti, di Sheldon e del Dre Smiteo, et di rivocare in dubbio il libro del P. Personio il quale solo si trova scritto in Inglese contra il giuramento.

[f. 464^r] 6ª Il libro del Dre Smiteo non è stato censurato per non aiutare la parte di heretici essendo scritto questo suo libro contra un heretico: Più grande ragione sarebbe per non rivocare in dubbio questo libro del P. Personio, che non solamente è scritto contra un heretico, ma contra l'istessa Apologia del Re. Al che si può aggiungere che il detto Padre Personio ha scritto tanti altri libri contra li heretici, quanti nessun altro Inglese, et forse quanto tutti li altri insieme i questi tempi.

7ª Perche questo libro di Padre Personio essendo stato per ordine espresso del Re impugnato da Barloò heretico Pseudovesco il cui libro scritto in volgare fù da Sua Santità et dal santo officio mandato a Padre Personio per fare la risposta, et questo doppio la prima accusa d'Alabastro, et alle presenti obietzioni il Padre Personio ha risposto talmente a detto Barloò ch'insieme hà sodisfatto chiarissimamente tutte le precedenti accuse dell'Alabastro, et alle presenti obietzioni di Tomaso Moro, defendendo ancora benissimo non solamente l'autorità della Sede Apostolica, ma la stessa persona di Sua Santità quale si trova ingiustissimamente calunniata in detto libro di Barloò per testimonij cavati delli libri proprij delli Sacerdoti Appellanti. Di modo che se prima ci fusse stato qualche dubbio nelle parole del Padre Personio (come l'istesso Santo Officio con ributtare la prima accusa mostrò non esservi alcuno) adesso è stato totalmente levato per l'esplicatione dell'autore stesso, la quale in Inghilterra si può leggere da ogni uno essendo il libro stampato in lingua volgare.

8ª Perche in ammettere queste denontie se mantiene la divisione tra Sacerdoti Secolari et Religiosi quali dal principio è stato fomentato dal stato d'Inghilterra et adesso si sà per lettere venute di fresco da Parigi che li Sacerdoti stanno uniti con l'Ambasciatore d'Inghilterra in Parigi contra li Giesuiti.

9ª In Inghilterra l'invidia d'impugnare il giuramento casca principalmente sopra li Giesuiti, perche si sa ch'ogni uno di loro mantiene apertamente il

giuramento non poter pigliarsi, et questo secondo la dottrina del Padre Personio, quale nel suo libro insegna manifestamente non esser lecito pigliare questo giuramento come si vedrà nel numero seguente, onde sarebbe gran scandalo d'intendere ch'in Roma sia accusato il Padre Personio per haver scritto in favor del giuramento et l'heretici faranno spargere questo rumore per far credere a molti che sia rievocata la prohibitionem del giuramento.

10^a Perche la presente accusa per essere molto frivola in se et procedere di passione quale non lascia ben intendere la mente dell'autore. Si pretende [f. 465] ch'il Padre Personio dichi il contrario dello Brevi si Sua Santità perché nel primo Breve dice così: *Quae cum ita sint, vobis ex verbis ipsis perspicuum esse debet, quod huiusmodi iuramentum salva fide Catholica et salute animarum vestrarum praestari non potest, cum multa contineat, quae fidei et salutis aperte adversantur*: ma con questo s'accorda il Personio n° 32 ove dice l'istesso in queste parole: Li Catholici inglesi adesso hanno grand scropolo et ripugnanza di coscienza di pigliare questo giuramento et questo tanto perche l'huomini più dotti della Religione loro si credono obbligati in questa mistura e tessitura lo giudicano affatto illecito, quanto anco perché il loro supremo Pastore, alla cui voce per le regole della Religione loro si credono obbligati d'ascoltare in casi simili l'ha condannato, et finalmente perche il tenor dell'istesso giuramento et l'oltime parole sono che ciascuno giurará senza equivocatione ò reservatione mentale cioè di cuore volentieri et con verità nella vera fede dè un huom cristiano. Il che essendo così li Cattolici non veggono come con buona coscienza lo possono pigliare.

Nel 2° Breve scritto solamente per confirmare il primo gl'era interpretato da molti non esser proceduto dalla mente di Sua Santità ma dall'importunità di molti Instigatori per questo si dice; *Ea propter iterum ad vos scribere decrevimus, ac denuo vobis significare literas nostras Apostolicas anno praeterito .10. Calendas Octobris datas de prohibitione iuramenti non solum motu proprio, et ex certa nostra scientia, verum etiam post longam et gravem deliberationem de omnibus quae in illis continentur adhibitam, fuisse scriptas et ob id teneri vos illas omnino observare, omni interpretatione secus suadente reiecta. Haec est autem mera, pura, integraque voluntas nostra etc.*

Delle quali parole è gran cecità di cavare che sia prohibita ogni senso e interpretatione del detto giuramento molto più d'alcuna particola ò clausola d'esso, essendo che nelle sopradette parole è prohibita solo ogni interpretatione delle precedenti lettere, et della volontà da Sua Santità contenuta in esse, et non si parla niente dell'interpretatione del giuramento. Et se si parlasse in questo Breve dell'interpretatione del giuramento secondo varii sensi di qualche clausola particolare di esso, come parla il Padre Personio per essemplio della clausola dell'autorità del Papa, seguitarebbe che per l'istesse parole del sopradetto Breve dovrebbe prima essere condannato il libro del Dre Smito quale messe et

approvò nel suo libro più sensi et interpretazioni [f. 465^v] della clausola dell'autorità del Papa, che non si trovano nel libro del Padre Personio, per essemplio ch'il Papa non habbia autorità di depor Principi senza giusta causa et ne anco con giusta causa ordinariamente et che tutti li Cattolici d'Inghilterra con cuore et lingua professeranno, il che (come dice lui) non dispiacerà al Papa, che il Re Giacomo nostro sopremo Signore non hà in questo mondo Superiore alcuno in cose temporali.

Queste sono le parole del Dre Smiteo talmente che s'il Padre Personio hà parlato contra il Breve approvando qualche buon senso di quella clausola del giuramento circa l'autorità del Papa, molto più il Dr Smiteo et s'il Dre Smiteo non è stato censurato molto manco deve il Padre Personio.

II

Informatio quam fecit ipse P. Personius de libro suo [late 1609-early 1610]

ACDF, St. St. Ss1-e, ff. 110^r-12^v.

Illustrissimis Cardinalibus Sacrae Congregationis Sancti Officij. De Libro Anglico P. Roberti Personij Informatio. Tradotto da un libro Inglese del P. Personio intitolato Il giuditio d'un huomo Catholico del nuovo giuramenti d'Inghilterra.

[111^r] L'Argomento

Havendo il Rè d'Inghilterra proposto il giuramento detto di Lealtà contra l'autorità del Papa sotto gravissime pene a quelli che lo ricusavano, publicò anche una Apologia benche senza nome nella quale iustò grandemente per vari mezzi d'indurre li Catholici a pigliarlo; et fra l'altri diceva che non si conteneva altro che obediencia civile, et più che un gran numero di Catholici tanto sacerdoti come Laici l'havevano pigliato per cosa lecita et però che darebbero maggior sospetto di malanimo quei che lo ricusassero. Et per che si dubitava che un gran torrente d'altri ne seguirebbe per queste minacce et inganni parve al Padre Personio necessario di porci subito un obice con mandar in Inghilterra un libretto Inglese, per firmar l'animi delli dubbiosi fin a tanto che il Signore Cardinale Bellarmino ò altri rispendessero in latino, et il successo fu molto felice per che subito cominciarono li Catholici a stare saldi ricusando il giuramento et supervenendo poi il libro del Signore Cardinale Bellarmino si fece l'effetti che si poteva desiderare. La risposta del Padre Personio quanto toccava a quelli che erano accusati d'haver pigliato il giuramento per non esser essasperati più et metterli i desperatione ma più presto indurli al convincimento del fatto fù questo che segue. Parag. 11. num. 29, pag. 17.

Hora quanto a quello che qui similmente si dice che molti delli sudditi di sua Maestà Papisticamente affetti, tanto preti quanto laici presero liberamente et voluntieri questo giuramento (il che costui chiama un successo benedetto dal Signore dell'animo santo e savio, in inventarlo e proporlo) mi trovo costretto di dire qualche cosa di questa propositione prima di passar più avanti.

Primiseramente dunque quanto alla libertà et prontezza per rispetto della quale qui si dice che li preti et Laici liberamente et volentieri presero il giuramento. Nissuno come credo negarà che questo giuramento sia stato proposto nel medesimo statuto ovvero decreto Parlamentale sotto pena di perdita di beni mobili et immobili, et prigionia perpetua a chiunque lo ricusa, libertà à punto come quella che ha il mercante trovandosi in una tempesta o di gittare nel mare le mercantie per scaricare la nave ò di annegarsi. Il che se bene Aristotile nelli mali morali parli bonarie che sia simpliciter involuntarium assolutamente involuntario, et li Theologi Catholici involuntarium secundum quod in parte involuntario, mà assolutamente voluntario, per che considerate tutte le circostanze il mercante finalmente giudica più spediente di salvare la vita con perdere la robba, tuttavia in questo tutti sono d'accordo che il fare la cosa liberamente et voluntariamente che richiede piena libertà et indifferenza a tutti duoi l'oggetti, et estremi proposti ne viene tolto dalla violenza della penza[sic].

Et questa indifferenza non si trova altrimenti nel caso che habiamo per li mani: per che la disgratia del Principe la perdita della robba insieme con la liberta, la ruina della casa le minacce et persuassione del amici sono contrapesi molto pesanti et tirano molto fortemente d'una banda. Et così non occorre che si facesse mentione di questa liberta non trovandovisi maggior violenza di questa alla volonta humana. Et con tutto cio nella forma del giuramento si dice chè ciascuno lo deve pigliare volentieri et di cuore et come crede in coscienza.

Consideri il lettore discreto che coherenza hanno le cose che dicono.

Secondariamente quanto alla moltitudine di Preti et Laici che accusa d'aver preso di buona voglia il giuramento si come la libertà loro fù quella che hò detto et il motivo che più d'ogni altra cosa li mosse (come si può presumere) fù il desiderio che havevano di dar sodisfattione a sua Maestà et liberare se stessi: et li altri al meglio che potevano dal sospetto di disleltà che alcuni oppongono a quelli che ricusano il giuramento. Così la carità mi fa credere che essendo Catholici l'accusati habbino preso il detto giuramento (in quanto tocca all'autorità del Papa nelli negotii di Principi temporali) in qualche tal senso, et interpretatione lecita (che essendo da loro espresso et accettato dal magistrato) non sia contraria alla integrità et sincerità della vera Catholica fede et dottrina.

Come sarebbe a dir che il Papa non ha autorità senza causa giusta di procedere contra li Principi Quia illud possumus quod iure possemus: l'autorità nostra è limitata per la giustizia dicono li legisti. [f. 111"] Si può negare ancora

che il Papa habbia autorità diretta contra Principi, mà indiretta solamente in ordine ad spiritualia et quando occurrano certi casi gravi importanti et urgenti, che toccano alla religione Cristiana, li quali speriamo che mai aveniranno fra il Serenissimo Re nostro, et la Sede Apostolica havendo loro qua passati molti anni (benche in differente religioni) in pace et concordia fin dal principio del regno di sua Maestà.

Ma quanto tocca alla questione in generale il negare semplicemente et assolutamente ch'il Papa come Supremo Pastore della chiesa Cattolica habbia autorità alcuna lasciatagli da Christo direttamente o indirettamente con causa, ò senza causa, in qualsivoglia bisogno ò per qualsivoglia ben publico della religione Cristiana di procedere contra alcun Principe temporalmente per restingerlo, ò emendarlo ò permettere che altri Principi lo faccino, questo suppongo non era il sentimento delli Catholici che pigliarono il giuramento per che haverebbero contradetto al commun consenso di tutti li Theologi Catholici, et insieme reonosciuto per diffettuosa la providenza di Dio nella conservatione e preservatione della chiesa sua et regno in questo mondo per non haver lasciato rimedio alcuno lecito a un mal tanto grande et eccessivo che per quella via non poteva nascere.

Poiche dunque s'ha da presumere che quelli che pigliarono il giuramento lo presero in qualche tal senso moderato per non far cosa contra la coscienza, se piacesse al Sua Maestà d'approvare et contentarsi con questa moderatione, et interpretatione favorevole coma fanno tutti li Rè et Monarche Catholici forastieri senza preiuditio alcuno alla lor securtà, dignita, et imperial preminenza, non dubito che troverebbe in tutti le Catholici Inglesi suoi sudditi ogni prontezza e conformità per pigliar questo giuramento benche adesso hanno gran scropolo et repugnanza di coscienza di farlo.

Et questo tanto per che l'huomini più dotti della religion loro in questa mistura, et tessitura, lo giudicano affatto illecito, quanto anche per che il loro Supremo Pastore all cui voce per le regole della religione si credono obligati d'ascoltare in casi simili l'ha condannato et finalmente per che il tenor dell'istesso giuramento et l'ultime parole sono che ciascuno giurerà senza equivocatione alcuna ò reservatione mentale cioè di cuore, voluntiere et con verità nella vera fede d'un huomo Cristiano. Il che essendo che li Catholici non veggano come con buona coscienza lo possino pigliare non trovando ne' cuori loro tal prontezza, ne potendosi indurre à equivocare in una cosa che tanto da vicino tocca la confessione della fede loro, ò di giurare in altro senso che in quello che da sua Maestà viene proposto.

Et però hanno per manco male il negare chiaramente et con sincerità di giurare che col giurare offender Iddio et non sodisfare a sua Mestà ne a stessi ne alli loro prossimi. Et questo sia detto in questo punto.

[f. 112'] Alcuni punti di consideratione di questo negotio

Primieramente che il fine et scopo di questo libro del P. Personio è di provare che il giuramento non si possa pigliare nella forma nella quale è proposto. Et così si dice nel titolo, et nella prima facciata del libro in queste parole:

“In questo libro si prova che il detto giuramento non è lecito à un huomo Catholico per che vi si contengono molte clausule repugnanti alla sua religione.”

Secondariamente pag. 9. num. 14, dice il Padre Personio che facendosi consulta in Inghilterra fra alcuni huomini dotti quando prima si publico il giuramento se si poteva pigliare ò nò in qualche buon senso, benchè alcuno fosse di parere che si poteva, (tra li quali era l'Arciprete passato Blacuello et alcuni altri) tuttavia che tutti li Padri Inglesi della Compagnia così in Inghilterra come fuora erano di parere che non si poteva pigliare ne anco equivocare in pigliarlo perche non approvano sorte alcune d'equivocatione in materie toccanti alla fede Pag. 20. num. 15. Parlando il Padre della risposta di Sua Santità in questa materia data per un suo Breve delli 21 di settembre 1606 dice così:

In questo dubbio li Catholici conforme alle lor regole de subordinatione et obediencia spirituale in casi simili rimettendo il negotio al giuditio del loro supremo Pastore il quale credeno conforme alli Principii della fede loro che il Salvatore da assistenza per il governo et direttione dell'anime riceverter di lui doppo matura deliberatione questa risposta:

Che il giuramento tutto come si proponeva non poteva esser ammesso coll'integrità della fede Catholica, perche se bene diverse parti del giuramento erano lecite, cioè tutte quelle clausule che appartenessero alla promessa d'obediencia civile e temporale, essendovi però con questè interposte et fatta mistura dell'altre che preiudicano all'autorità spirituale del loro Supremo Pastore almanco indirettamente, per questa causa il giuramento tutto nella forma proposta era illecito.

Pag. 50. nu. 36. Dove l'autore dell'Apologia per il giuramento va cercando di far odioso il Papa, come se havesse prohibito ogni sorte d'obediencia naturale et civile alli Principi temporali come cosa contraria alla fede et salute dell'anime. Risponde il Padre queste parole.

Il Papa non prohibisce l'obediencia naturale in cose lecite: manco dice che tale obediencia naturale ò civile sia contraria alla fede et salvatione dell'anime, ò vero che il giuramento sia illecito per che vi si promette tal obediencia naturale et civile, mà per che il giuramento oltre che di comandare questa natural obediencia che [è] lecita contiene ancora varij altri punti che toccano materie della religione Catholica, li quali punti essendo in tal modo congiunti et misti insieme colli altri che uno non si possa giurar senza quelli altri, fanno illecito

tutto il giuramento nella forma proposta senza distinctione, come già sopra s'è dichiarato, si che questa accusa è già provata una mera cavillatione et calomnia, et un volere volontariamente non intendere la questione et controversia che si tratta.

Ultimamente alle cose dette s'aggiungiamo le clausole del discorso tradotto num. 29.30.31.32. Che la dottrina dell' potestà temporale del Papa è dottrina universale di tutti li Theologi Catholici et che senza questa autorità sarebbe defettuosa la provedenza di Dio nella conservatione della chiesa sua, et che il pigliar questo giuramento è stato giudicato affatto illecito dalli huomini più dotti della Chiesa Catholica per esser misto è composto di clausole in parte lecite et in parte illecite et di più totalmente condannato dal Supremo Pastore alla cui voce s'ha d'obedire. Et finalmente che ne anco con equivocatione si possa pigliar per esser cosa che tocca tanto da vicino alla confessione della fede. Da tutte queste clausule et altre si può vedere evidentemente che il Padre Personio non era d'opinione che si potesse in modo alcuno pigliare il detto giuramento nella forma proposta ne in alcun'altra, se non in quella solamente che li sudditi Catholici sogliono giurare alli Principi Catholici come espressamente dichiara pag. 16. n. 26.

III

Circa Librum R. Personij Jesuitae Angli contra Regis Angliae Apologiam pro Iuramento Fidelitatis

[commissioned 23 November 1611; presented on 12 February 1612]

ACDF, St. St. Ss1-e, ff. 102^r-09^v.

In the original manuscript the contents of the denunciation are categorised as “Errores” in marginal notes. Said notes are Owen’s Latin translation of the denounced passages from Persons’s *Judgment*. For clarity “Errores” will be included in the text in italics, under “ERROR.” Marginal notes not explicitly designated by Owen as “Errores” are in brackets and italics. Whenever Owen repeats a marginal note in the text itself, the marginal note itself is not included to avoid needless repetition. Accentuation has been faithfully transcribed. Passages underlined in the original, have been preserved. Punctuation has occasionally been adapted to modern usage.

[f. 103^r] Illustrissimi et Reverendissimi Domini,

Denunciatio haec aliquorum locorum libri Patri Personij contra Regis Angliae Apologiam pro Iuramento, facta fuit primum per Apostatam illum Alabastrum, dum adhuc Romae degeret, instigantibus, instruentibus, et promoventibus D.^{re} Smithaeo, et Thoma Moro, qui tum ita rem publicabant, ut pervenirent ad aures

P. Personij adhuc viventis aliqua capita praedictae Denunciationis;(Nam ipsammet Denunciationem et traductionem numquam vidit;)unde ipse pro se responsum scripsit, quod tum P. Commissario in manus dedit, quamvis sciret Denunciationem illam a D.D.V.V. Illustrissimis reiectam fuisse; Nunc vero quoniam ita placuit D.D.Illustrissimis ut Traductio denunciata ad me, examinanda, et quantum opus foret, corrigenda demandaretur, hoc ego ita faciendum duxi, ut simul etiam ipsius P. Personij responsum in manus Patris Commissarii tradam. Postea vero quam Roma discesserat idem D.^{or} Smitheus, ut Romae antea rem divulgaverat, ita etiam Mediolani, Parisijs et in Anglia non sine magno scandalo sparsit in vulgus opera P. Personij suspensa fuisse, (quamvis contrarium ipse probe nösset reiectam nempe fuisse praedictam Denunciationem) ut constat ex varijs literis ex dictis locis ad nos scriptis [*Cuius effectus id est, quod id ipsum iam Casabona in Anglia existens publicaverit in suo libro nuper edito*²⁵⁸]. Ex quo liquet non tam ex zelo religionis, quam ex passione processisse D.^{rem} Smithaeum, èo videlicet quod conijciebat, et praedicabat, (in quo tamen deceptus erat), quendam librum suum per P. Personium fuisse denunciatur; sicque voluisse par pari referre, quamvis non pari cum iactura causae Catholicae quae P. Personij existimatione in Anglia maxime nititur, qui contra plures Haereticos Anglos et plures eorum libros solus scripsit quam alij omnes Angli sui temporis.Traductio vero duo capitum libri P. Personij, quae nunquam ad eius manus pervenerat, à me iam recognita, et in integrum restituta iussu D.D.V.V. Illustrissimarum talis est ut facile agnoscatur habuisse primum suum auctorem Alabastrum, qui nullo zelo religionis vel pietatis, sed vel affectu vindicta, vel haeretica malitia permotus, non sincerè, et cum spiritu veritatis, sed contra fraudolenter et malitiosè vel addendo, vel omittendo, vel confundendo, vel transponendo, ita permutavit omnia, ut contraria planè menti ac scopo auctoris, ipsique eius contextui esse videantur.Cum enim omnes illos suprascriptos seu numeros libri P. Personij ad aliquot capita Denunciata iste revocasset, horum Inscriptiones, ipse propria manu de suo addidit, non desumptas ut oportebat ex auctoris ipsius verbis, sed illis plane contrarias: Numeros deinde quos eiusmodi Inscriptionibus subiunxit, ita malè traduxit, ita truncavit, ita transposuit, et commiscuit, ut qui ipsum auctorem legat, tantam eius fraudem non posset non admirari, quod ex paucis hisce quae subijciam D.D. V.V. Illustrissimae satis intelligent.[f. 103^r]. Prima enim Inscriptio Denunciatoris est (De Iuramento fidelitatis et obedientia Regi praestanda a Catholicis Anglis:) Qua tamen inscriptio toto calo discrepat non tantum a scopo totius libri, sed etiam ab ipsismet auctoris verbis. In toto enim libro non invenitur Iuramentum fidelitatis Regi esse praestandum; cum contra totus liber

²⁵⁸ Isaac Casaubon, *Isaaci Casauboni Ad Frontonem Ducaem S.J. theologum epistola; in qua de Apologia disseritur communi Iesuitarum nomine ante aliquot menses Lutetiae Parisiorum edita*, Excudebat Ioannes Norton (London, 1611).

scriptus et inscriptus sit expressè contra Iuramentum fidelitatis et contra Apologiam ipsam haeretici pro Iuramento fidelitatis conscriptam. Ac propinde Denunciator mala fide ita malè vedit, ac truncavit primariam ipsam Inscriptionem totius huiusce libri P. Personij, ut videri possit convenire cum subiecta ab ipso falsa Inscriptione, (de Iuramento fidelitatis praestando;) Sic enim vertit primariam Inscriptionem, sive titulum libri auctoris: (Sententia viri Catholici Angli religionis ergo exulantis de libro cui titulus Triplici nodo trplex cuneus, sive Apologia pro Iuramento fidelitatis etc). Qua Inscriptio primo aspectu ita sonat, ac si liber iste sit Sententia viri Catholici sive Apologia pro Iuramento fidelitatis; cum contra ut dictum et scribatur expressè contra illam Apologiam. Quòd si totam Denunciator traduxisset Inscriptionem atque illa ultima addidisset auctoris verbis, quae sunt: (In quo demonstratur dictum Iuramentum Catholicae conscientiae illicitum esse, eò quod varias contineat clausolas religioni eiusdem expugnantes;) Facile quivis vidisset non posse veram esse Inscriptionem Denunciatoris immediatè sequentem: (De Iuramento fidelitatis Regi praestando etc..).

Falsa est etiam 2^a pars eiusdem Inscriptionis; nempè de obedientia Regi praestanda: Ita enim cautè per totum hunc librum locutus est P. Personius, ut nusquam inveniatur dixisse obedientiam Regi praestandam esse a Catholicis Anglis; hoc est, quòd debeant Catholici illam Regi praestare, vel quòd illa debeat Regi praestari, (quamvis fortè utroque modo loqui liceret, donec Rex nominatim fuerit excommunicatus: Et posito Brevi iussuque Papae Clementis de obtemperando Regi Angliae in rebus civilibus et temporalibus nullus videtur fieri possum dubium;) Sed tantùm de facto ubique loquitur auctor, quòd Catholici Angli offerre et praestare volunt Regi obedientiam civilem: Atque hoc ipsum ideo coactus est auctor affirmare, quia Haereticus totus est in eo, ut insultet Brevi Pontificio, omnem illi imponens, inculcans, et repetens falsitatem, absurditatem, et calumniam, quòd eo Brevi prohibeatur civilis obedientia, et inobedientia praecipiat. Atque ita de facto tantum ubique loquitur auctor, ut locuum semper relinquat voluntati Summi Pontificis vel admittendi oblationem protestatam civilis obedientiae, si Rex ipsemet illam acceptasset, ad conniventiam vel libertatem conscientiae Catholicis obtinendam, vel certè recusandi et prohibendi, sic nihil mali actum fuisset, quia ut passim in hoc[f. 104] libro affirmat auctor, semper parati sunt Catholici Angli universalis sui Pastoris voci obtemperare.

Non loquitur Pater Personius, ut Appellantes in libris suis iampridem denunciatis, (quos nondum esse censuratos plerique in Anglia mirantur, cum sciant ex ipsis desumptum esse Iuramentum fidelitatis;) se velle Regi obedientiam praestare etiam invito Papa, et pro Rege ipso contra Papam et ensibus et dentibus dimicare. Nec dicit uspiam Pater Personius, ut dicit D.^{or} Smithaeus in praedicto libro suo iampridem denunciato, non esse de fide auctoritatem Papae in deponendis Principibus, (quod quàm sit verum praesertim

sic absolutè et sine explicatione pronuntiatur Illustrissimis D.D.V.V. iudicandum relinquo, hoc unum scio, magnum incitatum esse populo Catholico qui distinctiones Theologicas scire non tenetur, metu praesertim acerbissimae persecutionis, Iuramentum contra praedictam auctoritatem Papae, tanquam rem nihil omnino ad fidem spectantem ut indubitanter suscipiat; utque etiam Romae audacter loquitur et tuetur Thomas Morus scilicet nec esse illam auctoritatem de fide, nec esse definitivum, sed exhortatorium Breve Pontificium, quo dicitur Iuramentum illud salva fide et salute animarum praestari non posse. Longè alio modo loquitur P. Personius ea videlicet cum modestia, circumspetione et caritate, ut servata plenè integritate fidei circa auctoritatem Sedis Apostolicae, Regi etiam prout tempora persecutionis, et status Catholicorum in Anglia necessariò requirebant, quantum potest offerat, ipsosque etiam Sacerdotes saeculares aliosque Catholicos, qui temerè Iuramentum susceperant, ex caritate, quantum res tulit, excuset. Nam pag. 19 nu 31. ait supponere se numquam fuisse mentem Catholicorum Sacerdotum et laicorum, qui Iuramentum susceperunt, negare simpliciter Papam esse Supremum Pastorem Catholicae Ecclesiae, et habere ullam auctoritatem a Christo sibi relictam directè, vel indirectè, cum causa, vel sine causa, in nulla quantacumque necessitate religionis Christianae temporaliter procedendi contra quemcumque Principem, sic enim, inquit, contradicerent consensui generali Catholicorum omnium, et faterentur providentiae divinae defectum in conservanda et praeservanda Ecclesia, (et alibi in suo Philopatro pag. 109. expressè et ex professo [docet] esse de fide auctoritatem Papae de deponendis Principibus;) Et ibidem nu.18. in fine: Tales casus graves urgentes et importantes, in quibus causam haberet Pontifex contra Principes procedendi ad conservationem Ecclesiae Catholicae; tales inquit speramus nunquam inter Regem nostrum et Sedem Apostolicam intercessuros. Et pag. 19 nu. 27. quoad talem casum, si [f. 104^r] eveniret, (ne videretur dissimulare responsionem ad illum articulum Iuramenti de defendendo Rege, et eius Successoribus non obstante omni sententia, et declaratione Papae in contrarium;) modestè respondet auctor loco citato his verbis; Quod ad Papam, (qui ex fide Catholica est Supremus Pastor animae suae;) idem Catholicus sperat in bonitate divina illum nihil unquam moliturum in sua suae Majestatis praeiudicium; Quod verò ad seipsum spectat, nolle se aliquid huiusmodi a Pontifice procurare, sed potius quantum in se est, impedire et avertere, ex corde orando pro utroque. Atque ut taceam, quòd omnes alij Scriptores Catholici qui de eadem re contra eundem Apologiam Apologistae²⁵⁹ scripserunt, idem cum

²⁵⁹ The king's apology was *Triplix nodi, triplex cuneus. Or an apology for the Oath of allegiance, against the two breves of Pope Paulus Quintus and the late letter of Cardinal Bellarmine to G. Blackwell the Arch-priest* (London, 1607).

Patrem Personium scripserunt, ut M. Antonius Capellus [pag. 30],²⁶⁰ M. Leonardus Coqueus [pag. 50 § *Iuramentum* pag. 53 § *id suscipiat* pag. 60 § *non est opus. et pag 129*],²⁶¹ Gretzerus [pag. 107 § *haec cum ita sint*];²⁶² Cardinalis Bellarminis [*In responsione ad Apologiam pagina 175*];²⁶³ et alij, videlicet per Breve Pontificium damnari Iuramentum Fidelitatis non ob omnia, quae continet, sed ob multa fidei ac salutis animarum adversantia, (sic enim loquitur Breve), eaque multa, esse illa quae contradicunt auctoritati Papae, non autem ea, quae spectant ad civilem obedientiam, quam ideo tenent auctores dicti esse licitam, quia nondum Rex nominatim est excommunicatus, nodum privatus dominijs suis, nondum eius subditi a Juramento Fidelitatis absoluti, et quia ipse Summus Pontifex commendavit semper Catholicis quietem et civilem obedientiam, omnesque tumultus et proditiones vetuit; ut haec omnia taceam, quorum ignorantiam praetendere forte potuit Denunciator, de eo certè excusari non potest, quod hosce paucos suscriptos traduxerit et denunciavit, quibus civilis obedientia offertur Regi Angliae a Catholicis Anglis; et sciens prudensque omiserit illas periodos intermedias, quibus pro fundamento suae doctrianae auctor ipse allegat auctoritatem Clementis VIII qui per suum Breve civilem obedientiam et Catholicis commendat, et Regi ipsi offert, (quem et Angliae et Scotiae et Hiberniae Regem nominari et esse affirmat, eumque rogat, ut Catholicis eum Regem suum agnoscentibus, (verba sunt Pontificis) et omni obedientiae studio colentibus id unum fraudi ne sit quod avitam et Catholicam Religionem retinent et profitentur;) Alium etiam locum auctoris omisit, quo circa hoc Breve auctoritatem ac pietatem Clementis VIII contra malitiam et ingratitudinem Apologistae optime defendit, ut videre est pag. 65. 66. et 67. eiusdem libri Patris Personij. Nec ignorat credo Denunciator a Nuncio Apostolico in Belgio missum fuisse, cum literis quarum copia in promptu est in Anglia Doctorem Giffordium, qui Anglos Catholicos Sanctitatis suae nomine monerat, Regi in rebus temporalibus, ut obedirent. Omnes denique sciunt Catholicis Anglis per summos Pontifices licitum fuisse Reginae Elizabethae, quamvis nominatim excommunicatae in temporalibus obtemperare.

²⁶⁰ Marco Antonio Capello, O.F.M., *Adversus praetensum Primatum Ecclesiasticum Regis Angliae Liber, in quo Jacobi regis, et ejus eleemosynarii confutantur scripta* (Bologna, 1610).

²⁶¹ M. Leonhardus Coqueus, *Defensio fidei catholicae et apostolicae adversus anglicanae sectae errores, cum responsione ad Apologiam pro juramento fidelitatis, et Praefationem Monitoriam serenissimi Jacobi Magnae Britanniae regis* (Freiburg, 1610).

²⁶² Jakob Gretzer (Gretschel) [*27.iii.1562 Markdorf; SJ 24.x.1578 Landsberg; †29.i.1625 Ingolstadt (DHCJ, II, 1814)] *Controversiarum Roberti Bellarmini S.R.E. cardinalis amplissimi Defensio. Tomus primus [-secundus]* (Ingolstadt, 1607-1609) in *Jacobi Gretzeri Opera Omnia*, 17 vols (Regensburg, 1734-41) IX, 604 et seq.

²⁶³ *Responsio Matthaei Torti Presbyteri, et Theologi Papiensis, ad librum inscriptum Triplici Nodo Triplex Cuneus* (Cologne, 1608).

Secunda Inscriptio Denunciatoris est: (De obedientia Imperatori Mauritio a Sancto Gregorio praestita) [f. 105^r] quae tamen non quadrat cum verbis auctoris, qui contra affirmat Mauritium Imperatorem cessisse tandem Sancto Gregorio, eumque pro Pastoralis sua auctoritate Imperatoris legem ad legem divinam, limitando et temperando reduxisse, sicque ostendisse, quatenus illi in temporalibus respectibus obedientia debebatur, nimirum in publicanda lege ipsius a seipso primum correctae et ad legem divinam accommodatae.

Tertia Inscriptio Denunciatoris est: (De iuramento. Primatus spiritualis Regis Angliae) quasi de illo Iuramento tractaret ibi Pater Personius, et similiter notat in margine, (Non displicere auctori Iuramentum Protestantium, quo Regem Angliae Supremum Gubernatorem Ecclesiae faciunt;) In quibus omnibus Denunciator omnino aberrat a scopo: Non enim agit ibi auctor de iuramento Primatus, sed tantum de titulo Capitis Ecclesiae, qui continetur in illo Iuramento: Neque agit auctor de ullo Iuramento Protestantium quo Regem Angliae Supremum Gubernatorem Ecclesiae faciunt, quia nullum ibi ponitur tale Iuramentum, sed tantum de titulo Supremi Gubernatoris Ecclesiae, quem incipiunt iam protestantes Regi tribuere: Nec dicit auctor non displicere sibi illum titulum, sed dicit, non displicere sibi, quod denegent iam Regi Angliae titulum supremi Capitis Ecclesiae, et dicit tantummodo, quoad titulum Supremi Gubernatoris Ecclesiae posse Protestantès eò progredi in hac re, ut inter nos conveniamus. Cum enim protestantes ipsi nolint Supremum Gubernatorem Ecclesiae esse idem quod Supremum Caput Ecclesiae, si velint eorumque progredi, ut explicent per Gubernatorem Supremum se intellegere tantum Supremum Protectorem et Defensorem Ecclesiae quoad temporalia tantum, et persigendo brachium saeculare, in compescendis Ecclesiae hostibus, et puniendis Ecclesiae Rebellibus, cuiusmodi erat Iuramentum illud, quod Carolus Magnus praestabat Summo Pontifici nulla magna ut loquitur Pater Personius difficultas inter nos remanebit, quin talis titulus Principi temporali tribui possit: Et de facto Andreas ille Psèudoepiscopus Anglicus in libro suo, quem recens edidit contra Cardinalem Bellarminum,²⁶⁴ regem affirmat tantummodo tutorem esse et nutritum Ecclesiae. pag. 323.

Quarta Inscriptio Denunciatoris est: (De libertate conscientiae), et congruentem huic Inscriptioni hanc notam ponit in margine: (non minus est debita conspiratio aëris, quam libertas conscientiae;) In quibus vel ipse fallitur Denunciator, fallacia, quae vocantur logici a secundum quid ad simpliciter, vel certe lectorem vellet fallere; non enim loquitur Denunciator, de [f. 105^r] libertate conscientiae simpliciter, quomodo ad haereticos etiam applicari possit; sed de libertate conscientiae expetita a Catholicis Anglicis, quae hominibus Christianis et Catholicis non minus est debita, inquit auctor, quam aëris respiratio etc. unde

²⁶⁴ Lancelot Andrews, *Responsio ad Apologiam Cardinalis Bellarmini* (Londin, 1610).

etiam a fortiori et ad hominem auctor argumentatur, dum contra ipsos Protestantes Catholicis libertatem conscientiae denegantes affert exempla eorundem Protestantium ubique terrarum a Principibus Catholicis libertatem conscientiae sibi postulantium.

Quinta et ultima Inscriptio Denunciatoris est: (De abiuratione Haereticorum in tribunalibus Catholicis;) Cui congruentem notam marginalem facit hanc; (cogere haereticos ad abiurandum est peccatum;) Cum contra Inscriptio debeat esse haec secundum mentem auctoris: Haereticos cogere sub poenis secundum Canones ad abiurandas haereses suas, quod fit in tribunalibus Catholicis licitum est. Marginalis autem nota debebat esse haec; (cogere haereticum ad abiurandum repugnante conscientia, peccatum est cogenti si illud sciat;) Sed ut haec eius fraus lateret, omisit penitus Denunciator, quae immediatè praecedunt, quaeque immediatè sequuntur, in auctore; consequenter enim ab auctore probatur Catholicam Ecclesiam habere Ius acquisitum ad puniendos haereticos, tanquam sibi subiectos per Baptismum, quod Ius non habent Protestantes Angli in Catholicos ac proinde praecedenti numero optimè probat auctor illis semper esse peccatum cogere Catholicos ad iurandum contra conscientias. Negat denique hic auctor cogi haereticos in tribunalibus Catholicis ad abiurandum repugnante conscientiae, quia scilicet tantum puniuntur ob haereses, et si quis contra conscientiam abiuret, eius culpae non est reus Iudex Catholicus qui tantum punit ob haeresim iuxta Canones, et sic facit quod licitum est. Atque ex hoc sicut ex omnibus praecedentibus satis elucescit Denunciatoris inscitia, quod haec non animadverterit vel potius malitia, quod animadvertere voluerit, et ne V.V.D.D. Illustrissimae circa haec eadem perspectum haberent quid doceat auctor, de industria omittere voluit, ea ex quibus verus eius sensus, veraque doctrina cognosci poterat.

Iam vero quoad particularem verborum ipsorum auctoris traductionem a Denunciatore propositam qualis illa sit, quamvis ex eius cum vera traductione collatione satis cognoscatur, ut melius tamen appareat quam congruenter supradictis Inscriptionibus a seipso factis, Traductionem quoque suam formaverit visum est nonnulla eius loca hic subiungere, ut sic omnia simul manifestiora reddantur. [f. 106] Pag 15. nu. 22. ubi auctor habet, quod in Iuramento praeter agnitionem Majestatis suae in verum Regem etc. continentur etiam alia ad limitationem Auctoritatis Papae spectantia. Denunciator ponit tanquam verba auctoris in haec: Praeterquam quod in Iuramento agnoscendum est suam Mentem esse verum Regem Dominumque legitimum omnium suorum dominorum. [*Inde addit in margine tanquam legitimo Regi debent illi subditi esse fideles*]. Quòd si sic liceat traducere, nihil est quod non posset denunciari.

Pag. 16. nu. 26. ubi auctor dicit, Regem ac Soveranum super omnia Dominia sua, Denunciator traduxit, Dominum Supremum super omnia dominia sua, ubi Dominum addidit de suo, et pro Soveranum poscit Supremum; Cum tamen

planum sit posse esse Regem ac Soveranum, et tamen agnoscere supra se vicarium Christi ut Supremum. Quia Soveranus Anglicè significat Principem temporalem ut habentem temporalem potestatem tantum: Supremus autem et ex se latius significat quasi genericè, et ab Anglis ita nunc tribuitur Regi, ut includat omnem potestatem etiam Ecclesiasticam, et excludat omnem Superiorem etiam Summum Pontificem.

Pag. 54. nu. 44. ubi auctor habet Serenissimum (Anglicè Liege) Dominum ac Regem suum Denunciator vertit legitimum Dominum suum Supremum ac Regem. malè videlicet vertens vocabulum (Liege) et de suo iterum addens vocabulum (Supremum).

Pag. 54. nu. 49. ubi auctor habet de lege Mauritij. Non fuit absolutè adeo mala etc. Denunciator traduxit; non fuit absolutè mala etc. Ibidem ubi auctor habet: Cui tandem (scilicet Sancto Gregorio) Imperator cessit Denunciator habet, Imperator concessit, (videlicet ut corrigeretur lex) quae duo vocabula contrarium hic gignunt sensum, cedit enim Imperator, ut Inferior, Pontifici ut Superiori; concedit autem Imperator tanquam de suo Summi Pontifici id, quod ei aliquin non deberetur. Similiter ibidem ubi Auctor habet serio egit cum Imperatore. Denunciator ponit summopere petijt ab Imperatore.

Pag. 57. nu. 50. ubi auctor habet, ita ut in hac S. Gregorius Imperatoris legem ad legem divinam limitando et temperando potestatem et curam suam Pastoralem demonstraverit, etsi in temporalibus respectibus ostenderit illi obedientiam, quae illi debebatur; Denunciator habet, etsi respectu temporalium quae debebatur ipsi, obedientiam praestiterit: Cum tamen longe diversa sint praestare et ostendere. Qui enim praestat obedientiam agnoscit se Inferiorem, qui ostendit alicui obedientiam illi debitam ab alijs, videlicet in publicanda et acceptanda lege a seipso ut Superiore prius correctæ Superiorem in hoc gerit se potius quam Inferiorem, et hoc intellegit auctor, qui dixerat antea Imperatorem in hoc cessisse Sancto Gregorio.

[f. 106^v] Verum ut D.D. V.V. Illustrissimae perspicuè ac distinctè omnia cognoscant, informandae inprimis sunt de singulis scriptis quae circa hoc negotium Reverendo Patri Commissario dedi. Dedi igitur, (ut omittam scriptum proprium Patri Personij) primum ipsum scriptum sive traductionem Denunciatoris omnino immutatam. 2° Quia scriptum illud iussu V.V. D.D. Illustrissimarum mihi erat videndum, et, si falsum deprehenderem, corrigendum, deprehendi autem valde falsum, propterea eius exemplar dedi exscriptum ad verbum una cum erroribus eiusdem in margine designatis. 3° quia iussus sum etiam, si falsum illud esset, verum eius loco versionem facere, hanc etiam feci, et dedi in qua similiter in margine invenientur loca omnia a Denunciatore omissa, addita, mutata, mutilata, transposita atque confusa. In quibus omnibus, ut omittam ea quae per inscitiam vel negligentiam Denunciatoris facta sunt, cum tam multa sint alia, quae non solum passionem (quae his temporibus

Anglicanam Ecclesiam magis vulnerat, quam ipsum haeticorum persecutio,) sed etiam fraudem apertam continent, qua sit iniuria non levis et Patre Personio et existimationi Catholicae causae in Anglia, et praecipuè Sanctae Congregationi Sancti Officij, non possumus non proponere D.D. V.V. Illustrissimis ut perpendant verum expediat eam nunc in hoc Denunciatore ita punire, ut caeteri caveant et cum D.D.V.V. Illustrissimis sincerè agere discant, sicque uniti omnes Catholici Angli faciliùs et haeticorum fraudes vitare, et persecutionis gravitatem suffrire, et auctoritatem Sedis Apostolicae unanimiter tueri ad Dei gloriam possimus. Et quamvis ex praemissis satis putem animadversuras D.D.V.V. Illustrissimas praedictas fraudes Denunciatoris, maioris tamen distinctionis et perspicuitatis causa, existimavi non abs re fore, seorsim praecipuas eorum hic subijcere.

Prima igitur est, quòd in ipso titulo libri P. Personij omisit Denunciator ultima haec verba. (In quo demonstratur Idem Iuramentum Catholicae conscientiae esse illicitum, eò quod varias contineat clausolas religioni eiusdem repugnantes, posuit autem de suo Inscriptionem hanc omnino contrariam. (De Iuramento fidelitatis et obedientia Regi praestanda a Catholicis Anglis).

2^a Passim in margine ponit Denunciator tanquam ex mente P. Personij, quod Catholici Angli debent Regi esse fideles, et civilem obedientiam illi iurare; et quod illi debetur civilis obedientia, ut videre licet pag. 13. nu. 22 pag. 26. nu. 26. et 17. nu. 28. Cum tamen in illis locis verbum illud (debet) non inveniatur apud Patrem Personium.

3^a est pag. 8. nu. 28. ubi omisit Denunciator posteriorem partem numeri in qua [f. 107^r] affertur ex Apologista ad probandum Iuramentum continere tantum civilem obedientiam Catholicos Sacerdotes et laicos illud suscepisse omittit etiam priorem partem numeri sequentis, ubi dicitur ex Apologista Summum Pontificem per suum Breve quo prohibetur Iuramentum seminare nova zelotypiae semina inter Regem et eius subditos Papisticos. Ex quibus cernitur coactum fuisse P. Personium excusare Catholicos a sensu haeretico, quoad clausolam de autoritate Papae, alioqui conclusisset Apologista eorum exemplo illam clausolam non esse contrariam Religioni Catholicae. Omittit etiam posteriorem partem eiusdem numeri, ubi apertè indicat P. Personium se inter alios consultum fuisse de Iuramento et respondisse, cum nulla aequivocatione, nulloque sensu illud accipi posse. Haec inquam, omisit Denunciator ex quibus tamen clarè constabat quòd de Iuramento fidelitatis sentiret P. Personius, contrarium videlicet denunciationi ipsius.

4^a est in titulo communi totius libri ubi scribit, ut dixi, P. Personius se in eo demonstraturum Iuramentum esse illicitum, eò quòd varias contineat clausulas religioni Catholicae repugnantes. Et pag. 13. nu. 22. illas clausulas dicit spectare ad limitationem auctoritatis Papae. Et pag. 19. nu. 31. ait negare omnem auctoritatem Papae in deponendis Principibus, est contradicere communi

consensui omnium Theologorum, et fateri defectum Providentiae divinae in conservanda et preservanda Ecclesia. Unde infert non potuisse Catholicos tale Iuramentum suscipere nisi in aliquo sensu, (solum quoad clausulam de auctoritate Papae,) qui si fuisset expressus ab illis et acceptatus a magistratu potuisset consistere cum sinceritate fidei [*Videlicet quod eam clausulam: quasi diceret, quia non expresserun* [sic] *Catholici illum sensum nec magistratus accepit, non potuit eorum Iuramentum consistere cum sinceritate fidei*] quod etiam affirmat paulo post his verbis: Quia in rebus tam proximè fidem concernentibus non licet aequivocare, sed oportet eo sensu Iuramentum accipere, quo proponitur. Hic Denunciator ponit in margine cum sinceritate conscientiae; cum P. Personius dicat cum sinceritate fidei; et iterum paulo inferius ponitur in margine, (existimandum est Catholicos cum hac moderatione fecisse Iuramentum quo modo est licitum) cum Pater Personius non dicat quo modo est licitum, sed quo modo non pugnaret cum fide. Nec dicit P. Personius cum hac moderatione eos fecisse Iuramentum, sed dicit necessariò praesumendum esse eos cum iurarent moderatum aliquem sensum animo concepisce, quoad clausulam de auctoritate Papae non quod licitè iurarent, quia nec expresserunt eum sensus, nec magistratus accepit, nec seorsim de sola illa clausula iurarunt. Sed totum Iuramentum simul susceperunt, quod saepè P. Personius dicit esse illicitum ut pag. [f. 107] 20. nu. 33. ubi dicit illos Catholicos qui susceperunt Iuramentum non potuissent ex eo ullam consolationem percipere, et alios Catholicos non potuisse formare conscientias suas ut illud susciperent. Et pag. 22 nu. 35. Pater Personius dicit exhibitores illius Iuramenti peccare quia cogunt Catholicos iurare contra conscientias, quibus omnibus in locis supponit illicitum esse iuramentum et peccasse omnes eos, qui illud susceperunt. Ac propterea omnia haec loca omisit Denunciator.

5^a est pag. 10. nu. 15. ubi Pater Personius ponit substantiam Brevis Pontificij characteribus distinctis, his verbis: Integrum Iuramentum salva fidei Catholicae integritate admitti non posse: Postea prosequitur ex se discurrendo sic: quia etsi diversa partes eiusdem fuerint licitae: videlicet omnes illae clausulae quae pertinent ad civilis obedientiae promissionem etc. Hic Denunciator ponit in margine, quid dicit de Romano Pontifice eo indicans omnia illa verba haberi in libro Patri Personij distinctis characteribus; sicque ponit pro verbis ipsis Brevis Pontificij. Et quo gravius appareret primo aspectu, quod Pater Personius dicat, (quod tamen non dicit) ipsum Romanum Pontificem affirmare licitam esse promissionem civilis obedientiae; omittit alterum locum pag. 15. nu. 24. de alio Brevis Clementis VIII. qui tamen illud ipsum dicit, imo commendat Catholicis quietem et civilem obedientiam; omittit etiam nu. 23. pag. 14. ubi Pater Personius ex professo ponit verba Brevis Pontificij ut, in eo iacent; Ex quibus certum fuisset P. Personium non haec dicere de Romano Pontifice, ut hic temerè et iniuriosè notatur in margine.

6.^a est pag. 13. nu. 22 ubi Pater Personius ponit 4. modos explicandi praeter

civilem obedientiam in Iuramento contineri alia capita ad religionem spectantia. Primus inquit, ab expressis verbis, sensu, et scopo ipsiusmet Iuramenti desumendus erit, quod praeter agnitionem Majestatis suae in verum Regem Dominumque legitimum omnium suarum ditionum etc. Idem Iuramentum porro continet, quòd debeat iurare alia quodam ad limitationem auctoritatis Papae spectantia etc. Hic Denunciator orationem prudentem truncans, dicit tanque ex sensu P. Personij, Praeterquam quod agnoscendum est, in hoc iuramento quod dicunt, fidelitatis, Majestatem suam esse verum Regem Dominumque, legitimum omnium suarum ditionum, neque velle illi esse subditum fidelem etc. ut patet ex nota marginali Denunciatoris quae est, (tanquam legitimo Regi debent illi subditi esse fideles).

7^a est pag. 14. et 15. nu. 23. 24. et 25 quia ut numero praecedenti non expressit [f.108^r] Denunciator primum modum explicationis desumptum ex verbis Iuramenti quae ibi ponuntur; sic numero 23^o. Omittit etiam numerum 24^m de Breve Papae Clementis VIII in quo comendatur Catholicis Anglis civilis obedientia. Omittit etiam numerum .25. de tertio modo idem explicandi, desumpto ex literis Cardinalis Bellarmini de distinctione clausularum Iuramenti circa civilis subiectionis professionem a clausolis illicitis circa abnegationem Primatus Sedis Apostolicae; sicque omissis his numeris, quibus Pater Personius iacit fundamenta doctrinae suae in sequenti numero 26^o et non loquendo de p^o, 2^o vel 3^o incipit abruptè a 4^o sic (Quarto ad pleniorum et finalem huius rei dilucidationem etc.) ubi nomine Catholicorum Angliae offertur Regi omnis civilis et temporalis obedientia suae Majestati debita, quem (ut veritè Denunciator) agnoscit Regem suum verum, et legitimum Dominum Supremum super omnia dominia sua. Sed Pater Personius ibidem non vocat Dominum Supremum sed Soveranum; sicque Denunciator de suo addit dominum, et malè veritè Soveranum in Supremum, cum Soveranus Anglicè significat tantum temporalem potestatem Principis, Supremus autem etiam includat Ecclesiasticam, et ab Anglis haereticis Supremus ita nunc tribuitur Regi ut excludat omnem Superiorem etiam in spiritualibus. Denique hioc Denunciator more suo addit in margine, (libenter quivis Catholicus omnem civilem obedientiam Regi Angliae tanquam legitimo Regi debet iurare) cum tamen Pater Personius non dicat quod debet iurare, sed quod iurabit, de facto loquens, non de iure. Sic enim concludit P. Personius nu. 28^m. Hic igitur videmus omnem obedientiam civilem, et humilem agnitionem omnis officij temporalis a Catholicis subiectis suae Majestati offerri etc. ubi tamen iterum iniuriosè Denunciator addit in margine, (omnis obedientia civilis debetur suae Majestati) quod non dicit P. Personius sed offerri tantum 8^a. est pag. 38. nu. 20. ubi Denunciator ponit posteriorem tantum partem illius numeri, et inscriptionem ponit hanc, (De libertate conscientiae) indicans P. Personium defendere libertatem conscientiae simpliciter, ut etiam demonstrat haec eius marginalis nota; (non minus est debita conspiratio aëris, quam libertas conscientiae); cum

Pater Personius dicat tantum Catholicis Anglis deberi libertatem conscientiae, unde omittit etiam Denunciator num. 35. et 36. pag. 22. ubi Pater Personius probat esse peccatum cogere Catholicos ad iurandum[f. 108'] contra conscientiam; et haereticos punire posse nisi abiurent opiniones suas, Catholicos autem non posse ab haereticis cogi ad iurandum aliquid contra religionem Catholicam.

9^a est pag. 56. nu. 49. ubi P. Personius respondens ad locum citatum ab Apologista ex Sancto Gregorio ait ab Imperatore Mauritio oppressam fuisse Ecclesiam, eumque propterea a Sancto Gregorio comparari Neroni et Diocletiano eundem tamen cessisse tandem Sancto Gregorio serio cum illo agenti, ut haec lex eius priusque promulgaretur ab ipso Sancto Gregorio corrigeretur, et sui reduceretur ad bonum sensum quo possit tolerari, sicque Sanctum Gregorium ostendisse debitam obedientiam in promulgatione legis a se prius correcta, non tamen a se sed ab alijs facienda, ubi Denunciator ferè omnia mutat, dicendo Imperatorem Mauritium concessisse Sancto Gregorio summopere a se petenti, ut ipse legem suam refigeret, ac Sanctum Gregorium obedientiam praestitisse Imperatori in promulganda videlicet eius lege, qua erat in aliquo sensu tolerabilis, quasi fuisset tolerabilis ante Summi Pontificis correctionem). Quae omnia sunt contraria et menti et verbis ipsis Patri Personij.

10^a est pag. 73. nu. 7. ubi Pater Personius dicit sibi non displicere quod protestantes nunc denegent Regi Angliae titulum Supremi Capitis Ecclesiae, quia circa titulum Gubernatoris Supremi, eousque[sic] progredi possunt ut inter nos conveniamus Denunciator verò primum ponit Inscriptionem, (De Iuramento Primatus Spiritualis Regis Angliae) cum tamen in illis verbis quae traduxit Denunciator non agatur de Iuramento primatus, sed tantum de titulo Capitis Ecclesiae. Deinde in margine notat Denunciator, sic (non displicet Iuramentum protestantium, quo Regem Angliae Supremum Gubernatorem Ecclesiae faciunt;) Quod non dicit Pater Personius, sed tantum non displicere quod Protestantes denegent Regi Iacobo titulum Capitis Ecclesiae; Iuramentum autem tale sibi non displicere non dicit, quod in Iuramento Primatus delevisset Haeretici titulum Capitis Ecclesiae, et posuissent titulum Gubernatoris Ecclesiae praesertim cum Catholicorum disputationibus coacti fuerint ita mutare, ut indicat P. Personius in priori parte eiusdem numeri, (quam propterea omisit Denunciator) non sine causa videretur dixisse id sibi non displicere, praesertim cum (ut postea subdit) in explicatione Gubernatoris Ecclesiae possemus tandem convenire.

11^a est pag. 23. nu. 36. ubi sic loquitur P. Personius, hic si quis objiciat etiam [f. 109'] inter nos urgeri homines ad suscipienda Iuramenta, et ad abiurandas opiniones suas etc. (Probaverat autem P. Personius immediatè antea peccatum esse scandali activi coagere ad iurandum contra conscientias, si hoc sciretur;) statim respondet negando permitti hoc in tribunalibus Catholicis ut cogatur quis

ad abiurandum repugnante conscientia, quia esset peccatum cogenti si illud sciat. Hoc solum ponit Denunciator, et nota[vit] in margine; (cogere haereticos ad abiurandum est peccatum;) omittens (contra conscientiam) et (si illud sciret;) omittens etiam reliquam partem responsionis P. Personij, quae est quod nihilominus rectè puniantur haeretici morte vel aliter, ut crimen fert et Canones praecipiant nisi haereses suas abiurarent. Non tamen rectè puniri Catholicos Anglos, qui recusant Iuramentum Fidelitatis suscipere contra conscientias suas, ut pluribus ibidi probat; quae omnia Denunciator omisit.

Denique cum ignorare non possit Denunciator nullum alium praeter hunc P. Personij librum Anglico idiomate, nec ullum alium ab ullo Anglo sive Anglico sive latino idiomate conscriptum esse contra Iuramentum fidelitatis, et in defensione Brevium Summi Pontificis, quibus condemnatur tale Iuramentum; plurimos autem esse libros ab Anglis tam anglicè quam latine conscriptos pro dicto Iuramento, et contra Brevia Apostolica, idque non solum ab haeticis, sed ab alijs etiam Anglis, qui pro Catholicis publicè habentur, non potest non esse suspecta haec eius Denunciatio, qua et debilitatur Catholica causa ita ut indocta plebs non tantum caveat hoc adiumento, quo confirmatur contra Iuramentum sed etiam moveri possint ad suscipiendum Iuramentum, eò quid liber iste revocatur in dubium, quo solo prius nitebatur ad illud recusandum concurrente praesertim metu amissionis bonorum et perpetuae incarcerationis ob recusationis eiusdem incurrendae: Confert etiam inprimis causa haeticorum, quibus adeo displicuit hic liber P. Personij ut statim Barlous Pseudoepiscopus iussu ipsius regis contra hunc librum Patri Personij responsionem scripserit, nec ex ullo verbo libri Patri Personij, vel ipse vel ullus alius, qui pro Iuramento scripsit, dicere potuit vel minimum, quod pro se faceret. Quae responsio Barloi iussu Sanctitatis Suae et Sanctae Congregationis Sancti Officij ad P. Personium missa, et ab eo confutata fuit (qui fuit ultimus P. Personij labor) quo nec dum planè finito discessit ex hac vita; eiusque morte ut haeretici maximè gavisi sunt dicente in pleno Parlamento Pseudoepiscopo Cantuariensi maximum religionis ipsorum hostem iam mortum [f. 109^v] esse, sic magis gaudebunt nunc et iactabunt non esse opus ab ipsis confutetur P. Personius cum eius liber a Catholicis ipsis iam diffidentibus ut dicant illi, bonitati causae suae in dubium revocetur atque ita si bone res perpendatur, Denunciator hic agnoscetur secretus amicus status Haeretici Anglicani.

Inimicus autem Ecclesiae ac Sedis Apostolicae censendus cum id solum agere videatur, sicut supradictum est de Doctore Smithaeo, ut denunciato hoc libro P. Personij ob concessam et oblatam Regi Angliae civilem obedientiam id ipsum publicet per literas et certiore faciat statum Anglicanum ob id in dubium vocari P. Personij librum quòd defendevit licitam esse civilem obedientiam erga Regem Angliae eamque per Brevia Pontificia non fuisse prohibitam; ut sic Rex Angliae suam Apologiam pro Iuramento fidelitatis iustissimam fuisse persuadeat Catholicis Principibus qua nihil aliud probare voluit quam se meritò punire

Catholicos Anglos, quoad recusent Iuramentum fidelitatis et civilis obedientiae suscipere; nec possint amplius Catholici Angli seipsum defendere (ut hactenus fecerunt) quòd non recusent Iuramentum ob clausulas illas, quae civilem obedientiam concernunt, sed ob alia quae continet salutem animarum adversantia. Forte etiam aliqui Principes et status Christiani incipient aures praeberere Regi Angliae: quinimo iam incepterunt aliqui ob hoc loqui contra auctoritatem Papae et invisos habere Catholicos Anglos tanquam meritò punitos ob denegatam obedientiam in temporalibus Regi suo nondum deposito nec denunciato. Sicque Denunciator iste dum videri vult pro Ecclesia stare contra Regem Angliae, revera contra Ecclesiam facit, et maximè pro ipso Rege.

IV

Traductio ex libro Anglico cui titulus The Iudgment of a Catholick English Man etc. [presented on 12 February 1612]

ACDF, St. St. Ss1-e, ff. 113^r-118^r.

Id est sententia viri Catholici Angli Religionis ergo exulantis de libro cui Titulus triplici nodo triplex cuneus [ERROR: *Hinc Lector putare posset hunc librum P. Personij esse Apologiam pro Iuramento quia non bene distinguitur, nec ponitur totus titulus*] sive apologia pro iuramento fidelitatis etc [ERROR: *Caetera omisit hic Denunciator quibus positis manifesta fuisset mens Auctoris, et iniuria illi a Denunciatore illata, cum illi dicat Auctor se demonstraturum dictum Iuramentum Catholicae conscientiae illicitum esse, eò quod varias contineat clausulas religioni eiusdem repugnantes*].

Iussu Sacrae Congregationis Sancti Officii

De Iuramento fidelitatis et obedientia Regi praestanda a Catholicis Anglis [ERROR: *Falsitas huius summarij quod de suo ponit Denunciator, apparet satis ex toto libro, in quo uspiam habetur. Sed apparuisset magis ex ultimis verbis ipsius tituli, si illum integrum posuisset Denunciator*].

Novum Iuramentum [ERROR: *Verba auctoris sunt "ex novo Iuramento excogitato etc." sed omisit Denunciator praecedentia omnia, ex quibus haec verba, et eorum sensus penderet*] fuit excogitatum in exitum supremum Catholicorum tum Animarum Anglorum si contra conscientiam illud praestiterint tum corporis existimationis et fortunarum si illud praestare recusarent pag. 7. n° xi.

Per hoc Iuramentum Catholici Angli in eas reducuntur angustias [ERROR: *Verba Auctoris sunt "Quamvis in eas reducantur angustias" quae pendent ex praecedentibus; Denunciator autem hic perfectam reddit sententiam, additis verbis "per hoc Iuramentum"*] ut vel illud ab ipsis iurandum sit contra iudicium et dictamen conscientiae suae in punctis varijs ad suam religionem spectantibus vel cum iactura universorum sibi in hac vita Clarissimorum maiestatis suae Indignatio dira subeunda quae sane

nemo in Angliae catholicus evitare potest nisi cui Religio nulla est quidvis iurandi aut abiurandi quod ipsi vel utilitas propria suadet, vel superioris auctoritas imponet pag. 8. n° xii.

Contra haec dicetis [ERROR: *Auctor habet, (sed contra haec dicetis etc.)*] duo esse quae in favorem Regis ab huius libelli auctore afferuntur et asseruntur. Primum quod Rex nullam contra Catholicas conscientias circa persecutionem intendit sed tantummodo de obedientia ipsorum civili securitati suae prospicit, quod si ita sit ego non video quin ictu componi [f. 113"] poterit tota haec contentio, nullum eum existimo Catholicum in Anglia esse qui recusabit iurare civilem obedientiam omnem quam suae maiestati debet ["De iuramento civili" ERROR: *Auctor non loquitur de Iuramento civili, sed de civili obedientia: quomodo enim potest ullum Iuramentum esse civile*], vel quam illus subditus unquam hactenus compositus Catholicus iam praeteritis iuravit dominis suis et principibus aut in alijs Regionibus nunc iurat pag. Eadem n° xiii. [ERROR: *Sequitur in auctore "secundum est, etc"* sed posito primo Denunciator omisit secundum, et relicto fine hius numeri relinquit etiam principium sequentis, nec sine fraude, cum maxime pertineant ad rem].

Quamvis domi [ERROR: *In auctore est, "et quamvis domi" pendente videlicet sententia ex praecedentibus, quae omisit Denunciator*] quidem respicientes priculum instans in Iuramentum recusaretur pia compassione moverentur opinari hoc in aliquo sensu posse praestari, foras tantum nemini hoc probabatur, qua, in pertinentibus ad fidem et religionem nullam admittebant aequivocationem. Pag. 9. n° 14 [ERROR: *Sequitur in auctore "Inter quos audio Iesuitas fuisse et praecipuis etc"* quibus aperte indicat auctor seipsum foris improbasse Iuramentum quod propterea mala fide omisit Denunciator].

Catholici a supremo pastore post debitam deliberationem [ERROR: *Septem haec verba decerpit Denunciator ex septem integris verbis*] habitam hoc responsum acceperunt quod dictum Iuramentum (ut iacet) non potest admitti [Vide Breve kal. Octbris 1606] cum integritate fidei Catholicae quia etsi diversae partes eiusdem fuerunt licitae, videlicet omnes illae clausolae quae pertinent ad civiles et temporales obedientiae promissionem [Quid dicit de Pontifice Romano] ex intermixtis tum alijs quae de spirituali auctoritate dicti Pastoris supremi detrahunt saltem indirecte totum iuramentum ut iacet factum est illicitum atque hoc ego intelligo esse substantiam resolutionis et responsionis Pontificiae [ERROR: *Hic incipit numerus apud Auctorem, quem Denunciator confundit cum praecedenti, ut videatur auctor haec quae, quae dicit referre ad proxime praecedentia verba, cum referantur ad summam totius numeri praecedentis designatam in auctore distinctis characteribus*], etiamsi haec singula non exprimantur in suis Brevibus sed tantummodo quod Iuramentum ut iacet et re posita omni distinctione est Catholicorum conscientijs illicitum pag. x. n° 15 et 16.

[ERROR: *Omissis 6. integris numeris quibus ostendis auctor distinctionem clausularum Iuramenti quae civilem obedientiam, et quae abiurationem auctoritatis Pontificis continent, et*

propter has catholicos recurrere ad Summum Pontificem non propter illas sic incipit "Praeterquam quod agnoscendum est etc" sententiam truncae [sic] et ex praecedenti faciens absolutam, et verba Iuramenti ponere pro verbis auctoris: notans in margine "tanquam legitimo Regi debent illi subditi esse fideles" Praeterquam quod agnoscendum est in hoc iuramento quod dicunt fidelitatis Maiestatem Suam esse verum Regem dominumque legitimum omnium suarum ditionum neque velle illi esse subditum fidelem cum alijs clausulis similibus in quibus nemo haeret vel difficultatem sentit. Idem Iuramentum porro continet quod debeo iurare alia quaedam spectantia ad limitationem auctoritatis Papalis [*Iuramentum quaedam continere contra fidem Catholicam*] videlicet [f. 114] quidnam possit Pontifex facere erga Regem aut successores suos in quocunque casu et rerum articulo? Quae quaestio cum reducta sit ab Hypothesi ad Thesim de omnibus Regibus in genere (nam eadem rem et in alijs) tam in vero quam in altero casu tangit punctum doctrinae et fidei Catholicae de sufficientia auctoritatis Pastoralis a salvatore nostro in Ecclesia sua Sancto Petro et successoribus suis qua nobis omnibus, quae accidere possunt, remedium afferat, relicte: quam ego Catholicus absque conscientiae laesione et aeternae damnationis periculo abiurare nequeo pag. 13.14. n° 22.

Quarto ad plenior et finalem huius rei dilucidationem non mihi occurrit melior vel efficacior modus quo abundantius satisfiat Maiestati Suae in hoc de civili et temporali obedientia quod adeo urgent quam nomine singulorum Angliae Catholicorum haec sincere afferre [ERROR: *Pessima fide omisit Denunciator omnia a numero 22. hucusque cum Auctor n. 23. proponat ipsa verba Brevis Pontificis quibus prohibentur ea tantum quae spectant ad religionem; et n. 24. ostendi ex ipso Brevis Clementis VIII. ea quae ad civilem obedientiam spectant non tantum permitti, sed et commendari Catholicis Anglis, quibus omissis a p.º quasi saltat ad 4. mº omisso verbo igitur, ne delegatur fraus*]. Primo quod quivis Catholicus iurabit et libenter agnoscat universas illas partes et clausulas iuramenti quae quacumque ratione ad civilem et temporalem obedientiam Regi debitam [*Fidelis oblatio obedientia civilis a Catholicis Regi facta*] spectant quem agnoscit Regem suum verum et legitimum dominum supremum supra omnia dominia sua [ERROR: *Hic Auctor habet, ac Soveranum super omnia Dominia sua vocabulum autem Soveranus Anglice significat et includit tantum temporalem potestatem Regis. Dominus autem Supremus et ex se latius patet quasi genericè, et ab Anglis Haereticis ita nunc Regi tribuitur ut includat omnem potestatem etiam ecclesiasticam, et excludat omnem Superiorem etiam Summum Pontificem. Ac proinde hic malitiose a Denunciatore ponitur Supremus per Soverano et additur Dominus.*] et quod ipsi iurabit tantum fidelitatis quantum unquam quisque subditus Catholicus Anglus superioribus saeculis iuravit Regibus suis legitimis antequam res novas moliretur Henricus Angliae Rex Octavus aut quicunque subditus externus debet vel iurare tenetur alicui Principi Catholico. [*Libenter quivis Catholicus omnem civilem obedientiam Regi Anglo tanquam debet iurare ut sit alijs Principibus Catholicis.* ERROR: *Denunciator hic in margine ponit ex mente auctoris quod Catholici debent iurare obedientiam Regi, quod*

tamen non dicit auctor, sed tantum quod volunt facere, non autem determinat quid debeant Secundo quod ad Papam attinet (qui ex fide Catholica est Supremus Pastor animarum) Idem Catholicus sperat in bonitate divina illum numquam aliud contrarium in suae Majestatis praeiudicium; quod vero ad seipsum spectat nolle se aliquid huiusmodi a Pontifice procurare, sed potius quantum in se est impedire et avertere velle ex corde orando pro utroque verumtamen [f. 114^v] quomodo quaestio de auctoritate Pontificis quid ipse possit in certis casibus ubi urget salus alicuius provinciae et bonum publicum Ecclesiae dei est quid pertinens ad doctrinam et religionem. Ideo cum securitate conscientiae non potest praestare hoc Iuramentum quoad illos articulos et ramos illud punctum concernentes; Hic igitur videmus obedientiam civilem omnem et humilem agnitionem omnis officij temporalis a Catholicis subditis suae Majestati offerri eodem modo quo offertur cuicumque Principi Catholico vel quo amplissime concipi potest per pag. 16. 17. n° 26. 27. et 28 [Omnis obedientia civilis debetur suae Majestati eo modo quo offertur cuicumque Principi Catholico ERROR: Hunc numerum confundit Denunciator cum praecedenti, et addit in margine "obedientia civilis debetur suae Majestati etc" semper repetens suum "debetur" quod non est in auctore, sed solum "offertur"].

De multitudine vero Sacerdotum et Laicorum Catholicorum [ERROR: Auctor habet (secundo de multitudine illa sacerdotum etc) sicque Denunciator addit verbum "verò" omittit autem verbum "secundo" et ne vedeatur hic numerus habere connectionem cum praecedenti numero, quem malitiosè omisit quia ibi auctor probat sacerdotes illos repugnante conscientia sed vi et metu iurasse, unde innuit non excusari a peccato quamvis ex charitate excuset eos ab haeresi quoad unam clausulam.] quos auctor huius libelli iuramentum hoc libere praestitisse refert qua libertate hoc fecerunt iam diximus; sed ut desiderium satisfaciendi Suae Maiestati et seipsos aliosque quantum in se sicut liberarent ab argumento animi erga Regem infidelis quod ex negatione huius iuramenti nonnulli inferre solent illos adiurandum impulsisse existimandum est sic ego non possum quin dictante charitate certum me reddam quod illi, Catholici cum sint, dubium iuramentum praestiterint (quatenus concernit auctoritatem Pontificis in Principes temporales) in aliquo tali sensu licito atque interpretatione eiusmodi quae ab illis expresse declarata Mens et sententia Catholicorum qui iurarunt et a Majestatibus acceptata cum integritate et sinceritate fidei [Iuramentum Catholicorum cum quodam legitimo sensu, quod Papa non habet auctoritatem directam supra principes, optime potest consistere cum sinceritate conscientiae] et doctrinae Catholicae potest consistere videlicet quod Papa non habet auctoritatem absque causa iusta contra Principes procedendi quia illud possumus quod iure possumus dicit lex, nostra auctoritas iustitia limitatur [ERROR: Hic Denunciator ponit in margine cum sinceritate conscientiae, quod non dicit auctor, sed contra et hic innuit, et alibi dicit eos iurasse vi et metu coactos repugnante conscientia, et sic non cum sinceritate conscientiae sed fidei. Praeterea dicit Denunciator Iuramentum simpliciter; Auctor dicit quoad unam clausulam. Denunciator dicit quodam legitimo sensu, quòd Papa non habet auctoritatem directam auctor dicit non quodam sensu

(scilicet determinato) sed aliquo tali sensu licito etc. et addit expressè eb ab illis declarato, et a magistratibus acceptato] Praeterea potest negari Pontifex talem auctoritatem contra Principes habere directe sed solum indirecte in ordine ad spiritualia et in certis casibus gravibus importantibus urgentibus ad Christianam Religionem spectantibus quos speramus nunquam inter Regem nostrum et Sedem Apostolicam intercessuros, eo quod multos iam annos atque adeo ab ipso principio [f. 115] regni suae Maiestatis et si Religione discrepantes in pace tamen et quiete transierunt. Verum quoad questionem generalem ego existimo eorum qui iurarunt mentem numquam fuisse simpliciter et absolute negare quod Papa est (forte ut [ERROR: Hoc per ignorantiam additur in Traductione, quod non intelligat menetm auctoris, ut videre est in correcta versione nostra] Pastor supremus Ecclesiae Catholicae habeat illam auctoritatem a Christo sibi relictam directe vel indirecte ex causa vel absque causa in nulla quantacumque necessitate nec in quantamvis magnam et publicam utilitatem Religionis Christianae [quemquam] ipse temporaliter procedendi contra ullum Principem Christianum quicumque ille fuerit ad ipsius correctionem aut correctionem vel alijs Principibus ut hoc ipsum faciant permittendi. In hanc enim sententiam iurantes contradicerent consensui generali Theologorum Catholicorum omnium atque faterentur Providentiae divinae defectum in conservando et praeservando Ecclesiam et Regnum suum super terram ac si Christus nullum relinquisset remedium malis illis tantis ac tam extremis quae inde nasci possint, qua propter cum necessario existimare debeamus ipsos qui hoc iuramentum prestiterunt ut suis conscientijs consulere moderatum aliquem sensum [ERROR: Denunciator male traduxit, Auctor enim habet "cum necessariò praesumendum sit" sed prius est quod in margine Denunciator repetat idem verbum "existimandum est," et addat "Catholicos cum hac moderatione fecisse Iuramentum quomodo est licitum" cum Auctor dicat indefinitè moderatum aliquem huiusmodi sensum animo concepisse] huiusmodi animo concepisse in Majestati suae visum erat. Hanc moderationem et favorem interpretationem [Existimandum est Catholicos cum hac moderatione fecisse Iuramentum quomodo est licitum] suscipere et approbare sicut omnes Reges et Monarchae externi Catholici probant absque omni praeiudicio securitatis dignitatis et praerogativae Imperialis non dubito quin in omnibus suis subditis Catholicis promptissimam inveniret conformitatem dictum iuramentum praestandi qui nunc scrupulis et conscientiae repugnantia in eo laborant; tum quia viri doctissimi Ecclesiae suae ita ut nunc est confusum et mixtum id penitus illicitum esse docent tum quia vox summi Pastoris (quem in talibus casis ex praescripto religionis suae necessario audiendum putant) illud ipsum plane damnavit. [f. 115] Praeterea ipse tenor iuramenti atque ultimae lineae sic se habet, quod unusquisque iurabit absque ulla omnino aequivocatione aut mentali reservatione, id est ex animo, sponte, et vere sub interpositione vere, fidei hominis Christiani. Hoc cum ita habeat Catholici non vident quomodo secundum eam veritatem quam ipsos conscientia dicat hoc iurare licet. Non enim illam in se ipsam promptam iurandi voluntatem sentiunt neque inducere in animos sibi possunt, in re tam proxime concernente

confessionem fidei suae aut aequivocare aut iurare in aliquo alio sensu quam quo proponitur a sua Maejstate.

Quia circa minus malus esse iudicant absolute et sincere iuramentum recusare quam iurando nec Deo nec Regi nec sibi nec proximis hac in re satisfacere pag. 18. n.º 30 et pag. 19 n. 31 e 32 [ERROR: *Ecce hic Auctor Sacerdotes et laicos qui iurant, non excusati a peccato, sed tantum ab haeresi, ut supra contra fraudem Denunciatoris notatum est. Atque eadem fraude idem Denunciator omisit hic numerum proximè sequentem, quo auctor idem ostendit, videlicet illos sacerdotes et laicos suscepisse Iuramentum repugnante conscientiae, et omnes alios Catholicos illud aestimasse illicitum; et sequenti numero 34. Catholicos cogi iurare contra suas conscientias, et ea quae hic in auctore sequuntur transponit Denunciator in fine totius huius traductionis suae.*

Publicatum iam iuramentum quod vocant fidelitatis statim deprehensum est esse contextum partim ex quibusdam ad civilem obedientiam manifeste pertinentibus in quibus nemo haerebat partim ex alijs quae videbantur fidei Catholicae adversari [ERROR: *Auctor habet "quod cum inducere prodijisset praedictum iuramentum de fidelitate etc" ubi Denunciator omisit principium numeri ex quo pendet haec sententia ac, manifestum est, idque valde fraudolenter, quia in illo consistit fundamentum doctrinae auctoris]*, saltem in sensu usuali verborum at ibi iacent, unde cum quaereretur an dictum iuramentum ibi proponitur absque omni ulteriori eius explicatione vel distinctione Catholicis liceret absolute et integre praestare Theologis quibusdam in Angliae opinione dissentientibus extra Angliam consulebatur atque ab omnibus at antea docuimus responsum est iuramentum illud integre praestare non licere atque sic etiam Brevibus duobus Papa declaravit pag. 69. nu. primo [ERROR: *Maxima hic confusione utitur Denunciator a pag. 69 ad pag. 53. retrogradiendo, et abruptè incipit "similes his sunt omnes alij" non ponendo quae praecedunt, ut videatur quibus sint similes.*] Similes his sunt omnes alij Patrum loci ab Apologista citati qui expresse distinguunt inter honorem temporalem et fidelitatem Imperatori debitam atque alium Religionis ac conscientiae erga Deum. Qui etiam est sensus apertus verborum Tertulliani ab Apologista citatum [Tertullian ad Scapulam]²⁶⁵ nos sic honoramos Imperatorem ut nobis licet et ipsi expedit ut hominem secundum post Deum et ut qui quicquid est a deo acceperit et solo [f. 116] Deo minorem. Nonne omnes Angliae Catholici hisce verbis utentur apud Regem suum? Aut negabit Apologista Tertullianum hic nihil aliud voluisse nisi in negotijs temporalibus eo quod aetatis Imperatores Ethnici, erant nec audiendi in negotijs fidei Christianae. Similis huic est doctrina illa clara quae continetur in verbis Iustini Martiris ad ipsum Imperatorem hoc loco citatis. Nos solum Deum adoramus et in omnibus alijs alacriter servimus vobis profitentes vos esse Imperatores et Principes hominum: Nonne Angli Catholici omnes nunc idem dicunt nempe

²⁶⁵ Tertullian, *Ad Scapulam Liber*, *Patrologia Latina*, I.

quod in omnibus alijs quae Deum et divinam obedientiam ex regula Religionis Catholicae non respiciunt [*Alacriter in omnibus quae religionem Catholicam non respiciunt Catholici Angli obedientiam Suae Majestati praestant tam quam legitimo Rege in temporalibus non nisi Deo inferiori*] afferunt se Maiestati Suae alacriter servituros agnoscentes ipsum esse legitimum dominum suum supremum [ERROR: *Auctor hi habet Anglicè (Liege) quod non significat legitimum sed actu imperantem. Verbum autem (Supremum) non est in auctore. Quare etiam male addidit Denunciator in margine (tanquam legitimo Regi)*], ac Regem et in regimine suo temporali solo Deo inferiorem, quomodo igitur loci humiliter citantur in testes ac si aliquid contra nos assererent pag. 53 et 54 nu. 43 et 44 [ERROR: *Denunciator hic traduxit aliqua Doctorum loca citata et explicata ab auctore omittens praecedentia et sequentia, in quibus citantur aliorum loca doctorum ut fundamenta doctrinae auctoris de civili obedientia*].

De obedientia Imperatori Mauritio a Sancto Gregorio praestita [ERROR: *Falsa est haec inscriptio Denunciatoris, cum non est dicat Auctor S. Gregorium Imperatori obedientiam praestitisse*].

In hoc loco allegato [ERROR: *Habetur in auctore “tamen in hic loco etc.” ita ut appareat imperfectus sensus, quem reddit hic locus, ita truncus et mutilus ex omissione principij eiusdem numeri, et satis videre est ex vera versione*] ab Apologista [Apologia pag. 24.] S. Gregorius consensit promulgare et in varias provincias mittere legem quandam iniustam Imperatoris Mauritij qua prohibebantur Milites et qui negotijs rationum publicarum implicati fuissent Monarchi fieri, quam legem etsi Sanctus Gregorius valde improbaret acriterque contra illam Imperatori, scriberet tamen quo ostenderet respectum [ERROR: *Hoc verbum “debebat” non est in Auctore, sed dicit tantum Anglicè “his due respects” Italice “il suo dovuto rispetto” hoc est, quem conveniebat Papam ostendere, quamvis de Iure Imperatori non deberetur*] quem ipse in temporalibus debebat Imperatori [Lex Mauritij non fuit mala quin in aliquo sensu esset tolerabilis] et quia revera lex illa non fuit absolute mala quin in aliquo bono sensu esset tollerabilis [sic] [ERROR: *Auctor habet “fuit non absolute adeo mala etc.” et huic malae traductioni in margine peior opponitur nota, videlicet “non fuit mala, quin in aliquo sensu esse tolerabilis” cum Auctor non sic loquatur simpliciter sed cum explicatione, videlicet “quod militibus” qui bonus sensus adhibitus fuit huic legi per correctionem ipsius Summi Pontificis S. Gregorij*] videlicet quod Militibus ascriptis militiae Imperatoris durante [f. 116^v] illius Sacramenti vinculo recipi in Monasteria absque Facultate Principis non liceret, nihilominus cum tenderet haec lex ad restrictionem libertatis Ecclesiasticae in illius vitae status ingressu quem unusquisque in bonum animae suae elegeret Sancto Gregorio displicuit qui et summopere petijt ab Imperatore ut eam legem refugeret aut in temperari permetteret ut sine periudicio libertatis Christianae maneret [ERROR: *In Auctore est “seriò egit cum Imperatore” quod quantum differat ab eo quod dicit Denunciator “summopere petijt ab Imperatore” nemo non videt*]. Quod tandem Imperator concessit [ERROR: *Hic*

Auctor habet “cui tandem Imperator cessit” ubi cernitur eadem fraus Denunciatoris quae in praecedenti nota] et Sanctus Gregorius a se tanquam a Pastore supremo prius correctam et ad aequitatis normam reductam, ipsam ad variarum regionum a se nominatarum Archiepiscopos et Primates misit in hunc videlicet sensum ut qui publica munera gesserant antequam exactè rationes reddidissent et liberationem publicam obtinuisset ad statum Religiosum in Monasterijs non admitterentur et qui ex militibus monachatum peterent ante exactam probationem post triennium in habitu laico de illis habitam non recipere. Haec determinat Sanctus Gregorius in Epistola sua quae incipit Gregorius Eusebio Tesseloniensi Urbis Dirachitano etc. addens praeterea in eadem Epistola [Greg: lib. 7° ep. 11^a Indictione prima]²⁶⁶ ut iam discimus, De quare Serenissimus et Christianissimus Imperator omnimodo placatur. Sic Sanctus Gregorius Imperatoris legem ad legem divinam limitando et temperando, potestatem et curam suam pastorem demonstravit et si repertu temporalium quae debebatur ipsi obedientiam praestiterit [ERROR: Hic auctor habet “et si temporalibus respectibus ostenderit illi obedientiam quae illi debebatur” ubi non dicit praestiterint, quasi illi seipsum subijcendo] Pag. 56 et 57 n° 49 et 50.

De Iuramento primatus spiritualis regis Angliae [ERROR: *Absurda est haec Inscriptio, cum in ijs quae subiunguntur ab auctore, non tractetur de Iuramento Primatus Regis Angliae, sed de titulo Capituli Ecclesiae, et Gubernatoris Ecclesiae*].

Nunc video Protestantes Anglos non iam amplius capitis Ecclesiae sed supremi Gubernatoris Ecclesiae [ERROR: *Hic Denunciator pro verbis auctoris supposuit nobis quandam suam paraphrasim ut videre est in vera versione*] in omnibus causis tam spiritualibus quam temporalibus [f. 117] in iuramento Primatus spiritualis Regi tribuisse non sinentes illum succedere Regibus Edouardo 6° et Henrico 8° in titulo Capituli Ecclesiae: quod nobis minime displicet eo isque enim in hac re progredi poterunt ut inter nos de illa conveniat [ERROR: *Ponit hic Denunciator in margine “non displicet Iuramentum Protestantium quo Rege Angliae Supremum Gubernatorem Ecclesiae faciunt” cum tamen auctor non loquatur de tali ullo Iuramento quia revera nullum tale existit, nec dicit sibi non displicere titulum Supremi Gubernatoris Ecclesiae, sed dicit tantum sibi non displicere, quod a Protestantibus denegetur iam Regi Iacobo titulus Capituli Ecclesiae, de quo dicit, possunt eorūque [sic] progredi ut conveniamus etc*]. Nam si per Gubernatorem Supremum volunt intelligi Principis temporalis supremam auctoritatem supra omnes personas omnium suorum dominiorum tam Ecclesiasticas quam Laicas in rebus temporalibus excipientes spiritualia sola (quibus iam auditis S. Ambrosium suae aetatis, Imperatoribus docentem ipsos Laici cum essent non posse se ingerere) video nullam

²⁶⁶ Gregory I (the Great), Epistle XI “Omnibus Episcopis de Lege Mauriti Augusti,” *Patrologia Latina*, LXXVII (1).

difficultatem magnam quae inter nos remaneret pag. 73. nu. 7°.

De libertate Conscientiae [ERROR: Non agit hic auctor de libertate conscientiae absolutè, ut hic ponitur, sed de libertate conscientiae, quam obijciebat adversarius peti a Catholicis Anglis, et affirmat hic auctor illis deberi non minus quam respirationem aëris, non autem deberi simpliciter ut dicitur in marginali nota quasi deberetur etiam haereticis, unde a fortiori et ad hominem argumentatur auctor probando libertatem conscientiae deberi Catholicis Anglis, quia haereticis ubique contendunt illam uniuersum deberi].

Videtisne quantum superbiae [ERROR: Notandum est quomodo hic retro saltata a fine ad medium hoc est, a pag. 73. ad pag. 38^m.] culmen sit quo venisse [Haec Denunciator intrusit de suo et omisit principium numeri, quod est in Auctore] Catholicos dicit hic Minister et quantum abitantur misericordia et dementia Regis nempe conscientiae libertatem expectare! Quare etiam ipsis non obijcit quod expectant respirandi libertatem et aëris usum, aequè atque protestantes: Nam neque respiratio nec aeris usura est magis debita illis aut magis communis omnibus quam hominibus Christianis debeat esse libertas conscientiae qua unusquisque Deo et sibi vivit, atque sine qua tormentis et iugi lentaeque morti volupetatur. Pag. 38. n° 20°.

Non possum sane non mirari hunc Ministrum non pudicisse illud vocare superbiae culmen quod generaliter reperitur in universis protestantibus quantum vis humilibus immo quo humiliores et inferiores fuerint eo in sermonibus concionibus libris suis vehementius contendunt probare libertatem conscientiae divinae legi maxime conformem esse atque coactionem vimque conscientiae illatam esse praecipuam tyrannidem quam quis in homines exercere potest. Poi dopo aver portati diversissimi esempj [f. 117°] di Heretici in Inghilterra sotto Henrico 4. 5. 6. Rè Catholici di Inghilterra et d'altri heretici della Almanja Fiandra Francia che tutti hanno domandato libertà di coscienza conclude in questa maniera: Nonne expresse profitebantur omnes praecipuum suum gravamen fuisse libertatem conscientiae sibi restrictam! Nonne multos sacrarum scripturarum textus citabant ad probandam aequitatem et necessitatem eiusdem? Nonne idem nunc faciunt omnes protestantes in Polonia, Austria, Ungaria, Boemia, Stiria et ubivis gentium? Quomodo igitur apud hunc ministrum Iordanis conversus est retrorsum? Quomodo vox ipsius adeo contraria est voci et sententiae relinquorum eorum? Quomodo et qua aequitate vocari potest culmen superbiae in Catholicis Anglis illud sperare quod est in quotidiana praxi et doctrina fratrum suorum in alijs nationibus nempe expectare libertatem conscientiae statim ad ingressu in Angliam novi Regis animi tam generosi et regalis. Pag. 38. n.° 21 et Pag. 39 n° 22.

De abiuratione Haereticorum in Tribunalibus Catholicis [ERROR: Non agit hic Auctor de abiuratione haereticorum in tribunalibus Catholicis sed respndet tantum obiectioni inde desumptae contra se, quam responsonem Auctoris Denunciator ita truncavit,

ut videre est in vera versione, ut omninò aliam faciat quam sit, ut ostendit etiam in sua marginali nota dicens “cogere haereticos ad abiurandum est peccatum,” ubi Auctor ait “cogere ad abiurandum contra conscientiam” et “quod sit peccatum cogenti si illud sciat” et probat licitum esse id quod fit in tribunalibus Catholicis punire videlicet haereticos ut crimen fiet; et Canones praecipunt, sed non esse id licitum Protestantibus respectu Catholicorum quod pluribus probat, ut videre est in vera versione, inn quibus omittendis Denunciatoris culpa omnium maxime cernitur].

Si quis obijciat [ERROR: *Hic videre est quomodo omnia confundat denunciator retrogradiendo ut antea a pag. 69 ad 53^m et a 73^a ad 38^a, ita hic a 38^a ad 23^m*] etiam inter nos cogi homines ad iuramenta et ad abiurandum opiniones suas in Tribunalibus Inquisitionum et similibus et consequenter in hoc iuramento quod vocant fidelitatis Catholici possunt iugi abiurare auctoritatem[f. 118] Papae temporalem in Reges: Respondeo quod si Haereticus aut aliquis alius cogeretur abiurare opiniones suas repugnante conscientia esset peccatum cogentibus, si hoc vel scirent vel suscipiantur neque hoc vel fit vel permittitur in ullo, quod sciam, Tribunali Catholico Pag. 23. n° 36. [ERROR: *Auctor hic habet “respondeo primo quod etc.” sed Denunciator callidè omisit verbum “primo” ne inde sciretur desiderari aliqua quae 2° respondet auctor, quibus detegitur mala mens, malusque animus Denunciatoris ut videre ets in vera versione*].

[f. 119] Loca quorundam authorum qui contra regem Angliae scribentes expresso asserunt non prohiberi Iuramentum quod vocant fidelitatis eo quod contineat civilem obedientiam sed ob alia fidei ac saluti animarum repugnantia: Cardinalis Bellarmini pag. 175. At saltem in eo Pontifex peccavit quod Iuramentum fidelitatis prohibendo, efficit, ut subditi debitam obedientiam Regi suo non exhiberent. Respondeo, si Iuramentum solus fidelitatis esset, neque aliud requireret, nisi videlicet subditi omnes, etiam Regi subditi essent, in ijs rebus omnibusque, quae contra fidem Catholicam, et obedientiam Deo, et Summo Pontifici debita non essent; nemo Iuramentum reprehenderet, neque opus fuisset brevibus Apostolicis populum Catholicum admoneri. Nam et Clemens VIII Sanctae memoriae Pontifex, et hic ipse Paulus V, eius in Apostolica Sede successor, non semel per litteras Catholicos Anglos admonerunt, ut Regi obedientiam, quae Regibus secundum Scripturas Sanctas deberunt, diligentissime exhiberent, et a tumultibus et seditionibus omnino caverent.

Sumario

Entre los que pidieron la creación de una Misión jesuita para Inglaterra, está Robert Persons, S.J., a quien se le confió la ejecución de esta tarea junto con su hermano en religión Edmund Campion, en 1580. Campion ha pasado a la historia como mártir y santo, Robert Persons como una habilísimo apologista y un gran organizador. Según algunas fuentes de la época y recientes, Persons fue también un delator. En los veinte últimos años, aproximadamente, del siglo

XVI, la actividad misionera católica se caracterizó por una estrecha colaboración entre los jesuitas y los seculares, pero la creación de un Arciprestazgo (en el año 1598), significó el comienzo de una irremediable ruptura en el seno del cuerpo misionero. A finales del siglo, los seculares reclamaron para sí la autoridad episcopal, pero esta petición no recibió aprobación alguna por parte de la Santa Sede. En 1609, el Arcipreste George Birkhead (que entretanto se había desvinculado de la necesidad de consultar con los jesuitas), envió a Roma un representante suyo, Richard Smith (al año siguiente reemplazado por Thomas More), con el fin de defender los derechos a una jerarquía episcopal en Inglaterra. Debido a que Robert Persons se había hecho enemigo de este proyecto, él habría denunciado a Richard Smith, que defendía aquella causa, ante el Santo Oficio.

La documentación conservada en los archivos de la Congregación para la Doctrina de la Fe (en otro tiempo, Santo Oficio), y en los archivos romanos de la Compañía de Jesús, nos ha permitido reconstruir los hechos relacionados con este presunto acontecimiento inquisitorial. Las fuentes no desmienten la posibilidad de que Smith fuera denunciado ante los tribunales de la Inquisición, pero a ello no se siguió proceso alguno o censura. Las mismas fuentes, por el contrario, están de acuerdo en demostrar que fue Richard Smith el que denunció el libro de Robert Persons: *The Iudgment of a Catholicke English-Man* (1608), ciertamente en dos ocasiones: una el año 1609, por medio de un poeta Anglicano recientemente convertido al catolicismo, William Alabaster, y la otra en 1611 (tras la muerte de Persons), por medio del segundo representante del Arcipreste, Thomas More. Propositiones sacadas del libro de Persons fueron sometidas al juicio de los consultores del Santo Oficio, los cuales condenaron la mayor parte de ellas. Sólo una obra de rigurosa confrontación, encargada al entonces rector del Colegio Inglés, Thomas Owen, S.J., entre los pasajes denunciados (que el delator había traducido al latín), y el original inglés, demostrará la falta de fundamento de las dos denuncias.

Sumario

Fra coloro che invocarono la creazione di una missione gesuitica per l'Inghilterra, è Robert Persons, S.J., che fu incaricato alla realizzazione di tale incarico assieme al confratello Edmund Campion, nel 1580. Campion è passato alla storia come martire e santo, Robert Persons come abilissimo controversista e grande organizzatore. Secondo alcune fonti coeve e recenti, Persons fu anche denunciante. Negli ultimi venti anni circa del secolo sedicesimo, l'attività missionaria cattolica fu caratterizzata da una stretta collaborazione tra gesuiti e secolari, ma la creazione di un arcipresbiterato nel 1598 segnò l'inizio di una irremediabile frattura all'interno del corpo missionario. Sul finire del secolo, i secolari invocarono per se stessi l'autorità episcopale, ma tale richiesta non ricevette alcuna approvazione da parte della Santa Sede. Nel 1609, l'Arciprete

George Birkhead (frattanto svincolato dalla necessità di consultarsi con i gesuiti), inviò a Roma un suo rappresentante, Richard Smith (l'anno successivo sostituito da Thomas More), allo scopo di perorare la restaurazione di una gerarchia episcopale in Inghilterra. Poiché Robert Persons era divenuto ostile a tale progetto, egli avrebbe denunciato Richard Smith, che ne impersonava la causa, presso il Sant'Uffizio. La documentazione conservata negli archivi della Congregazione per la Dottrina della Fede (già Sant' Uffizio) e nell'ARSI, ci ha consentito di ricostruire i fatti legati a tale presunta vicenda inquisitoriale. Le fonti non smentiscono la possibilità che Smith sia stato denunciato al tribunale dell'Inquisizione, ma a ciò non fece seguito alcun processo o censura. Le medesime fonti sono invece unanimi nel dimostrare che fu Richard Smith a denunciare il libro di Robert Persons, *The Iudgment of a Catholicke English-Man* (1608), in ben due occasioni: l'una nel 1609, tramite un poeta Anglicano neo-convertito al cattolicesimo, William Alabaster, e l'altra nel 1611, dopo la morte di Persons, tramite il secondo agente dell'arciprete, Thomas More. Proposizioni estratte dal libro di Persons furono sottoposte al giudizio dei consultori del Sant' Uffizio, i quali ne condannarono la maggior parte. Soltanto un'opera di meticoloso confronto, affidata all'allora rettore del Collegio Inglese Thomas Owen, S.J., tra i passaggi denunziati tradotti in Latino dal delatore, e l'originale inglese, dimostrerà l'infondatezza delle due denunce.

ESCLAVOS Y JESUITAS: EL COLEGIO DE ASUNCIÓN DEL PARAGUAY

Ignacio Telesca*

Introducción

Referirse a los jesuitas en el Paraguay es pensar inmediatamente en las célebres misiones guaraníes. Sin lugar a dudas éstas fueron una experiencia importante que desde antes de extinguirse la orden ya acaparaba la atención mundial. Artículos, ensayos, libros, simposios y jornadas internacionales se continúan llevando a cabo anualmente para que nuevas investigaciones puedan ver la luz.

Sin embargo, de la presencia de la Compañía de Jesús en el Paraguay secular muy poco o nada se ha escrito. El colegio de Asunción no ha merecido ni siquiera un artículo, lo cual no deja de ser sorprendente si tenemos en cuenta que más de 80 jesuitas nacieron en el hoy territorio paraguayo.¹

Algo similar ocurrió con las estancias que los jesuitas del colegio de Asunción poseían en Paraguari y en San Lorenzo de Campo Grande. Sólo poseemos dos trabajos de Margarita Durán. Sin embargo, el primero² tenía como razón de ser el probar que los edificios que hoy se encuentran aledaños a la Iglesia parroquial

* Ignacio Telesca, historiador, es profesor en la Universidad Católica “Nuestra Señora de la Asunción,” Asunción, Paraguay. Tiene varias obras publicadas entre las que se destaca *Documentos jesuíticos del siglo XVIII en el Archivo Nacional de Asunción* (Asunción: CEPAG, 2006). Esta investigación se hizo gracias al apoyo de Missionsprokur S.J. Nürnberg.

¹ A fines del 2006 apareció la transcripción del inventario de la biblioteca que los jesuitas poseían en Asunción, en Marisa Andrea Gorzalczany y Alejandro Olmos Gaona, *La biblioteca jesuítica de Asunción* (Buenos Aires: edición de los autores, 2006).

² Margarita Durán, *La estancia jesuítica de Paraguari* (Asunción: Universidad Católica/Fundación Paracuaria/Missionsprokur SJ de Nürnberg, 1996).

pertenecían desde hace mucho tiempo a la iglesia (ya que estaban siendo ocupados por la policía), y el segundo³ es una historia de la Municipalidad de San Lorenzo. Ambos trabajos, importantes por ser pioneros, si bien abren surcos dejan mucho terreno para seguir investigando. Al mismo tiempo, tanto Juan Bautista Rivarola Paoli⁴ como Ernesto Maeder⁵ en sendos artículos han trabajado las temporalidades jesuíticas formadas luego de la expulsión de la orden en 1767. Ambos trabajos son de carácter descriptivo, y mientras Rivarola Paoli lo hace utilizando las fuentes del Archivo Nacional de Asunción, Maeder lo realiza con la rica documentación que se encuentra en el Archivo General de la Nación. Otra diferencia entre estos dos autores es que el primero aborda al mismo tiempo las temporalidades del colegio como las de las misiones, y el segundo se concentra exclusivamente en el colegio de Asunción y sus dependencias.

Sin lugar a dudas, el trabajo de Maeder es el más rico de los realizados hasta el presente, aunque al formar parte de una obra más general sobre las temporalidades de los jesuitas de la antigua provincia del Paraguay,⁶ su aproximación se presenta más como un punto de partida que como de llegada, en especial lo referente a la contextualización dentro de la realidad del Paraguay.

Abordamos el tema de los esclavos que el colegio jesuítico de Asunción poseía porque es un punto clave para comprender como la sociedad de Paraguairí se fue conformando después de la expulsión de la orden. Si bien vamos a ver que la esclavatura jesuítica se vende casi por completo, una nueva población esclava se introduce en la zona. Señal que este tipo de población no era meramente decorativa sino funcional a un determinado sistema económico que incluso perduró con la expulsión de la Compañía de Jesús. En este trabajo sólo queremos comenzar a comprender quiénes eran estos esclavos.

³ Margarita Durán, *San Lorenzo del Campo Grande. Memoria histórica* (Asunción: Universidad Católica/Municipalidad de San Lorenzo, 1997).

⁴ Juan Bautista Rivarola Paoli, "La administración de temporalidades en la provincia del Paraguay," *Historia Paraguaya* 25 (1988) 141-255.

⁵ Ernesto Maeder, "Magnitud y destino de las Temporalidades del Paraguay," *Historia Paraguaya*, 36 (1996) 185-221.

⁶ Ernesto Maeder, *La administración y destino de las temporalidades jesuítica en el Río de la Plata*, (Madrid: Fundación Histórica Tavera, 2000), formato CD. También publicado como Ernesto Maeder, *Los bienes de los jesuitas. Destino y administración de sus temporalidades en el Río de la Plata 1767-1813* (Resistencia, Argentina: IIGHI, 2001), lo referente a las temporalidades del Paraguay entre las páginas 335-360.

Los jesuitas del Colegio de Asunción

El 29 de marzo de 1767 el rector del colegio jesuita, Antonio Gutiérrez,⁷ le compartía al jesuita Antonio Flores que “el señor gobernador [Carlos Morphy] nos muestra afecto, y con ello, aún los que menos nos quieren, no se atreven a molestarnos.”⁸ Cuatro meses más tarde, el mismo gobernador tocaría a la portería del colegio a las cuatro de la mañana junto con 100 soldados para poner en práctica el extrañamiento de los jesuitas.⁹

Si bien 1767 representó la expulsión de la Compañía de Jesús de todo el reino español, ésta no fue la primera vez que los jesuitas habían sido expulsados de Asunción. La última expulsión había ocurrido durante la segunda fase de las revueltas comuneras en 1732.¹⁰

Por esos años de las revueltas, el colegio de Asunción, además de enseñar las primeras letras (más tarde se incorporará la filosofía y la teología) tenía sus actividades pastorales en la ciudad, tanto sacramentales, como la enseñanza de la doctrina y los ejercicios espirituales. Por otro lado, la Compañía de Jesús en Asunción tenía tierras en diversos lugares como en Tacumbú, Tapuá, Frontera, San Lorenzo en Campo Grande y en Paraguarí. Algunas se utilizaban para la chacra del colegio, o se arrendaban, y otras como la de San Lorenzo y Paraguarí como lugares de estancia. Otra característica del colegio era la de poseer una población esclava importante que se dedicaba a todo tipo de tareas, fundamentalmente agrícolas y ganaderas.

Podemos tener un panorama del colegio en esa época a través de los datos que aporta la visita que realizó el padre provincial Jerónimo de Herrán el 18 de enero de 1730.

El colegio tuvo 34.255 pesos 6 reales como entradas y 20.113 pesos 6 reales de gasto, es decir, un superavit (“alcance”) de 14.142 pesos. Entre grandes y pequeños el colegio tenía 345 esclavos y en sus estancias tenía en total 16.455 cabezas de ganado.¹¹

⁷ Ver la nota final para los datos personales de cada uno de los jesuitas mencionados.

⁸ Buenos Aires, Archivo General de la Nación [=AGN] sala IX, 6.10.7, Antonio Gutiérrez a Antonio Flores, Asunción, 29 de marzo de 1767.

⁹ Para un relato de los hechos del 30 de julio de 1767, confrontar el testimonio de uno de los jesuitas presentes en dicha ocasión, Francisco Javier Iturri, en Guillermo Furlong, S.J., *Francisco Javier Iturri y su “Carta Relación”* (1797) (Buenos Aires: Librería del Plata, 1955) en especial pp. 129-41.

¹⁰ Para una historia de la Compañía de Jesús en el Paraguay, cf. Antonio Astrain, S.J., *Jesuitas, Guaraníes y Encomenderos* (Asunción: CEPAG, 1996), edición a cargo de Bartomeu Melià, S.J., de la obra aparecida en Madrid entre 1912 y 1925.

¹¹ AGN, sala IX, 6.9.6. Además, le deben al Colegio 26.456 pesos y debe el colegio 3.085 pesos 6 reales.

Teniendo en cuenta que en 1724 los jesuitas habían sido expulsados por Antequera y regresado recién el 18 de febrero de 1728, estos datos nos hablan de un colegio bien establecido. Varios de los comentarios ante los bienes de los jesuitas del visitador Matías de Anglés y Gortari, si bien teñidos de una visión crítica, no están lejos de la realidad. Por ejemplo, al tratar el tema de los esclavos afirma que “Los referidos padres de dicho colegio tienen tan excesivo número de Negros Esclavos y Negras, así en la estancia como en la ranchería del colegio, que sólo ellos y ellas bastan para mantener cuatro colegios con lo que trabajan, y tengo por cierto que a cada padre de los que hay en dicho colegio, le corresponderá a lo menos cincuenta esclavos.” No está muy lejos, ya que había siete jesuitas y 345 esclavos.¹²

Sin embargo, los jesuitas fueron una vez más expulsados en 1732, regresando tres años más tarde. Si bien, para regresar a la ciudad los jesuitas habían exigido que se confeccione un auto en donde constase que todo lo que se obró contra la Compañía fue un sacrilegio, “y que como tal se queme y borre del todo,”¹³ el provincial Jaime Aguilar le recomendaba al nuevo rector “que los nuestros hablen con mucha moderación con los externos, acerca de los disturbios y sus consecuencias en estas provincias.”¹⁴ También el provincial aconsejaba vender tierras que no se necesiten, no comerciar con bienes de terceros, ni siquiera tener en la casa hacienda alguna de seculares. Por otro lado, hacía hincapié en “entablar con fervor y eficacia los Ejercicios de Nuestro Santo Padre, dándolos a hombres y mujeres, y a los señores clérigos aparte.”

Tres, entonces, serán a partir del regreso de 1735 los pilares en donde se edificará la estructura jesuítica: por un lado el colegio, que desde la década del 40 irá incorporando las cátedras de Filosofía (se comenzó a dictar en 1739) y Teología; por otro las actividades pastorales, y fundamentalmente los ejercicios espirituales, y finalmente las actividades económicas. En el colegio funcionaban dos procuradurías, una que atendía a las misiones jesuíticas y la otra específicamente del colegio.

Estas últimas actividades iban en aumento con la estabilidad de los años pos-comuneros. Para 1753 el número de cabezas de ganado ya superaban los 40.000 y el número de esclavos llegaba a 636, de los cuales 380 se encontraban en la estancia de Paraguari y 256 en la chacra de San Lorenzo y en la ranchería del Colegio en Asunción.¹⁵

¹² Mathias Anglés y Gortari, *Los jesuitas en el Paraguay* (Asunción: Uribe, 1896) sobre la edición de 1769, y el original es de 1731. La cita es de la p. 97. Anglés y Gortari trae descripciones ajustadas, aunque siempre acompañadas de sus juicios críticos.

¹³ AGN, Biblioteca Nacional, legajo 69, Libro de Consultas desde 1731 hasta 1747. La cita es de la foja 40°.

¹⁴ AGN, sal IX, 6.9.7 “Memorial del Padre Provincial Jaime Aguilar,” 26 de octubre de 1735.

¹⁵ AGN, sala IX, 6.10.1.

De hecho, Magnus Mörner cita al padre San Martín diciendo que el colegio de Asunción era el más rico de la provincia jesuítica del Paraguay, al punto que en 1749 dio 4.000 pesos como limosna al colegio de Córdoba que estaba endeudado.¹⁶

Los jesuitas tenían un trabajo especial con su población esclava. No sólo en el colegio de Asunción sino en general en toda la provincia del Paraguay.¹⁷

El primer punto del memorial del padre provincial Antonio Machoni para el padre rector del colegio en la visita del 11 de julio de 1740 se refiere al tema de los esclavos:

A los esclavos del colegio se les concederá según el estilo antiguo de este colegio el día sábado, y se les dará también bueyes, para que hagan para sí chacras y con las legumbres, raíces de mandioca y batatas que cogieran en ellas puedan tener competente alimento, aunque por ahora no se les aumente la porción de la carne, por tener la estancia todavía pocas vacas. Velará justamente el padre procurador si los negros ocupan el dicho día en hacer las chacras competentes a su necesidad, y se hallara algunos flojos, u omisos en este punto, no los dejará sin castigo merecido.¹⁸

Cinco años más tarde, parece que la estancia de Paraguari ya comenzó a tener vacas suficientes, porque en la siguiente visita de 1745, el padre provincial Bernardo Nusdorffer ya le invita al rector del colegio a darle “cuatro veces a la semana carne a los esclavos.”¹⁹ Este plus de vacas es también reconocido en 1749 una vez más cuando se afirma que “ya que Nuestro Señor se ha servido dar a este colegio tantas vacas, de aquí adelante los sábados se dará a nuestros esclavos ración entera, y así en este día se matarán dos reses, con esto para el domingo no les faltará comida, y procúrese que la ración de carne se de proporcionada a las familias.”²⁰

En la misma visita, al llegar a la estancia de Paraguari, con una fuerte

¹⁶ Magnus Mörner, *Actividades políticas y económicas de los jesuitas en el Río de la Plata* (Buenos Aires: Hyspamérica, 1985), la edición inglesa es de 1953, pero la edición castellana incluye un apéndice sobre el siglo XVIII. La cita es de la página 127. San Martín incluso dice: “esta abundancia tan grande la atribuyo a las continuas limosnas que hacemos en esta tierra que nos quieren como el dolor de tripas.”

¹⁷ Jorge Troisi Melean, “Los esclavos de los jesuitas en los Memoriales de la provincia del Paraguay (Siglo XVIII),” *Annuario del CEH*, n° 4, año 4, Córdoba (2004).

¹⁸ AGN, sala IX, 6.9.7, “Memorial del padre provincial Antonio Machioni,” 11 de julio 1740.

¹⁹ AGN, sala IX, 6.9.7, “Memorial del padre provincial Bernardo Nusdorffer,” 6 de marzo de 1745.

²⁰ AGN, sala IX, 6.10.1, “Memorial del padre provincial Manuel Querini,” 1 de octubre de 1749.

población esclava, el provincial no se queda sólo en lo económico para incursionar en lo espiritual y moral. Primeramente encarga al estanciero que los martes y viernes al toque de campana se reúnan todos en la iglesia, “y estando juntos irá el padre cura a explicarles alguna parte de la doctrina después de haber preguntado a algunos sobre la misma materia.” Por otro lado le solicita hacer las habitaciones para los esclavos, para evitar los “desórdenes, que hay en nuestra gente cuando viven en ranchos no cercados, y retirados de nuestra casa.”²¹

Efectivamente, el aspecto moral es una constante en el trato con los esclavos, al punto que habiendo una mayor cantidad de esclavos varones en el colegio de Corrientes, el provincial le ordenó al rector de dicho colegio vender esclavos y comprar esclavas para que se casen con los solteros, además de no dar permiso para que se casen con libres.²²

Aunque esto último pueda también interpretarse desde un punto de vista más económico, en el interés jesuítico de no perder mano de obra esclava, es claro que desde las órdenes del visitador Andrés de Rada de 1663 se ve más un interés moral y una responsabilidad jesuítica de cara a la salvación de los mismos esclavos.

Los jesuitas de la Provincia del Paraguay, al igual que el resto de sus hermanos a través del continente, tenían un ministerio especial respecto a los esclavos. Incluso varios aprendieron la lengua Angola para poder comunicarse con ellos al venir de África.²³

Ya vimos como en Paraguari se prestaba especial atención a la doctrina dada a los esclavos y en Asunción sabemos, por los memoriales, que existían cofradías de negros.²⁴

Sin embargo, el trabajo de los jesuitas con la población afrodescendiente no

²¹ AGN, sala IX, 6.10.1, “Memorial del padre provincial Manuel Querini para el estanciero de Paraguari,” 15 de octubre de 1749.

²² AGN, Biblioteca Nacional, legajo 69, Libro de Consultas desde 1731 hasta 1747.

²³ Jean Pierre Tardieu, “Los inicios del ‘ministerio de negros’ en la provincia jesuítica del Paraguay,” *Anuario de Estudios Americanos*, 62/1 (2005) 141-60. Respecto a las instrucciones de los padres generales a los del Paraguay sobre esta temática, ver Martín María Morales, S.J., ed., *A mis manos han llegado. Cartas de los PP. Generales a la Antigua Provincia del Paraguay (1608-1639)* (Madrid/Roma: Universidad Comillas/Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 2005) MHSI, n.s. 1.

²⁴ Al final de cada Memorial, el padre provincial escribía la lista de oficios, es decir, a qué ministerio y qué actividad tendría cada uno de los miembros del colegio, y entre ellos figura el de ‘prefecto de las cofradías de indios y de negros’. Por otro lado, en el Archivo Nacional de Asunción [=ANA] se encuentra documentación sobre la existencia de una cofradía de negros que funcionaba en la iglesia de San Blas desde alrededor de 1650, ANA, Sección Historia [=SH], 439.9.

se restringía exclusivamente a sus esclavos, sino que también iba dirigida a los pardos de Asunción, que no eran pocos.²⁵

En el Archivo General de la Nación en Buenos Aires, se conservan dos cartas anuas escritas por el padre rector del colegio de Asunción, Antonio Miranda, correspondientes al período 1758-1765.²⁶ A través de ellas podemos apreciar como los jesuitas del colegio, además del trabajo en su propia iglesia realizaban ministerios apostólicos tanto en la iglesia de la Encarnación como en la de San Blas, esta última destinada a los naturales y pardos de la ciudad. Más llamativo, incluso, es el hecho que en todos estos años entre los que recibían los ejercicios espirituales de San Ignacio se encontraban tanto esclavos como pardos libres. Por ejemplo en 1761 de las 156 mujeres que hicieron los ejercicios espirituales, 42 eran criadas; en 1763 “los españoles y españolas, mulatos y mulatas, y entre todos fueron 328 personas los que los hicieron, y todos, a lo que se pudo colegir, con mucho fruto.”

Si bien no hemos encontrado aún suficiente información sobre las actividades realizadas por esclavos de los jesuitas en Asunción, podemos vislumbrar por los datos que, además de las actividades domésticas y oficios varios, se dedicaban a la agricultura. Incluso vimos que tenían destinado un tiempo para su propia chacra. Lo producido en la chacra, no sólo servía para alimentar a la familia del esclavo sino que también era utilizado para mejorar su calidad de vida, y cuando los jesuitas fueron expulsados, para comprar su libertad.²⁷

Las siguientes citas nos muestran, al menos, a un grupo de esclavos que podían adquirir ciertos bienes, incluso más allá de la provincia. Contaban para eso con la ayuda de sus amos, los jesuitas, que les permitían enviar y recibir en sus barcos sin necesidad de pagar alcabalas.

²⁵ Si bien no tenemos datos sobre la población de Asunción de estos años, sí los tenemos para 1782 en donde sabemos que el 54,7% de la población de la capital era negra o mulata. Para 1799 este porcentaje aunque baja al 42,6 % se mantiene igualmente alto (Ignacio Teleska, “La población parda en Asunción a fines de la colonia,” *Estudios Paraguayos* 22 y 23 n°s 1-2 (2005). Para un estudio de las relaciones interétnicas en el Paraguay, ver Ignacio Teleska, ““Los que olvidando su calidad.” Relaciones interétnicas en el Paraguay tardo-colonial,” en Primeras Jornadas Nacionales de Historia Social, La Falda-Córdoba, 2007, formato CD.

²⁶ AGN, Biblioteca Nacional, legajo 362, manuscritos: 6337 “Annuas del Colegio de Paraguay desde 1 de abril de 1758, en que se formaron y despacharon las últimas hasta 1 de enero de 1763”; y 6338 “Annuas del Colegio de Paraguay día 31 de diciembre de 1762 hasta 31 de octubre de 1765.”

²⁷ AGN, sala IX, 5.3.7, Carta de Salvador Cabañas y Marcos Salinas a Bucareli, 10 de mayo de 1770, en donde afirman que de los esclavos de los jesuitas “algunos se han libertado, en las almonedas hechas, haciendo oblación de su tasación.”

El 20 de agosto de 1760, el padre Gabriel Novat, que es el procurador para los pueblos de las misiones, le escribe desde Asunción, a su hermano Miguel Martínez, que atendía la procuraduría en Buenos Aires, y entre otros negocios comenta que un esclavo envió “un sobornalito con 4 arrobas y 21 libras y de cuyo producto (sacado el costo de conducción) quiere el pobre dos varas y media de paño azul para calzones y chupita y si sobrara algo, empléese al pobre en coleta para forro.”²⁸

Y éste no es el único caso, sino que en enero del siguiente año un esclavo envía un sobornal de tabaco, de hoja nueva y fresca, “con cuyo producto se compre una vara y cuarto de bayeta azul de 100 hilos, una vara de tafetán rosado y 2 onzas de seda azul (eso es para manta de su mujer),”²⁹ y en marzo envía “3 tercios de yerba de un esclavo (22 @ 11 libras) por algunas cosas para su mujer e hijas.”³⁰

Lo importante es notar que lo pedido se traía y los esclavos, al decir del padre Novat, se ponían “locos de contentos, viéndose con tantas cosas por su poco de tabaco.”³¹

De más está decir que la buena experiencia surtió efecto y ya en agosto el padre Novat le envía a Buenos Aires la hacienda del colegio y “de las seis petacas de tabaco, la mitad es de cuatro pobres esclavos de casa. Como han sabido lo bien que le fue, al que envió su séquito y lo mucho que por él le remitió mi Hermano . . .”³²

Más allá de lo anecdótico, lo importante de estas citas es poner en evidencia primeramente la capacidad económica de algunos esclavos del colegio (no podemos saber cuan representativos eran estos esclavos del resto de sus compañeros de destino). Vemos que no sólo comercian con tabaco, que uno puede intuir que es fruto de su chacra, sino también con yerba, producto que tuvieron que adquirir previamente. También es importante notar lo que piden, fundamentalmente telas para sus vestidos.

²⁸ AGN, sala IX, 6.10.4, de Gabriel Novat a Manuel Martínez, Asunción, 20 de agosto de 1760.

²⁹ AGN, sala IX, 6.10.5, de Novat a Martínez, 6 de enero de 1761.

³⁰ AGN, sala IX, 6.10.5, de Novat a Martínez, 4 de marzo de 1761.

³¹ AGN, sala IX, 6.10.5, de Novat a Martínez, 19 de febrero de 1762 y 21 de julio de 1762.

³² AGN, sala IX, 6.10.5, de Novat a Martínez, 22 de agosto de 1762. Ya en 1763, “Otro dos esclavos me vinieron a rogar que les cuidase de su pobreza que les lleva nuestro barco con el distintivo de la marca duplicada,” en AGN, sala IX, 6.10.6, de Novat a Martínez, 18 de febrero de 1763. Aunque el fruto de su sudor también estaba expuesto a las inclemencias del tiempo, y de los hundimientos de los barcos: en 1762 el barco en que iban los petacones de los esclavos, se hundió.

Visto esto, no es complicado comprender porque los miembros del Cabildo de Asunción en 1757 se quejaban ante el gobernador que “los negros, negras, mulatos y mulatas visten sedas y en sus vestuarios galones de plata y oro y los mulatos usan espuelas y cabezadas de plata y que por esta causa no hay excepción de los españoles y señores en los actos públicos,” resolviendo por esta causa “que sólo se les permita a los dichos negros, negras, mulatos y mulatas que vistan ropa de lana de castilla decentemente sin cintas y galones de plata y oro, ni que se les permita usen espuelas ni cabezadas de plata, sobre lo cual dicho señor gobernador dijo que mandaría por bando para su observancia.
... „³³

Al mismo tiempo, no deja de llamar la atención la “complicidad” que existe con los mismos jesuitas. No sólo porque el padre Novat podría llegar a ser una persona cercana a ellos³⁴ sino que mismo desde Buenos Aires se despachaban los pedidos como algo normal. De hecho, cuando esto no ocurría, el padre Novat insistía y reclamaba que se le envíe lo solicitado por los esclavos.

Esta amistad o cercanía, también se ve reflejada en una serie de cartas que le envían esclavos del colegio de Asunción a un antiguo miembro jesuita del mismo, al padre Antonio Flores. Salvo la carta de Joaquín Zavala en que le solicita “dos navajas barcelonesas de afeitar, y con el resto, piezas de breñaña,” las demás son para enviarles saludos.³⁵

También se enviaban esclavos para vender o pedidos para comprar. Por ejemplo en 1762 se enviaron tres esclavos para vender, a 250 pesos cada uno, no se dicen las razones de tal venta. Ese mismo año el cura de Caazapá le solicita al padre Novat que le compre un esclavo que sea buen albañil. El pedido se traslada a Buenos Aires y en menos de medio año el esclavo ya estaba en Caazapá (aunque los 350 pesos que costó tardaron más de dos años en llegar a Asunción).³⁶

En la estancia de Paraguarí, la población esclava se dedicaba fundamentalmente al ganado y sus derivados, agregando que las mujeres se dedicaban a la hilanza Ambos, varones y mujeres, también mantenían sus chacras y el cultivo de la caña dulce.

³³ ANA, SH, vol. 125-1, f. 273. Acta del Cabildo del 3 de marzo de 1757.

³⁴ Aunque Novat se dedicaba a atender las necesidades de las misiones de guaraníes, sin embargo vivía en el mismo colegio.

³⁵ AGN, sala IX, 6.10.7, por ejemplo la de Blas Ignacio de la Compañía de Jesús a Antonio Flores, 30 de marzo de 1767; de Joaquín Zavala a Antonio Flores, 30 de marzo de 1767.

³⁶ AGN, sala IX, 6.10.5.

La expulsión de los jesuitas y el futuro de sus esclavos

A las ocho de la mañana del veintisiete de julio de 1767, el entonces gobernador de la provincia del Paraguay, Carlos Morphy, recibía de manos del teniente de dragones, Juan José Moreno, una carta del gobernador del Río de la Plata, Francisco Bucarali, y un sobre cerrado. La carta le informaba que dicho sobre debía ser abierto en presencia de Salvador Cabañas y Marcos Salinas, “tomándoles antes juramento de que han de guardar secreto.”

Como Cabañas estaba fuera de la ciudad, recién se pudo dar apertura al sobre a las seis de la tarde. El sobre traía una carta del mismo Bucareli fechada en Buenos Aires el 19 de junio de ese año acompañada por el Real Decreto referente a la expulsión de los jesuitas de los dominios del rey de España y el respectivo secuestro de todos sus bienes.

Los siguientes dos días lo pasó el gobernador preparando la manera de ejecutar lo ordenado. Finalmente el 30 de julio a las 4 de la madrugada entró al colegio y los jesuitas entregaron todas las llaves de las dependencias. Para las siete de la mañana se “dio fin a la empresa.”³⁷

Los encargados de realizar los inventarios y al mismo tiempo de su administración fueron Salvador Cabañas y Marcos Salinas quienes, como las temporalidades eran muchas y a gran distancia, se repartieron la tarea. Salinas se encargó del colegio y las tierras de Asunción y sus alrededores y Cabañas de las estancias de Paraguarí y San Lorenzo.

El inventario se realizaba conjuntamente con miembros del cabildo de Asunción: el alcalde ordinario de primer voto, Antonio Caballero, acompañó a Salinas, y el de segundo voto, Sebastián Montiel a Cabañas. Éstos también se valieron de los hermanos jesuitas, Cosme Gutiérrez y Miguel Ponce de León, para que les vayan indicando y mostrando todos los bienes que dejaban.

A partir de este momento, las acusaciones comenzaron a ser moneda corriente. Si alguien quería desmerecer a otra persona bastaba con que se lo acusase de ser parcial y amigo de los expulsos jesuitas. Seguramente, la disputa más ardua fue la que se entabló entre Salvador Cabañas y Ampuero y Fulgencio Yegros y Ledesma, que ya tenía su historia. Por ejemplo, en una carta a Bucareli, el 26 de septiembre de 1767, Yegros acusa a Cabañas de recibir favores de los jesuitas, quienes lo odiaban a él por haber siempre actuado en su contra. Lo acusa a Cabañas de *codicia familiar* respecto al secuestro; además el alcalde de primer voto, Don Antonio Caballero, era primo, sobrino y compadre de Cabañas. Acusa que se quemaron papeles, que los jesuitas tuvieron mucha libertad porque los esclavos entraban y salían cargados de caudales y alhajas. Se

³⁷ AGN, sala IX, 22.9.1, “Órdenes dadas al Gobernador.”

inventarió menos de lo que había. Luego sigue un informe de las corruptelas. La acusación mayor era que se contó menos de lo que había, veintiún mil cabezas cuando en realidad había veinticuatro mil, y tres mil cabezas a 4 pesos, calculaba el ex gobernador Yegros, suman doce mil pesos. A lo que hay que sumar 500 arrobas de yerba, más dos carretones cerrados que dijo ser del donado don Antonio Montiel, hermano del alcalde, más otra carreta con sebo, grasa, trigo y arroz; siete mil velas de sebo; 8 arrobas de jabón, 23 panes (57 arrobas) de azúcar; 12 mulas aguillillas; 60 bueyes aradores; 1 caballo castaño; 1 caballo rosillo; un barril de vinagre, etc.³⁸ Lo que sí parece que contaron bien fue el número de esclavos, al menos no hay acusación respecto a ese punto.

Tampoco al interior de los jesuitas las cosas estaban muy claras. El padre Francisco Javier Iturri también acusa a los padres Alonso Hernández y al asunceno Juan José Lacoizqueta y al hermano Miguel Ponce de procurar evitar la expulsión para permanecer en el Paraguay.³⁹ Este último hermano estuvo involucrado en varias acusaciones. Se decía que había hecho la vista gorda a las cuentas de Cabañas a cambio de permanecer en la provincia. De hecho, Salvador Cabañas le pide a Bucareli que le permita al hermano Ponce quedarse como administrador de la estancia.⁴⁰

Los documentos sobre las temporalidades del colegio de Asunción se encuentran en el Archivo General de la Nación en Buenos Aires y ocupan, al menos, cinco gruesos legajos en la sala IX: 22.8.1, 22.8.2, 22.8.4, 22.8.5 y 22.9.1. Muchos de estos expedientes se refieren al juicio que se le llevó a Salvador Cabañas por mala administración de las temporalidades. Para beneficio de los historiadores, este juicio trae varias rendiciones de cuenta, por lo que se puede seguir el proceso administrativo de las temporalidades.

Respecto a los esclavos, sabemos que en 1767 fueron inventariados en el colegio 388 esclavos, en la estancia de Paraguarí 530 y 84 en la estancia de San Lorenzo. En total, el número de esclavos alcanzaba a 1.002. En una nota que trae Mörner en su obra, cita una relación que le escribe Iturri a José Cardiel en donde afirma que en 1767 el colegio tenía 975 esclavos.⁴¹ En suma, los números coinciden.

No tenemos una relación de la población del Paraguay discriminada étnicamente para estos años, la de 1761 del obispo Manuel Antonio de la Torre

³⁸ AGN, sala IX, 5.3.7, de Yegros a Bucarali, 26 de septiembre de 1767.

³⁹ Furlong, *Francisco Javier Iturri*, p. 133.

⁴⁰ AGN, sala IX, 5.3.7, de Cabañas a Bucareli, 18 de agosto de 1767. Bucareli le responde dos meses más tarde que no puede condescender a lo del Hermano Ponce.

⁴¹ Mörner, *Actividades*, p. 226.

trae números generales. Sin embargo, si tomamos los datos del censo de 1782, quince años más tarde de la expulsión, la población esclava de los jesuitas representaría más del 25% del total de los esclavos del Paraguay y el 10% de la población parda (esclava y libre). Si a los esclavos de los jesuitas, les sumamos los más de 500 que tenían los mercedarios en su estancia de Areguá, más los de los dominicos, podemos afirmar sin temor a equivocarnos que más del 50% de los esclavos del Paraguay pertenecían a órdenes religiosas.⁴² Estos datos nos dan nuevas pistas para comprender, primeramente, como llegaron los esclavos al Paraguay y, en segundo lugar, porque hubo tantas manumisiones.

Veamos ahora el proceso de la administración de los esclavos por los nuevos administradores.

Esclavos en la estancia de Paraguari

| | | |
|------------------------|---------------------------------------|--|
| 1/8/1767- 31/5/1771 | 519 fueron inventariados | |
| | Más 5 que estaban en Asunción | Menos 188 enviados para ser vendidos en Buenos Aires y en Asunción |
| | Más 6 que estaban ocultos | Menos 18 adultos muertos después del inventario hasta la tasación |
| | Más 12 nacidos hasta la tasación | Menos 9 párvulos muertos desde el inventario hasta la tasación |
| | Más 89 nacidos después de la tasación | Menos 40 párvulos muertos desde la tasación |
| Total | 631 | 255 |
| Quedan 376 esclavos | | |

Estos 376 esclavos, sumados a los 19 que prevenían de Paraguari, fueron vendidos en los siguientes cuatro años.

| Período | Había | Nacieron | | | Total |
|---------------------|-------|----------|----------|----------|-------|
| | | | murieron | almoneda | |
| En 1/6/1771 | 395 | | | | 395 |
| 1/6/1771-12/1/1772 | 395 | 13 | 5 | | 403 |
| 12/1/1772-16/1/1773 | 403 | 22 | 14 | 77 | 334 |
| 16/1/1773-18/1/1774 | 334 | 13 | 7 | 181 | 159 |

⁴² Para el censo de 1782, Juan Francisco Aguirre, "Diario del Capitán de Fragata Juan Francisco Aguirre [1793-1798]," *Revista de la Biblioteca Nacional*, 17-19, n°s: 45-48 (1949-1951). Para Areguá, Margarita Durán, *Areguá. Rescate histórico, 1576-1870* (Asunción: FONDEC, 2005). Respecto a los franciscanos sabemos que existía una ranchería de esclavos en el convento de Asunción, pero no tenemos por ahora más datos.

| | | | | | |
|---------------------|-----|---|---|----|----|
| 18/1/1774-14/1/1775 | 159 | 4 | 1 | 94 | 68 |
| 14/1/1775-20/9/1775 | 68 | 1 | 1 | 68 | 0 |

Esclavos en el colegio de Asunción

| | |
|--|------------|
| Inventariados | 388 |
| Nacidos en 1767 | 4 |
| Nacidos en 1768 | 21 |
| Nacidos en 1769 | 20 |
| Nacidos en 1770 | 17 |
| Nacidos en 1771 | 10 |
| Nacidos en Paraguari pertenecientes al colegio | 6 |
| Total | 466 |

| | | | | |
|-------------------|---------|-----------|----------|------------|
| Total de esclavos | Muertos | Remitidos | Vendidos | Existentes |
| 466 | 62 | 4 | 353 | 47 |

Esclavos en la estancia San Lorenzo⁴³

| | | |
|---------------------------|--|----------------------------------|
| 1/8/1767- 25/5/1770 | 73 fueron inventariados | |
| | Más 5 que se agregan al momento de la tasación | Menos 20 enviados a Buenos Aires |
| | Más 6 que no se tuvieron en cuenta | Menos 50 vendidos en Asunción |
| Total | 84 | 70 |
| Quedan 14 esclavos | | |

Podemos completar estos cuadros con la división entre sexos y edades. Maeder para los datos que pudo recabar de Paraguari presenta la siguiente tabla:⁴⁴

| | Varones | Mujeres | Total |
|----------------|------------|------------|------------|
| Menores de 14 | 126 | 134 | 260 |
| Entre 14 y 50 | 88 | 117 | 205 |
| Mayores de 50 | 10 | 7 | 17 |
| Totales | 224 | 258 | 482 |

Siguiendo el mismo esquema, podemos confeccionar la tabla para los esclavos de Asunción:⁴⁵

⁴³ Posiblemente la diferencia con los 19 se deba a nacimientos ocurridos en ese año o esclavos que fueron apareciendo.

⁴⁴ Maeder, "Magnitud y destino," 200.

⁴⁵ AGN, sala IX, 22.9.1.

| | Varones | Mujeres | Total |
|--|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| Menores de 14 [Entre paréntesis va el número de nacidos después del inventario.] | 119 (40) | 137 (38) | 256 (78) |
| Entre 14 y 50 | 85 | 98 | 183 |
| Mayores de 50 | 10 | 17 | 27 |
| Totales | 214 | 252 | 466 |

Como podemos ver en ambos cuadros las relaciones entre sexos y edades son similares: porcentaje mayor de mujeres sobre varones y la franja etaria más numerosa es la que va hasta los 14 años. Comparando con el censo de 1782 de todo el Paraguay, vemos que la preponderancia femenina también existe (el 54,7% de la población adulta esclava es femenina en 1782, y 55,3% de los esclavos adultos de los jesuitas). Respecto a la edad, el censo de 1782 divide entre párvulos y adultos, por lo que no se sabe bien hasta qué edad llega la categoría de “párvulo.” Sin embargo tenemos la misma división para el censo de 1799.⁴⁶ Ahí la población mayor de 15 años representa el 58,2% mientras que para los esclavos de los jesuitas representaba el 45,6%.

Para Asunción podemos contabilizar, con cierto margen de error,⁴⁷ el número de familias, que es de 89. Obtendríamos una composición familiar de alrededor cinco personas (5,2).

Lo que también podemos saber es que de los 78 esclavos que nacieron después del inventario, 42 habían fallecido para fines de 1771: es decir, el 53,8%.⁴⁸ No tenemos manera de saber si el índice de mortalidad es alto o el normal para esos años en Paraguay.

Reacción de los esclavos

El problema de trabajar con tantos números es que se corre el riesgo de olvidarse de quienes están atrás de esos mismos números, de las personas concretas. Olvido que se acentúa cuando se trabaja con esclavos ya que, de hecho, no eran más que considerados como una “alhaja” por sus dueños.

⁴⁶ Para los datos de 1799, Ernesto Maeder, “La población en el Paraguay en 1799. El censo del gobernado Lázaro de Ribera,” *Estudios Paraguayos*, 3, n° 1 (1975) 63-86.

⁴⁷ El que realizó el inventario lo hizo en base a las familias, y comenzaba por el varón-padre, su esposa y los hijos. Sin embargo, tenemos personas viudas, solteras y niños a veces sin filiación. Pensamos, a la hora de contabilizar, que vivían dentro de otro núcleo familiar. Tampoco sabemos si eran familias separadas o algunas de ellas formaban un solo hogar, el hecho de no contar con apellidos dificulta esta constatación.

⁴⁸ Si tenemos en cuenta que desde que se realizó el inventario hasta fines de 1771 fallecieron 62 personas (el 13,3% del total), este número de niños y niñas fallecidos representa el 67,7% de todos los fallecidos.

Sin embargo, para los esclavos que pertenecían a la Compañía de Jesús del colegio de Asunción el cambio de amos no pasó desapercibido ni les resultó indiferente.

El padre Iturri narra como, después de ponerlos presos a ellos, Salvador Cabañas se dirigió a la ranchería de los esclavos y “les dijo en tono muy desentonado: ‘Ya no sois de los Padres; ya estáis a mi mando; nadie salga afuera so pena de grave castigo . . .’” a lo cual los esclavos “levantaron el grito,” al punto que tuvo que llegar el maestre de campo, don Lorenzo Recalde, a poner orden echando a Cabañas del lugar.⁴⁹

Sin embargo, no fue ésta la reacción más importante de los esclavos, sino la revuelta que llevaron a cabo algunos de los esclavos de Paraguari y San Lorenzo.

En carta al gobernador Bucareli del 30 de octubre de 1768,⁵⁰ Cabañas y Salinas se quejan que la mayor parte del caudal de las estancias se gasta

en la manutención y vestir el crecido número de esclavos, no pudiendo reducir gran parte de estos a trabajos que igualmente cubra los gastos que causan, así en los alimentos como en los utensilios que se les suministran en sus enfermedades y salario del médico que los asiste, por su altanería, desidia y vicios, reinando en muchos de ellos el de la embriaguez en el que les acompañan sus mujeres. Y después de la tasación que de ellos se ha hecho con más exceso han hecho manifiesta su altivez y malignidad que ha llegado a términos de decir se pasarán a los infieles antes que dejarse vender, negando la obediencia a los capataces y, lo que es más aún, a nosotros mismos. De forma que queriendo escarmentar a uno que hacía cabeza por estos y otros excesos, hizo fuga y la siguiente noche, sin motivo le siguieron ocho, habiendo hecho lo mismo antes cinco, teniendo al presente uno preso en la cárcel por incorregible y atrevido, sin que medio alguno bastase para sujetarlos y contenerlos bajo de la justa subordinación y obediencia.

Ante esta situación, los encargados de las temporalidades proponen el remedio adecuado:

convendría que los más nocivos con sus familias se llevasen para esas provincias, con la custodia correspondiente para su seguridad, que recelamos prudentemente que en adelante se corrompan los medianamente buenos, y esta demostración tal vez sirva para contener los otros. Porque de venderse en esta provincia, como quedan dentro de ella, serán perniciosos y dañosos con sus malas influencias con los demás y en las estancias como prácticos

⁴⁹ Furlong, *Francisco Javier Iturri*, p. 138.

⁵⁰ AGN, sala IX, 5.3.7, de Salinas y Cabañas a Bucareli, 30 de octubre de 1768.

con los mismos de su clase en la extracción de ganado, que será mayor el perjuicio del que experimentamos porque tenemos reconocido extraer mucho los mismo negros y algunos españoles vagamundos, que se mantienen del robo, con el motivo de estar dichas estancias circundada de los valles más poblados.

El gobernador les da luz verde,⁵¹ y se ponen a trabajar en la tarea. Para principios de junio del siguiente año ya tienen todo listo para ser enviado a Buenos Aires. Confeccionan la lista de los esclavos con sus familias, aclarando las características particulares de los cabeza de familia. En total salieron 80 personas aunque uno falleció. Fueron los adultos aseguradas con doce pares de grillos acollarados de dos en dos.⁵²

De estos 80, 56 eran de Paraguari, 20 de San Lorenzo y el resto de Asunción. Llama la atención que 3 de los varones eran músicos, un violinista, un arpero y un violinista y ejecutante de la chirimía, este último del colegio de Asunción y los dos primeros de Paraguari. No es difícil imaginar a estos músicos como llevando a cabo una resistencia, aunque no organizada, frente a los nuevos amos. A los administradores no creo que le interesaran los servicios musicales, ni a los esclavos músicos cambiar de rol. De hecho, Cabañas le narra a Bucareli todo lo que tuvo que hacer para no generar una revuelta general de los esclavos, “negros malévolos” al decir de Cabañas.⁵³

⁵¹ AGN, sala IX, 5.3.7, de Bucareli a Salinas y Cabañas, 6 de diciembre de 1768.

⁵² Baltasar, borracho, atrevido y soberbio (oficial de albañil, músico violinista), Agustina, su mujer; Marcelo, desobediente y sectario, María Xaviera, su mujer; Cornelio, soberbio y desobediente, María Gabriela su mujer, María de la Encarnación, hija; Servano, borracho, ladrón, soberbio, huidor, María Isidora, su mujer, Gabriela, hija, Vicente, hijo, Juan Manuel, hijo, Nolberto, hijo, Pedro Nolasco, hijo, Rafaela, hija; Gregorio, huidor, ladrón y soberbio, Melchora, su mujer, Lucas, hijo; Alejandro, desobediente, soberbio y ladrón, Rosa, su mujer, Juana Benedicta, hija, Ramona, hija, Dámaso, hijo; Agustín, huidor, soberbio y ladrón; María Gabriela, su mujer; Ignacio José, altivo y atrevido, María Francisca, su mujer; Pedro, huidor, soberbio y ladrón, María, su mujer; Matías, huidor y ladrón, Hermenegilda, su mujer, María Magdalena, hija, Manuel, hijo, Félix, hijo, Juan Evangelista, hijo; José Pascual, borracho y sectario, Antonia, su mujer; Pedro Pablo, soltero, ladrón y huidor; Miguel, soltero, ladrón y huidor; Eleuterio, borracho y sectario, Damiana, su mujer, Clara, hija, María Martina, hija, Jacinta, hija; Narciso, soberbio y sectario, Lorenza, su mujer, Petrona, hija, María Lorenza, hija, Juana Bautista, hija; Silvestre, soberbio y atrevido, Tomasa, su mujer; Julián, borracho, ladrón y huidor, María de la Cruz, su mujer, Sepriana, hija, Tomás, hijo, Fermín, hijo, Regalado, hijo; Bonifacio, borracho, ladrón y huidor (Maestro de música, arpero), Josefa, su mujer; Benito, altivo y desobediente, Simona, su mujer, Paula, hija, Patricio, hijo, Pascual Baylon, †; Paulino, borracho, sectario, altivo y atrevido (Oficial de albañil, músico violinista y chirimitero), Úrsula, su mujer; José Andrés, hijo, María Juana, hija; Blas, borracho y ladrón, María Gervasia, su mujer, Lorenza, hija, Antonio, hijo, Francisco Xavier, hijo; Xavier Borja, huidor, soberbio y ladrón, Juana, su mujer, Luisa, hija, María Ignacia, hija, María de los Reyes, hija (queda por enfermiza); Manuel, soltero, ladrón y huidor

⁵³ AGN, sala IX, 5.3.7, de Cabañas a Bucareli, 8 de junio de 1769.

No tenemos información, aún, de lo que aconteció con los esclavos remitidos a Buenos Aires, se sabe que llegaron ya para el 31 de agosto, juntamente con más de mil arrobas de yerba y tabaco. Sin embargo, de acuerdo a las cartas que se conservan, parece que los esclavos ya preferían hacer el viaje hacia el sur que permanecer en Paraguay. Salvador Cabañas vuelve a escribirle a Bucareli antes de salir el barco⁵⁴ comentándole que

me incliné con mi compañero a dejar unas tres familias siendo una de ella la que va anotada en la lista, y queriendo separarlas, se mostraron tan indignados de esta conmisericordia que siguiendo la opinión luciferina de sus primeros criadores, la despreciaron respondiendo que no se querían quedar, mas antes sí proseguir sus destinos y con mayor influjo uno de ellos llamado Paulino [de Asunción, ejecutante de la chirimía] el que antes tuvimos en la cárcel por el delito de haber acometido al compañero don Marcos con un cuchillo, el cual por ningún motivo se debe quedar en provincia próxima a ésta por el odio que nos muestran así éstos como todos los demás, y ciertamente que nos amenaza en el reconocimiento que de ellos seremos alguna ruina en su venganza, porque siendo como lo son, hombres de a caballo y poco timbre, venirse, meterse entre los infieles y perseguir a esta provincia, cuyo ejemplar tenemos presente en los diez que se nos amontaron el año pasado, que se mantuvieron tres a cuatro meses en las vastas montañas practicando robos en la estancia y sus vecinos . . .

Siguieron viaje y desembarcaron en Buenos Aires, no regresaron más a Asunción y según Cabañas el resto de los esclavos se quedó tranquilo después de tal demostración de poder.⁵⁵ De todas maneras, para 1775 ya no quedaban casi esclavos dependientes de la administración de las temporalidades.

Paraguarí: Mano de obra y uso de la tierra

Finalmente, no podemos dejar de considerar la relación entre la mano de obra esclava y el uso de la tierra en Paraguarí. Para 1767 la población de la estancia de Paraguarí era de 530 personas que se dedicaban no sólo a la ganadería y sus derivados sino también a la agricultura, en especial caña dulce y algodón, con sus respectivos productos. Representaba toda una unidad de producción que al tiempo que se autoabastecía, comerciaba con la sociedad asuncena y curuguatëña además de con las misiones de guaraníes. Sabemos también, que los jesuitas tenían en arrendamiento tierras de la estancia a familias campesinas a cambio de tabaco.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ AGN, sala IX, 5.3.7, de Cabañas a Bucareli, 8 de junio de 1769.

⁵⁵ AGN, sala IX, 5.3.7, de Cabañas a Bucareli, 14 de diciembre de 1769.

⁵⁶ Para una discusión sobre el campesinado en Paraguay, Juan Carlos Garavaglia, *Economía, sociedad y regiones*, (Buenos Aires: Ediciones de la Flor, 1987) en especial "Campesinos y soldados: dos siglos en la historia rural del Paraguay," pp. 193-260.

Llama la atención que no sólo este mismo sistema productivo se haya mantenido después de la expulsión de la Compañía de Jesús, sino también la misma conformación poblacional. Según el censo de 1782 tenemos los siguientes datos:

Población de Paraguari en 1782⁵⁷

| | Párvulos | | Adultos | | TOTAL | |
|---------------------------|------------|-----------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| | Varón | Mujer | Varón | Mujer | | % |
| Espanoles | 52 | 14 | 249 | 150 | 465 | 49,0 |
| Indios | 9 | 13 | 9 | 34 | 65 | 6,9 |
| Negros y mulatos libres | 32 | 36 | 71 | 92 | 231 | 24,4 |
| Negros y mulatos esclavos | 41 | 21 | 60 | 65 | 187 | 19,7 |
| TOTAL | 134 | 84 | 389 | 341 | 948 | 100 |

Nos encontramos entonces con una población que aparentemente creció y, de acuerdo a los porcentajes de mujeres y de párvulos, con familias instaladas, tanto los españoles como los pardos. Sin embargo, no sabemos a ciencia cierta cuántos arrendatarios tenían los jesuitas, y si éstos estaban ya instalados familiarmente. Lo que sí es seguro es que la población esclava ha sido introducida por los nuevos administradores de las estancias.

Paraguari sí experimentó un crecimiento en los años siguientes, y ya para 1799 la población se había casi duplicado.

Población de Paraguari en 1799⁵⁸

| | 0 -14 | | 15-60 | | 61- | | TOTAL | |
|---------------------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|-----------|-----------|-------------|------------|
| | Varón | Mujer | Varón | Mujer | Varón | Mujer | | % |
| Espanoles | 230 | 243 | 243 | 258 | 29 | 38 | 1041 | 55.0 |
| Mestizos | 8 | 9 | 10 | 14 | 7 | 9 | 57 | 3,0 |
| Indios | 12 | 13 | 20 | 15 | 8 | 6 | 74 | 4,0 |
| Pardos y morenos libres | 132 | 135 | 79 | 69 | 16 | 16 | 447 | 23,6 |
| Pardos y morenos esclavos | 61 | 77 | 50 | 65 | 11 | 9 | 273 | 14,4 |
| TOTAL | 443 | 477 | 402 | 421 | 71 | 78 | 1892 | 100 |

⁵⁷ Aguirre, *Diario*, en el total el autor da como total 955 personas, pero hay un error en la suma.

⁵⁸ AGN, Fondo Lamas, 2.636. Para esta localidad Maeder, "La población" da 200 personas menos.

Paraguarí representó para la elite económica asuncena, y para la población en general, el primer avance hacia nuevas tierras, aún cercanas a la capital. Luego vendrá la conquista del norte con la fundación de Villa Real de la Concepción.

La falta de tierra como causante de la pobreza de la región ya era reconocida por el redactor jesuita de la carta anua de 1765 cuando escribía que “Esta provincia del Paraguay no hay duda que tiene mucha gente, estando tres, cuatro y más ranchos juntos, y en tan poca distancia entre sí lo que están separados uno de otro, que no hay un cuarto de legua de distancia entre ellos. Pero por esto mismo la pobreza es mucha, porque por ser tantos los pobladores, tienen poca tierra para sus sementeras, y éstas se reducen a maíz, tabaco, algodón, caña dulce, mandioca, sandías, melones, maní, batatas y más menudencias semejantes, que sobre ser de poca utilidad, muchos años se pierden por la langosta, por las heladas y por la seca. Y aunque hay ganado vacuno, son muy pocos los que lo tienen, y menos son los que tienen cría de mulas y potros . . . ”⁵⁹

Mörner especula que el destino de las temporalidades representó “un cambio profundo en la estructura agraria con repercusiones importantes en la esfera social y aún política.”⁶⁰ A primera vista, los datos de Paraguarí nos dejan con la duda que este cambio se haya producido. Las estancias no se vendieron sino que continuaron siendo administradas primero por la Junta Municipal, y luego pasó al recién fundado Seminario de San Carlos.

Resta aún investigar sobre quiénes fueron los nuevos inquilinos de las estancias y sobre todo quiénes compraron a los más de mil esclavos que pertenecían a los jesuitas.

Estos datos nos darán información para comprender como se fue conformando la sociedad paraguaya a fines de la colonia, cuál fue el uso de la tierra y su desarrollo económico. También nos darán nuevas luces sobre las relaciones interétnicas y sobre como fue cambiando—adecuándose la vieja elite encomendera a los nuevos tiempos.⁶¹

⁵⁹ AGN, Biblioteca Nacional, Legajo 362, Manuscrito 6338.

⁶⁰ Mörner, *Actividades políticas*, p. 144.

⁶¹ James Saeger y Jerry Cooney trabajan este tema respecto a la conquista del norte. Sería importante complementarlo con lo que sucedió en el sur, no sólo en Paraguarí sino también con las ex misiones de guaraníes. Ver los artículos recopilados en Thomas Whigham y Jerry Cooney (eds.), *Campo y frontera. El Paraguay al fin de la era colonial* (Asunción: Servilibro, 2006): James Saeger, “Supervivencia y abolición: la encomienda paraguaya del siglo dieciocho,” pp. 63-99 (original inglés de 1981) y Jerry Cooney, “Los yerbales del norte: la explotación de la frontera del Paraguay: 1776-1810,” pp. 35-61 (original inglés de 1998).

Lista de jesuitas mencionados

- Aguilar, Jaime (s) *25.iii.1678 Teruel (España); SJ 26.x.1696 Paraguay (Provincial: 2.xii.1733-23.ix.1738); †29.i.1746 Asunción (Paraguay).
- Cardiel, José (s) *18.iii.1704 Laguardia (España); SJ 8.iv.1720 Castilla; †7.xii.1781, Ravena (Italia).
- Flores, Antonio (s)*15.ii.1725 Barcelona (España); SJ 20.xi.1742 Paraguay; †2.1781 Roma (Italia).
- Gutiérrez, Antonio (s) *10.xii.1705 San Miguel de Tucumán (hoy Argentina); SJ 4.viii.1722 Paraguay; †31.i.1779 Ravena (Italia).
- Gutiérrez, Cosme (c) *4.ii.1704 Cádiz (España); SJ 18.v.1739 Paraguay; †28.xii.1776 Ravena (Italia).
- Hernández, Alonso (s) *8.xi.1734 Almendralejo (España); SJ 13.vi.1752 Paraguay; †3.xii.1803 Ravena (Italia).
- Herrán, Jerónimo (s) *13.iv.1672 Pámanes (España); SJ 22.viii.1688 Castilla; †10.12.1743 Córdoba (hoy Argentina).
- Iturri, Francisco Javier (s) *10.x.1738 Santa Fe (hoy Argentina); SJ 27.x.1753 Paraguay; †8.i.1822 Barcelona (España).
- Lacoizqueta, Juan José (s) *17.iii.1713 Asunción (Paraguay); SJ 25.iv.1734 Paraguay; †16.xii.1770 Roma (Italia).
- Machoni [Macioni], Antonio (s) *1.xi.1672 Iglesias (Italia); SJ 23.xi.1688 Cerdeña (Provincial entre 10.i.1739-10.ii.1743); †25.vii.1753 Córdoba (hoy Argentina).
- Martínez, Juan Miguel (c) *23.iii.1710 La Puebla de Valverde (España); SJ 19.xii.1732 Paraguay; †31.x.1788 Ravena (Italia).
- Novat, Gabriel (s) *11.iv.1691 Madrid (España); SJ 18.xi.1709 Paraguay; †15.i.1770 Ravena (Italia).
- Nusdorffer, Bernardo (s) *17.viii.1686 Platting (hoy Alemania); SJ 14.x.1704 Germania Superior (Provincial entre 12.x.1743-21.viii.1747); †18.iii.1762 San Carlos (hoy Argentina).
- Ponce de León, Miguel (c) *28.ix.1730 Córdoba (hoy Argentina); SJ 26.viii.1755 Paraguay; †20.xi.1790 Roma (Italia).
- Querini, Manuel (s) *29.v.1694 Zante (hoy Grecia); SJ 17.i.1711 Roma (Provincial entre 21.viii.1747-14.xi.1751); †3.v.1776 Roma (Italia).
- Rada, Andrés de (s) *1601 Belmonte (España); SJ 1618 Toledo (Visitador y Provincial entre 1663-1669); †22.i.1672 Madrid (España).

San Martín, Sebastián (s) * 20.i.1678 Gallur (España); SJ 19.iii.1695 Aragón (Provincial entre 23.ix.1738-10.i.1739); †22.iv.1759 Córdoba (hoy Argentina).

Referencias: (s) = sacerdote; (c) = coadjutor.

Los datos han sido extraídos de Hugo Storni, S.J., *Catálogo de los Jesuitas de la Provincia del Paraguay (Cuenca del Plata) 1585-1768* (Roma: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1980).

Summary

This article explores the role played by slaves at the Jesuit college of Asunción, Paraguay, in the 18th century, both in the college itself and at the ranches owned by the college. It also discusses what happened to the slaves after the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767. The author argues that the expulsion did not have any drastic effects on the agricultural structure of the region, but was simply a change in ownership: Asunción elites replaced Jesuits as landlords of the ranches and masters of the slaves.



*“La Compagnia di Gesù sotto altro Nome”: Niccolò Paccanari
e la Compagnia della Fede di Gesù (1797-1814)*

Eva Fontana Castelli

La Compagnia della fede di Gesù, i cui membri erano comunemente chiamati Padri della fede, o “paccanaristi” dal nome del loro carismatico fondatore, costituì un importante tentativo di ‘rinascita’ della Compagnia di Gesù sorto nell’“Europa in Rivoluzione,” e la sua vicenda si intrecciò con i problemi canonici e diplomatici connessi alla restaurazione dell’ordine gesuitico.

Fondato a Roma, nel 1797, da Niccolò Paccanari, questo istituto, dopo l’unione con la Società del S. Cuore formata da sacerdoti francesi “emigrati,” si disperse in seguito alla condanna del fondatore da parte del S. Uffizio, avvenuta nel 1808, dopo un lungo processo.

Non si trattò semplicemente di una “Compagnia di Gesù sotto altro nome,” al contrario, la Compagnia della fede di Gesù, appoggiata da importanti personaggi della Curia romana, si presentò come una “riforma” dell’ordine gesuitico, entrando in conflitto con quella parte della Compagnia di Gesù che sopravviveva nell’Impero russo.

Questo volume ricostruisce, attraverso un approfondito scavo documentario, la breve e poco studiata vicenda dei Padri della fede, portando alla luce gli elementi peculiari e più interessanti del loro istituto, che fu caratterizzato anche da un “ramo” femminile–le Dilette di Gesù–e dalla presenza, accanto al fondatore, di Marianna d’Asburgo, sorella dell’imperatore Francesco II, che svolse un ruolo di governo in questa “riformata” Compagnia di Gesù.

Bibliotheca Instituti Historici Societatis Iesu 62. € 50,00 (€ 40,00 to subscribers).

BIBLIOGRAPHY ON THE HISTORY OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS:

ADDITIONS TO THE 2007 EDITION

Paul Begheyn, S.J.

For unknown reasons some titles were left out from the latest edition of the *Bibliography*, published in *AHSI* 76 (2007) 361-484. They follow here.

471. K. Bobková, 'Jezuitské školské divadlo v pražské klementinské koleji ve 20. letech 18. století', *Pražský sborník historický* 32 (2003), 105-168.

717. P. Begheyn (ed.), *Nijmeegse Biografieën. Deel 1*, Hilversum, Uitgeverij Verloren, 2004, 143 p.

P. Begheyn, 'Bloemaert, Augustijn', 22; 'Canisius, Petrus', 32; 'Meurs, Bernard van', 90-91; 'Regout, Robert', 103-104; 'Rubbens, Jan', 107; 'Schoonenberg, Piet', 111-112.

M. Derks, 'Beukers, Vincent', 19-20; 'Ginneken, Jacques van', 48-49.

718. *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon* 18 (2001)

G. Ackermans, 'Albers, Petrus Henricus', 43-44.

D. Berger, 'Dezza, Paolo', 348-350.

M. Ihlsen, 'Enomiya-Lassalle, Hugo Makibi', 375-391.

S. Irimia-Tuchtenhagen, 'Richeome, Louis', 1196-1198; 'Surin, Jean Joseph', 1357-1360.

M. Schnettger, 'Papebroch, Daniel', 1113-1118.

D. Schwenzer, 'Schmalzgrueber, Franz Xaver', 1249-1251.

E. Steinhauer, 'Pies, Otto', 1159-1161.

719. *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon* 19 (2001)

G. Holzer, 'Fritz, Samuel', 478-480.

B. Kettern, 'Gracian, Baltasar', 590-596.

L. Klinke, 'Profittlich, Eduard', 1104-1114.

M. Knedlik, 'Knellinger, Balthasar', 812-814; 'Kropf, Franz Xaver', 829-830; 'Kropf, Joseph', 830-832.

E. Sauser, 'Holzmeister, Urban', 710-711.

720. *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon* 20 (2002)

M. Berger, 'Schröteler, Christian Joseph', 1305-1310.

M. Knedlik, 'Orban, Ferdinand', 1133-1136.

J. Lederle, 'Bishopinck, Bernhard', 213-214; 'Gabelsberger, Anton', 601-602; 'Hausegger, Jakob', 719-720; 'Neugebauer, Joseph', 1096-1097; 'Walter, Johann', 1516; 'Wilhelmi, Joseph', 1544-1545.

C. Nebgen, 'Eckart, Anselm von', 427-433.

E. Sauser, 'Hurtado Cruchaga, Alberto', 347-348; 'Gatterer, Michael', 618-619; 'Schade, Herbert', 1270-1272.

C. Weise, 'Ammann, Albert Maria', 17-27.

721. *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon* 21 (2003)

R. Baier, 'Allouez, Claude Jean', 17-21; 'Carroll, John', 263-266; 'Garnet, Henry', 439-444; 'Garnet, Thomas', 444-446; 'Parsons, Robert', 1133-1137.

C. Bernet, 'Laugier, Marc-Antoine', 786-793.

F. Daxecker, 'Scheiner, Christoph', 1307-1312.

C. Losfeld, 'Dainville, François Oudot de', 297-304.

E. Sauser, 'Puntigam, Antonius', 1226; 'Realino, Bernardino', 1234-1235; 'Reus, Johann Baptist', 1253.

K. Walf, 'Huizing, Peter', 693-696.

722. *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon* 22 (2003)

R. Baier, 'Auger, Edmond', 42-46.

D. Berger, 'Rousselot, Pierre', 1165-1169.

F. Daxecker, 'Grienberger, Christoph', 463-465.

M. Knedlik, 'Hübner, Lorenz', 574-578.

- F. Obermeier, 'Cardim, Fernão', 170-173; 'Nóbrega, Manuel da', 920-928.
- E. Sauser, 'Miki, Paul', 840-841; 'Peters, Theodor', 1069; 'Scherer, Georg', 1213-1215; 'Villerius, Bartholomäus', 1426-1427; 'Zeiger, Ivo', 1593.
723. *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon* 23 (2004)
- G. Anger, 'Esch, Ludwig', 319-325.
- R. Baier, 'Salvatierra, Juan Maria de', 1263-1267.
- D. Berger, 'Margerie, Bertrand de', 945-951.
- F. Obermeier, 'Ruiz de Montoya, Antonio', 1231-1248; 'Serrano, José', 1361-1377.
- S. Ost, 'Kerscht, Johannes', 801-802.
- U. Rumpler, 'Franck, Franciscus Ignatius', 398-413.
- E. Sauser, 'Diesbach, Nikolaus', 267-268.
- A. von Teuffenbach, 'Tromp, Sebastian', 1505-1508.
724. *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon* 24 (2005)
- F. Obermeier, 'Andreoni, João Antonio', 82-105.
- S. Ost, 'Bley, Bernhard', 249-253.
- C. Tapp, 'Pollen, John Hungerford', 1166-1174; 'Rathgeb, Jakob', 1201-1203; 'Zimmermann, Athanasius', 1589-1593.
- B. Ziemann, 'Krose, Hermann', 983-986.
725. *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon* 25 (2005)
- G. Anger, 'Volk, Ludwig', 1414-1420.
- I. Gehle, 'Wiesebach, Wilhelm', 1513-1515.
- K. Rumpler, 'Coyer, Gabriel François', 181-185.
726. *Christelijke encyclopedie*, Kampen, Kok, 2005.
- G. Ackermans, 'Balthasar, Hans Urs von', 130-131.
- P. Begheyn, 'Canisius, Petrus', 276; 'Kilsdonk, Jan van', 1017; 'Loyola, Ignatius van', 11301.
- R. Bot, 'Huijbers, Bernard', 818-819; 'Oosterhuis, Huub', 1350.
- J. Brabers, 'Ginneken, Jacques van', 666-667.
- T. van den Hoogen, 'Daniélou, Jean', 401-402.

- J.K. Karels, 'Labadie, Jean de', 1080-1081.
- H.W.M. Rikhof, 'Schoonenberg, Piet', 1612-1613.
- H. Schoot, 'Rahner, Karl', 1502.
- L. Winkeler, 'Greeve, Henri de', 710.
- J.A. Zeilstra, 'Teilhard de Chardin, Pierre', 1726-1727.
727. A. Jelsma & G. Brinkman, *Wie is wie in de mystiek*, Kampen, Ten Have / Averbode, Altiora, 2006.
- 'Alvarez, Baltasar', 18-19.
- 'Alvarez de Paz, Diego', 19-20.
- 'Balthasar, Hans Urs von', 37-38.
- 'Canisius, Petrus', 63-64.
- 'Caussade, Jean-Pierre de', 68.
- 'Franciscus Xaverius', 103-104.
- 'Ignatius van Loyola', 144-145.
- 'Labadie, Jean de', 163.
- 'Rahner, Karl', 205-206.
- 'Southwell, Robert', 221.
- 'Teilhard de Chardin, Pierre', 231-232.
728. *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* 10 (2001)
- S. Alberto, 'Tromp, Sebastian', 268.
- H. Baranzke, 'Wasmann, Erich', 984.
- M. Becht, 'Vetter, Conrad', 755.
- C. Becker, 'Thyraeus, Petrus', 19.
- K.J. Becker, 'Zapalena y Subizar, Timoteo', 1384.
- J. Beutler, 'Zerwick, Max', 1439-1440.
- G. Bitter, 'Vogel, Matthäus', 837.
- N.M. Borengässer, 'White, Vitus Andrew', 1132.
- Z. Cavigelli-Enderlin, 'Zeiger, Ivo', 1404.
- C. von Collani, 'Trigault, Nicolas', 236-237.

- B. Dooley, 'Zaccaria, Francesco Antonio', 1359.
- K. Ganzer, 'Torres, Francisco', 115-116.
- G. Haeffner, 'Vries, Josef de', 911.
- S. Haering, 'Vidal, Pedro', 774-775; 'Zallinger zum Thurn, Jakob Anton von', 1378-1379.
- F. Hengsbach, 'Wallraff, Herman Josef', 967.
- E. Huber, 'Wetter, Gustav', 1128.
- R. Kany, 'Tournemine, René-Joseph de', 141.
- S.C. Kessler, 'Uriarte, José Eugenio de', 470.
- E. Lauer, 'Tiraboschi, Girolamo', 48.
- L. Lehmann, 'Trigosus, Petrus', 237.
- J. Matoš, 'Vanino, Miroslav', 535.
- J. Meier, 'Vieira, António', 776.
- L. Müller, 'Zech, Franz Xaver', 1391.
- K.H. Neufeld, 'Van Roo, William A.', 533.
- V. Poggi, 'Vries, Wilhelm de', 911.
- R. Puza, 'Wernz, Franz Xaver', 1105.
- A. Raffelt, 'Valensin, Albert', 517; 'Valensin, Auguste', 517-518; 'Viller, Marcel', 792.
- K.J. Rivinius, 'Tiefenthaler, Joseph', 29; 'Verbiest, Ferdinand', 606-607; 'Wieger, Léon', 1152-1153.
- M. Rosenberger, 'Truhlar, Karl Vladimir', 274-275.
- K. Schatz, 'Valignano, Alessandro', 526; 'Wolter, Hans', 1286.
- J. Schepens, 'Van Caster, Marcel', 533.
- H. Schmitz du Moulin, 'Willaert, Léopold', 1202-1203.
- W. Schrüfer, 'Wurz, Ignaz', 1329.
- L. Schulte, 'Wulf, Friedrich', 1308.
- H.H. Schwedt, 'Vázquez, Gabriel', 571.
- S. Seifert, 'Vota, Karl Moritz', 906-907.

- M. Sievernich, 'Torres Bollo, Diego de', 116; 'Valdivia, Luis de', 512; 'Xavier, Jerónimo de', 1345.
- A.A. Strnad, 'Visconti, Ignazio', 808.
- H. Tihon, 'Vercruysse, Bruno', 609.
- C. Troisfontaines, 'Troisfontaines, Roger', 267-268.
- P. Walter, 'Wilmers, Wilhelm', 1215-1216.
- V. Walz, 'Vermeersch, Arthur', 695.
- H. Weber, 'Toledo, Francisco de', 93-94.
- O. Weiss, 'Tyrrell, George', 326-327.
- J. Wrba, 'Varin d'Ainville, Joseph-Désiré', 537; 'Vitelleschi, Muzio', 828; 'Wischaven, Kornelius', 1240.
- W. Ziegler, 'Vervaux, Johannes', 747.
729. *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* 11 (2001)
- J. Beutler, 'Alonso Schökel, Luis', 4.
- C. Capizzi, 'Buglio, Ludovico', 32-33.
- G. Collet, 'Sobrino, Jon', 235.
- F. Domínguez, 'Izquierdo, Sebastián', 144; 'Puente, Luis de la', 223; 'Ribera, Francisco de', 226; 'Urraburu, Juan José', 251.
- G. Evers, 'Jin Luxian, Aloysius', 145.
- T. Hainthaler, 'Grillmeier, Alois', 118-119.
- L. Hell, 'Des Bosses, Bartholomaeus', 57; 'Persons, Robert', 220.
- E. Henau, 'Caussin, Nicolas', 44.
- E. Jahrstorfer, 'Rodríguez, Alfonso', 227.
- M. Kämpchen, 'Mello, Anthony de', 185.
- G. Kraemer, 'Wittfeld, Petrus', 260-261.
- W. Löffler, 'Donat, Josef', 61-62.
- J. Meier, 'Llaguno Farias, José Alberto', 173.
- K.H. Neufeld, 'Alszeghy, Zoltán', 4-5.
- W. Schrüfer, 'Winkelhofer, Sebastian', 260.
- W. Seibel, 'Bleistein, Roman', 27.

- J. Valentin, 'Certeau, Michel de', 44-45.
- H. Waldenfels, 'Dumoulin, Heinrich', 64-65.
- U. Zanetti, 'Devos, Paul', 57.
730. *Nationaal Biografisch Woordenboek* 16 (2002)
- C. De Borchgrave, 'Stracke, Desideratus', 722-734.
- F. Claes, 'Brouwers, Louis', 182-187; 'Janssens, John', 475-481.
- R. Faesen, 'Berchmans, Jan', 81-85.
- O. Tanghe, 'Exem, Celest van', 329-331.
731. *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 20 (2001)
- B. Bauer, 'Pontanus, Jacobus', 615-616.
- R. Bleistein, 'Pfülf, Otto', 363.
- J. Oswald, 'Pelster, Franz', 167-168.
- P. Prange, 'Pozzo, Andrea', 664-666.
- A. Rauscher, 'Pesch, Heinrich', 209.
- M. Zechmeister, 'Przywara, Erich', 752-753.
732. *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 21 (2003)
- H. Altmann, 'Reihing, Jakob', 330-331.
- R. Bleistein, 'Rösch, Augustinus', 737.
- K.H. Neufeld, 'Rahner, Hugo', 113-114; 'Rahner, Karl', 114-115.
- L. Schilling, 'Rethius, Johannes', 446-447.
- A. Schmid, 'Rader, Matthäus', 92.
733. *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 22 (2005)
- F. Daxecker, 'Scheiner, Christoph', 638-640.
- J. Dörflinger, 'Scherer, Heinrich', 690-691.
- R. Pichl, 'Scherer, Georg', 689-690.
- C. Vogel, 'Roth, Heinrich', 106-107.
- H. Walravens, 'Schall von Bell, Johann Adam', 551-552.
- H. Wolf, 'Sailer, Johann Michael', 356-357.

Ippolito Desideri S.J. Opere e Bibliografia

Enzo Gualtierio Bargiacchi

Questa guida è il frutto di una approfondita ricerca condotta dallo studioso Enzo Gualtierio Bargiacchi che per oltre dieci anni si è dedicato alla figura di Ippolito Desideri S.J. (Pistoia 20.xii.1684-Roma 13.iv.1733) e alla sua opera, esaminata nei vari aspetti disciplinari: storico, geografico, linguistico, antropologico, filosofico e religioso.

La prima parte analizza le opere, dai manoscritti alle pubblicazioni, con un esame minuzioso, filologicamente rigoroso ed esaustivo delle varie stesure dei manoscritti e delle edizioni a stampa da questi derivati. Sono inoltre trattati tutti i documenti di Desideri, o comunque a lui riferiti, conservati negli archivi storici, soprattutto della Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu e di "Propaganda Fide," con puntuale indicazione di quelli inediti.

La seconda parte riporta una amplissima rassegna bibliografica di tutte le monografie o articoli che fanno comunque riferimento a Desideri. L'esame, sempre condotto sulle fonti originali, conduce a una descrizione bibliografica completa di ogni elemento. La descrizione bibliografica è accompagnata dall'indicazione delle pagine dove è citato il missionario; molto spesso c'è una breve trattazione dell'opera in esame ed inoltre sono riportate con grande ampiezza, tutte le citazioni più significative. Si può dire che questa opera raccolga tutto ciò che di rilevante è stato scritto su Desideri. Oltre le indicazioni bibliografiche relative ad una grande mole di scritti di ogni ambito disciplinare, è possibile trovarvi una notevole messe di dati biografici sui vari autori e sui personaggi comunque trattati.

Questa opera, che ha una valenza generale, permette di riflettere su una grande ed esemplare figura missionario, ingiustamente trascurato, e fornisce tutti gli strumenti per approfondirne lo studio.

Roma, 2007.

Subsidia ad historiam Societatis Iesu 15.

€ 30,00



BOOK REVIEWS

Jesuit Political Thought: The Society of Jesus and the State, c. 1540-1630. By Harro Höpfl. [Ideas in Context 70.] (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004. Pp. xii+406. £ 55.00; \$90.00. Hardback.)

Questo libro ci parla di come i gesuiti pensarono la politica e di come la praticarono, nel periodo che precedette l'elaborazione filosofica di Thomas Hobbes. Mancò nella *Societas* una tesi univoca, e del resto non fu l'unico Ordine religioso quello ignaziano a esprimere pareri individuali e talora contrapposti su questi temi. D'altro canto, la Compagnia perseguì un disegno universale, un ideale di omogeneità che favorì l'emergere, afferma l'autore, di una ben identificabile concezione della prassi politica, basata su un'idea di ordine, di gerarchia da rispettare, sul riconoscimento dei poteri del principe, sulla ragion di Stato (anche se i nemici contestarono ai gesuiti di non insistere abbastanza sulle prerogative della *potestas* regia). Ciò non tolse comunque valore alla loro riflessione. I teologi ignaziani furono letti, interpretati, presi a esempio, tradotti anche nei paesi protestanti: così le teorie sulle tasse di Francisco Suarez (considerato un'autorità in materia tra i parlamentari inglesi) divennero oggetto di analisi attenta a inizio '600 (p. 368). Rimase inespressa, tuttavia, ma non poteva andare diversamente, un'idea di popolo, di sovranità popolare capace di diritti e rivendicazioni: i gesuiti si mossero a metà strada tra le fonti medievali parigine e di Salamanca e i moderni pensatori del diritto naturale.

Nessun regime in particolare, scrissero, era preferito da Dio: ma la monarchia parve loro la forma di governo più coerente con l'idea di un ordine naturale. Rimase centrale (e contraddittorio) il problema di come deporre un re incapace, eretico: atto impossibile da parte della comunità, non concedendosi simile diritto in una vera monarchia. Fu, questo, "il problema" per i gesuiti, ma lo fu anche per pensatori e teorici come Jean Bodin e Hobbes. Riconoscere tale potere avrebbe infatti voluto dire riconoscere una fonte di diritti alternativa, un centro di disordine nel cuore della comunità statale. Ma casi estremi legittima-

vano il tirannicidio e anche i teologi gesuiti accettarono, seppur con riluttanza, la possibilità di opporsi (da parte della comunità, attraverso un alleato esterno) al principe tiranno: su questo i padri furono divisi come i politici loro contemporanei, come le autorità (bibliche, scolastiche, umanistiche) da cui presero avvio le loro analisi (p. 374). Alcuni introdussero il papa come giudice competente; alcuni sostennero l'assassinio del re come ultimo atto dopo la scomunica. Condanna finale del principe eretico, il tirannicidio fu l'esito estremo tanto della teoria del potere indiretto del papa, come delle implicazioni politiche insite nella concezione di Chiesa propria dei gesuiti: una *respublica christiana*, un'associazione umana ove preservare la vera religione cattolica e il primato del pontefice. Dalla contraddizione non si uscì: i gesuiti furono sia i sostenitori della monarchia, sia gli amici di sediziosi e ribelli.

Occorre subito sottolineare che il volume si muove entro un ambito prettamente teorico, attraverso approfondimenti, confronti, comparazioni che chiamano in causa i testi dei maggiori scrittori della Compagnia, teologi di altri Ordini religiosi, pensatori laici e di paesi protestanti. La bibliografia entro cui si muove l'autore fa perno sulle opere originali dei teologi presi in esame, ma appare per altri aspetti datata, non essendovi alcun riferimento, per esempio, agli studi degli ultimi quindici anni di area italiana, su temi quali la ragion di stato (Giovanni Botero), la categoria di prudenza, la casuistica, il ruolo di confessori e teologi di corte. Manca anche un'attenzione agli studi sulle missioni di area americana, che molto ci dicono sulla forte conflittualità interna all'Ordine, di stampo politico, proprio a cavaliere tra Cinque e Seicento.

Non si può non condividere il punto di partenza dell'autore: la centralità gesuitica nel panorama scolastico, culturale, ecclesiastico dell'Europa della prima età moderna. Ma non solo. Tale centralità ebbe modo di manifestarsi anche nell'ambito della partecipazione al governo della cosa pubblica. Ampia fu la fama che circondò l'Ordine ignaziano per la sua intromissione negli affari temporali, connessa a pratiche diffuse (ovvero presupposte) al suo interno: organizzazione centralizzata, frequentazioni cortigiane, diplomazia segreta, spesso motivo di risentimenti e odio nei suoi confronti anche nei paesi cattolici. Non per niente il volume affronta i temi all'origine di tanta letteratura polemica anti-gesuitica: tirannicidio, potere indiretto del papa *in temporalibus*, concezione machiavellica della politica. Harro Höpfl intende infatti mostrare il paradosso di un ordine religioso ritratto sovente come cospiratore e sovversivo, e tuttavia preso a esempio dai suoi stessi nemici, composto da intelletti sopraffini e perciò imitato.

Il volume non vuole pervenire a una definizione "del" pensiero politico gesuita, a una, di fatto inesistente, "dottrina coerente e comune" dei gesuiti in materia di Stato, governo, esercizio del potere. L'autore è infatti consapevole della mancanza di omogeneità a livello teologico e dottrinale dell'Ordine

ignaziano, tanto più evidente in fatto di teorie politiche. Certo, le dottrine qui esaminate, che chiamano in causa le maggiori personalità della Compagnia del XVI secolo e di inizio '600, si incrociano, si sovrappongono, talora delineando riflessioni ed esiti comuni. Ma il loro punto d'incontro sta altrove, si fonda (ma anche in questo caso non senza posizioni originali) su una serie di convinzioni e giudizi concernenti la natura dell'ordine sociale, i rapporti gerarchici e il principio d'obbedienza. Questo zoccolo duro – e qui sta un primo punto importante dell'analisi proposta–appartenne innanzitutto all'organizzazione della Compagnia, alla sua attività, alla sua spiritualità, nonché alla sua teologia e alla sua concezione ecclesiologica.

L'organizzazione della Compagnia, le sue caratteristiche istituzionali costituiscono in effetti il punto di partenza della riflessione di Harro Höpfl. Non fu quello ignaziano il primo Ordine impegnato in negozi politici. E d'altra parte all'inizio parve estraneo a tali interessi, essendo centrali l'attività di insegnamento, la predicazione, la confessione. Ma è pur vero che tale presenza, non semplicemente educativa ovvero di direzione spirituale, pose le basi per percorsi culturali, relazioni e alleanze capaci di fornire gli strumenti, la giusta "preparazione per redigere libri e scritti polemici" (p. 15), cui si affiancò un'altrettanto importante attività controversistica.

Inevitabile fu quindi l'emergere del carattere pubblico del loro operato (se non immediatamente politico), evidente del resto nelle qualità richieste ai membri della *Societas* e precisate dalle stesse *Costituzioni* ignaziane: quanto a stile di vita (significative le attenzioni all'aspetto esteriore e al modo di vestire), modalità con cui porsi in relazione con l'altro (soprattutto re e nobili), capacità di "conversare" (pratica culturale/politica, come è noto, centrale nella società dell'epoca). E, all'estremo opposto, non ci volle molto perché emergessero le attività magari segrete ed espressamente politiche dei singoli padri, poi facilmente considerate da oppositori e nemici come modalità operative proprie della Compagnia nel suo complesso, causa di gelosie e invidie nei suoi confronti. La stessa concezione della Chiesa come "repubblica cristiana" implicava un'attenzione verso le materie politiche, una riflessione generale sulla collettività umana.

Tra le caratteristiche del nuovo Ordine l'autore non manca di sottolineare l'esigenza di costituire un corpo omogeneo unito attorno alla figura di una guida, di un capo, concependo una concentrazione di autorità senza precedenti tra i regolari, causa di molte opposizioni interne ed esterne, di resistenze, anche tra i principi (p. 26). Sullo sfondo acquistò rilievo la riflessione sul tema dell'obbedienza, condizione irrinunciabile di forte significato ascetico, che si esprimeva nell'attuazione degli ordini dei superiori (figure di Cristo, p. 28), e che doveva portare il singolo, almeno nelle intenzioni, a sentire e a pensare come loro. Di qui, anche in funzione di sostegno, la pratica degli esercizi spirituali ignaziani,

concepiti in un rapporto diretto con Dio, ma sorretti anche da alcune regole (composte dopo gli *Esercizi*, ma stampate insieme e presenti nel manoscritto di Ignazio, p. 33) di obbedienza alla Chiesa (contro le critiche degli umanisti ed erasmiane) e alla sua gerarchia (per escludere qualsiasi concezione eretica o spiritualizzata dell'esperienza religiosa).

La gerarchia, dunque, come presupposto dell'ordine e dell'unità, in cima alla quale stava il padre generale, teoricamente sottratto a ogni controllo (p. 35, il modello era quello papale). Sul concetto di ordine sociale retto da un potere monarchico si mosse in effetti molta della trattatistica gesuitica, tuttavia indirizzata a esaltare, in ultima istanza, il primato del papa, la cui autorità fu preposta a dirimere ogni genere di controversie. L'autore sottolinea in questa parte come l'obbedienza, sulla scia di s. Tommaso, sia per i gesuiti un atteggiamento da seguire nei confronti di entrambe le autorità, ecclesiastica e laica, indipendenti nel loro intervento, ma le cui richieste potevano in date circostanze entrare in conflitto. In verità le condizioni culturali della società cinque/seicentesca rendevano la fede religiosa ingrediente irrinunciabile di tanti momenti della vita dell'individuo e interdipendenti le due sfere (tanto tra i cattolici come tra i protestanti). Certo, le *Costituzioni* vietavano di immischiarsi in negozi secolari (il riferimento era a funzioni particolari: esecutori testamenti, procuratori civili), ma le cose andarono ben oltre e i prepositi generali Everardo Mercuriano e Claudio Acquaviva furono impegnati a vietare di immischiarsi in materie di Stato. I documenti d'archivio, scrive l'autore, dimostrano tuttavia quanto vane siano state queste proibizioni (p. 57): fu questo il *leit motiv* di tanti interventi censori di superiori generali e provinciali (un esempio fu il decreto del 1602 sui confessori). Contribuì a creare questa situazione contraddittoria, come accennato, anche l'ambiguità di certi passaggi delle *Costituzioni*. Una cosa era chiara: la Compagnia doveva evitare le corti e le materie temporali. Lo aveva affermato Ignazio, lo affermavano Acquaviva e altri. Ma a ciò non corrisposero comportamenti coerenti da parte dei suoi membri.

La debolezza della distinzione tra spirituale e temporale emerse con chiarezza nel contesto della lotta all'eresia. Non nacque la Compagnia per combatterla, ma ne diventò uno degli strumenti. Ed è in questo ambito, attorno ai mezzi per la lotta contro gli eretici (attività pastorale, diplomazia, ma anche punizione ed eventualmente la guerra, p. 73) che andò precisandosi il carattere politico dell'intervento della *Societas*. La punizione richiedeva un potere di giurisdizione: perciò occorreva trovare un'accusa che permettesse l'intervento della Chiesa anche su chi era fuori teoricamente dalla sua giurisdizione. La necessità di combattere, per esempio, i libri eretici implicava la cooperazione con le autorità secolari. La politica anti-eretica, se presupponeva innanzitutto mezzi pastorali e spirituali, poi inevitabilmente richiedeva l'assistenza dei poteri civili: per combattere gli infedeli nelle loro proprietà, nelle loro funzioni pubbliche, nei loro libri, nella loro vita. Come confessori, teologi, predicatori, agenti,

diplomatici, i gesuiti dovettero dunque richiamare i governanti alle loro responsabilità, trovare argomenti che li interessassero, convincerli che l'eresia aveva implicazioni politiche, che l'eretico andava punito come il ladro, il delinquente.

Inevitabile fu l'approdo al confronto diretto con le idee politiche: il pensiero di Machiavelli e Bodin, la ragion di stato, posizioni che provocarono dapprima reazione, ma poi vennero, per così dire, addomesticate. Inevitabile fu il confronto con Giovanni Botero, con il quale i gesuiti ebbero molti punti in comune, per esempio la reputazione del re come status più importante: come preservarla? Qui si precisò, nota l'autore, la distanza di Botero da Machiavelli, che rifiutava, diversamente dall'ex gesuita, l'idea che liberalità e magnificenza fossero espressione dell'autorità del principe. Vi era poi, in Botero, la centralità dell'uniformità religiosa, la convinzione dell'obbedienza a un'unica fede come condizione di conservazione dello Stato. Il cristianesimo secondo Botero era la vera religione civile (più della religione antica, più di quella dei musulmani), l'unica a garantire la soggezione di corpi e anime al principe (p. 115); e il cattolicesimo, in tale contesto, gli appariva come la fede più affine alla sua ragion di stato. Botero contribuì dunque a preparare la strada ai gesuiti per affrontare i temi della *potestas* e della tolleranza, per ricomporre la compatibilità (rifiutata da Machiavelli) tra conservazione dello Stato e obblighi della religione e della morale.

L'esito fu la distinzione tra due ragion di stato. Una falsa e machiavellica, caratterizzata da certa tolleranza religiosa (quella dei *politiques*), cui si pervenne attraverso un'operazione di trasformazione di Machiavelli e dell' "ateismo" da espressione della politica di intolleranza e persecuzione nel loro opposto (Botero e Antonio Possevino fecero del pensatore fiorentino il politico della neutralità, della prudenza mondana). E poi la ragion di stato vera, giusta, cristiana.

Rimaneva, dicevamo, il problema di convincere i principi a combattere l'eresia: una cosa era che ciò apparisse buono, un'altra che il principe fosse a tale lotta obbligato. La tolleranza divenne tema di riflessione della casuistica, in cui il buono morale era distinto dal buono utile, la saggezza religiosa dalla prudenza umana, per dimostrare che la tolleranza non solo era immorale e irreligiosa ma anche cattiva da un punto di vista politico (l'intervento della Provvidenza sarebbe andato a favore del principe zelante verso la vera fede). L'argomento decisivo dunque, per convincere i sovrani, era che l'eresia metteva in pericolo lo Stato. L'autore cita a questo proposito molti scritti gesuiti (p. 112), tutti redatti secondo un medesimo schema, a dimostrare in particolare che la pacifica coesistenza di fedi diverse nello stesso Stato sarebbe stata impossibile, essendo la tolleranza (eccettuati casi estremi) non solo immorale ma anche cattiva politicamente.

Nell'analisi delle posizioni gesuitiche c'è spazio anche per tematiche quali la legittimità della guerra contro gli eretici, la brutalità e le violenze contro di loro ammesse (pp. 132-133). Ma, secondo i pensatori gesuiti, occorre in particolari congiunture sospendere queste pratiche qualora fossero state messe a rischio anime innocenti e cattoliche (era la teoria del male minore—la sospensione di una pratica di intolleranza—per preservare la società da un male maggiore). Come accadde con il tirannicidio, anche la ragion di stato dei gesuiti diventava in questo caso uguale alle altre (si veda ad esempio quella sostenuta in terra inglese). Ampio spazio in questa parte del libro è dato anche a discussioni di carattere giuridico (casuistico), per esempio attorno alla questione delle relazioni da intrattenere con gli eretici, dell'osservanza di patti e promesse con loro stipulate (pp. 157-58). Valutate tutte le circostanze, i patti con gli eretici andavano osservati, per il comune battesimo e lo stesso Dio che univa cattolici e protestanti (punto questo su cui Martin Becanus si differenziò da altri gesuiti).

Per comprendere ragion di stato e prudenza politica fu importante riflettere sulla natura dell'autorità: la *potestas*, legittima capacità all'azione, al governo, a disporre delle cose, delle persone. La riflessione di Harro Höpfl affronta diversi problemi: la sua origine, non riconducibile a un trasferimento di poteri già appartenenti ai singoli individui; il legame/passaggio dell'esercizio dell'autorità dal contesto della famiglia alla sfera pubblica; come conciliare subordinazione e libertà naturali (su cui diverso fu il parere anche dei singoli ordini religiosi, p. 205), i diritti dei singoli e quelli del principe. Riflessione teologica e commenti alle sacre scritture costituirono il terreno di analisi di tale problematica (ad esempio il commento a *Romani*, 13 di Alfonso Salmerón, centrale nella riflessione dei gesuiti degli anni '70): ci si confrontò attorno al tema dell'obbedienza, dell'efficacia dell'autorità, coercitiva per via della Caduta originaria, necessaria per punire, per preservare la proprietà, per difendere la comunità dai nemici. Nella maggior parte dei casi emerse da parte gesuita l'esaltazione di una società gerarchicamente organizzata, di un potere costrittivo come condizione per il governo della comunità (soggetta dunque a punizioni, pene corporali e alla condanna a morte dei singoli individui, pratiche non in contraddizione con il quinto comandamento, p. 221).

La parte più stimolante del volume appare quella relativa ai capitoli finali, in cui sono esaminate le tre teorie per cui la Compagnia ricevette accuse e condanne: la derivazione mediata dell'autorità politica, "via popolo," il tirannicidio, il potere indiretto del papa; funzionali (le ultime due) a legittimare il potere di Roma, su cui in realtà, precisa giustamente l'autore, la Compagnia non ebbe posizioni ufficiali (semmai vietò la discussione su entrambi i fronti, p. 225).

I tre aspetti del pensiero politico elaborato dai gesuiti sono analizzati in modo molto approfondito, prendendo in esame le posizioni di autori come Roberto Bellarmino, Juan de Molina, Robert Persons, Juan de Mariana,

Francisco Suarez (confrontati con il pensiero domenicano), affrontando problemi come il passaggio dalla legittimità della *potestas* alla legittimità del singolo principe, che è poi il passaggio dal diritto divino e naturale al diritto umano, e precisando che mentre la *potestas* ecclesiastica partecipava del diritto divino, ogni potere regio riceveva la propria ragione d'essere per via mediana, dal popolo/comunità (es. del Molina, che seguiva le tesi di Francisco de Vitoria, p. 229).

Ma questo non significò il riconoscimento alla comunità dei poteri (di legiferare, governare) concessi ai governanti. L'analisi di questo aspetto della *potestas* doveva servire a chiarire il tema del diritto di restringere l'autorità dei re che abusavano del loro potere, su cui note sono le posizioni di Juan de Mariana: la sua discussione sulla condizione pre-civile, segnata da una prima fase di età dell'oro, poi dalla guerra; quindi la *societas* come risposta all'esigenza di difesa, e infine lo Stato e il governo necessari per reprimere la malizia degli uomini; cui fa seguire, il gesuita, la riflessione sulla legittimità del singolo sovrano e sulle possibili conseguenze della degenerazione del suo governo. Mariana non precisa l'idea di stato di natura: l'attenzione ad un'origine, a uno stato iniziale serve per stabilire un tempo ove ancora mancano tradizione, antichità, costumi; i riferimenti a un originario stato di innocenza non delineano una condizione naturale che serva a definire status di pre-civiltà, parametri per giudicare la legittimità del potere civile (p. 261), per confrontare diritto positivo e legge naturale. Prevale invece nei teologi/politici di diversa appartenenza uno stato di natura come contrapposto allo stato di grazia, essendo questo il problema teologico fondamentale per cattolici e protestanti nel percorso verso la salvezza (saranno Hobbes e Grotio a porre la questione del rapporto tra stato di natura e contratto, p. 261).

Contraddittoria, nota l'autore, appare la posizione di Suarez. All'idea della costituzione della società perfetta per volontà degli individui e del conseguente patto, si contrappose, in altre parti della sua riflessione, l'idea del costituirsi della comunità perfetta contemporaneamente all'affermarsi dell'autorità regia (p. 254): la comunità tiene presso di sé la *potestas* giusto il tempo per delegarla al principe. Diversamente da Mariana, Suarez poneva dunque alla base del suo pensiero il principio di alienabilità. Ogni principato ha una sua data di inizio: c'è un contratto originario alla sua origine (come dice Molina): il trasferimento della *potestas* segna la sua nascita. Ciò che mancò fu la riflessione circa il fatto che la cessione della *potestas* avrebbe dovuto avere il consenso dei singoli, un' incoerenza, precisa l'autore, dovuta alla preoccupazione del gesuita di dare vita a un principato che godesse dell'obbedienza di tutti gli individui. In ogni caso anche in Suarez rimase aperta la possibilità dell'autodifesa contro il tiranno, la possibilità della sua deposizione: attraverso la decisione di una sorta di struttura istituzionale, un consiglio di cittadini, evidentemente rimasto in vita nonostante il trasferimento di ogni autorità al principe.

Prevalse conseguentemente la consapevolezza che a conservare la comunità politica non erano le leggi ma il *principatus*, cioè solide e durature relazioni di obbedienza e comando (p. 263): in sintesi, non il contenuto (naturale o divino), non il fine (bene comune) ma la fonte (*potestas*) della legge rendeva obbligatoria l'obbedienza dei sudditi (anche se appare altrettanto vero che i gesuiti non poterono essere soddisfatti di simile soluzione, essendo contrari a leggi che non rispettavano la volontà divina, p. 275). Il processo di produzione legislativa prevedeva per Suarez alcuni passaggi obbligatori, dall'attore che lo elaborava al comando di obbedienza: mai il consenso alla legge di chi doveva poi rispettarla. Il diritto alla vita, alla difesa personale, all'integrità corporea, alla difesa dell'onore, dei beni era certamente in grado di legittimare una serie di atti altrimenti proibiti (p. 296). Ma alla fine, nel pensiero di molti gesuiti (compreso Suarez), i diritti individuali rimasero sempre subordinati a quelli della collettività. Così la proprietà privata non fu per loro un diritto naturale (p. 297). Emblematico del rapporto tra interessi individuali e collettivi fu la questione delle tasse (si veda il volume a p. 312).

Nonostante la preoccupazione generale dei gesuiti fosse rivolta verso il principato e il principe, e nonostante propendessero sempre in favore dell'obbedienza, è sorprendente, sottolinea l'autore, che proprio i gesuiti siano stati associati all'espressione politica più polemica e anarchica verso la monarchia: il tirannicidio, caso tipico di discussione teologica e giuridica, oggetto di ampia discussione all'epoca, come emerge anche dalla diffusione su larga scala del tema iconografico di Giuditta e Oloferne. La riflessione su quella teoria non poteva essere disattesa, tanto più in un contesto di attacco polemico contro la Compagnia, in particolare dopo i fatti francesi. Il tema si legava sia ai limiti riconosciuti dai gesuiti alla *potestas* civile, sia alla questione del potere indiretto. Le fonti, antico testamento, vangelo, concili, testi patristici, pontefici, san Tommaso confermavano che l'unità della fede reclamava l'esercizio del potere da parte della sfera ecclesiastica, del papa (pp. 355-356).

Pur tra opinioni differenti si affermò una generale opposizione a un esercizio privato del diritto di assassinare il tiranno. Il principe doveva essere prima giudicato, doveva prevalere anche in tale circostanza un preciso ordine gerarchico. Una procedura complessa—"only after this procedure..."—avrebbe potuto portare alla legittimità dell'assassinio, attraverso l'intervento di assemblee, stati, del papa infine: il diritto al tirannicidio diventava complementare al potere di deposizione esercitato dal sovrano pontefice.

La questione, nel libro di Harro Höpfl, si amplia a una riflessione più generale sul rapporto principi-Chiesa e al processo di "territorializzazione" di quest'ultima. In ogni realtà statale acquistarono importanza vescovi, confessori di corte, teologi, predicatori, diventati i rappresentanti della Chiesa davanti al principe, a fronte di una ritirata, per così dire, di Roma stessa, meno aggressiva

nella sua politica estera. Anche la Compagnia fu coinvolta in questo processo (p. 341), evidente per esempio nelle posizioni politiche contrapposte dei confessori dei principi dell'impero. Alla fine anche l'iterata affermazione dell'indipendenza dei due poteri non poté essere effettivamente sostenuta: prevalse di fatto la concezione teocratica, il fine ultimo del potere secolare essendo il servizio alla Chiesa (p. 358), il temporale essendo subordinato allo spirituale, la comunità spirituale e quella civile essendo un'unica cosa nella Chiesa. Hobbes, ovviamente, non avrebbe avuto queste preoccupazioni.

Università di Udine

Flavio Rurale

I beati del papa. Santità, Inquisizione e obbedienza in età moderna. Di Miguel Gotor. [Biblioteca della Rivista di Storia e Letterature Religiose. Studi XVI.] (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, [2003]. Pp. 443. N.p. Paperback.)

Lo studio della santità non può prescindere da quello del suo riconoscimento, dall'emergere spontaneo delle forme di culto *post mortem* nell'età più antica fino alle più complesse procedure di canonizzazione dell'epoca moderna e contemporanea. La possibilità di ricostruire storicamente le procedure di canonizzazione, d'altro canto, non coinvolge soltanto la storia delle istituzioni che progressivamente ne rivendicano la relativa competenza, ma comprende anche la stessa valutazione della fenomenologia della santità, aiutando a capire le diverse percezioni che le varie epoche hanno avuto circa la tensione dei cristiani a raggiungere livelli di perfezione personale, variamente codificati anche in ambito teologico.

All'interno dello studio delle variazioni relative alla percezione e al riconoscimento della santità riveste una particolare importanza il periodo tra la fine del XVI e l'inizio del XVII secolo, allorché si strutturarono e consolidarono tendenze e forze emerse dalla controversa e lunga stagione successiva al Concilio di Trento. Quel segmento cronologico risulta per tanti aspetti decisivo non soltanto per la storia religiosa del XVI secolo, ma per tutta l'età moderna: Roma, in particolare, fu al centro di complesse partite di assestamento degli equilibri politici, sociali e religiosi interni alla Chiesa cattolica, che l'esigenza di combattere i rischi della frantumazione dell'istituzione e la necessità di salvaguardare le strutture messe in pericolo dalla Riforma sembravano aver temporaneamente messo in secondo piano.

In questo difficile quadro istituzionale trova una sua peculiare collocazione il fenomeno del riconoscimento della santità, uno degli elementi più fortemente contestati dalla Riforma protestante, essendo essa necessariamente valutata sulla base della risposta dell'uomo, con la sua collaborazione, alla grazia di Dio: il criterio del merito nel processo di grazia – fondamentale per il riconoscimento della santità – era all'antitesi della *sola gratia* e, soprattutto, prospettava visioni

antropologiche completamente diverse tra il cattolicesimo e il protestantesimo nelle sue varie espressioni. Ma – superato con il decreto tridentino il problema della collaborazione dell'uomo – la partita si spostò piuttosto sulla valutazione dei criteri validi per diagnosticare la santità. E, in questa direzione, ai parametri generali si affiancarono anche esigenze di visibilità o di forza che i diversi attori mettevano in campo, per favorire i propri candidati e, talora, per ostacolare la canonizzazione di quelli presentati da altri.

Il libro di Miguel Gotor indaga i criteri con cui si definì la canonizzazione nel periodo che va dalla fine del Cinquecento al pontificato di Urbano VIII, che – com'è noto – regolamentò con una dettagliata legislazione la materia delle canonizzazioni, operando per una restrizione delle competenze episcopali e conferendo una vera e propria struttura processuale alle pratiche per l'elevazione agli onori degli altari.

Il volume prende le mosse da uno dei casi più problematici portato all'attenzione della Congregazione dei Riti: la canonizzazione di Girolamo Savonarola, proposta a Clemente VIII. Nonostante le buone intenzioni iniziali, papa Aldobrandini non riuscì a superare gli ostacoli che furono messi in campo dagli avversari di tale riconoscimento. L'ostilità nei confronti della canonizzazione del frate domenicano non nasceva tanto da una valutazione della conformità della sua vita agli ideali evangelici, quanto piuttosto dalla valenza simbolica della sua personalità e dalle conseguenze di una sua possibile glorificazione: la canonizzazione, infatti, era piuttosto la proposta di un'idea, contenendo in sé anche una prospettiva propagandistica, di cui beneficiavano i promotori dell'iniziativa anche per scopi evidentemente legati all'attualità. Sul caso Savonarola furono forti le pressioni esercitate dall'Inquisizione e da vari altri protagonisti, che volevano bloccare il significato “eversivo,” rispetto alla loro concezione ecclesiologica, che quella canonizzazione avrebbe comportato. L'Ordine dei Frati Predicatori non riuscì a infrangere la variegata opposizione emergente a varie riprese.

Proprio il caso Savonarola costituisce il motivo che consente a Gotor di introdurre una differenziazione tra “beati vincenti” e “beati perdenti,” indagando singoli casi, che vengono seguiti nel loro *iter* ora favorevole (Felice da Cantalice, Filippo Neri, Ignazio di Loyola, Carlo Borromeo) ora negativo (Evangelista Gerbi, Angelo Del Pas, Filippo De Rebaldis e Francesca Vacchini), a seconda della forza dei cosiddetti “gruppi di pressione.”

La valutazione “politica” dei processi appare abbastanza convincente, anche se – a nostro avviso – non costituisce l'unica chiave di lettura di un fenomeno complesso, all'interno del quale vi erano forze – come dimostra proprio il caso di Savonarola – che sinceramente e autenticamente potevano interpretare il vissuto del candidato come esemplare e lo potevano sceglierlo quale modello per la propria esistenza.

Dopo la concitata fase clementina, nella quale si confrontarono talora con esito incerto le forze in campo, in quella, articolata e complessa, di Paolo V (1607-1621), intorno al 1615 – e ne è significativo esempio la vicenda del culto di Francesca Vacchini da Viterbo – si registra una svolta, che sancisce l'avvenuta vittoria dell'Inquisizione, codificata successivamente dall'emanazione e dall'applicazione dei decreti di Urbano VIII. Parallela, ma tutt'altro che distante e sostanzialmente animata dalla stessa radice autoritaria, appare la contestuale decisione della condanna di Galilei: era, in fin dei conti, anche se su un altro versante, l'espressione di un unitario giro di vite della Chiesa. Condanna della scienza e restrizioni in materia di canonizzazione proponevano un'istituzione più forte, autoritaria, decisa.

Il libro si sostanzia in sette capitoli, articolati cronologicamente. L'apparato probatorio risulta abbastanza convincente e tiene conto di una notevole varietà di fonti, da quelle propriamente processuali, a quelle archivistiche, non ignorando le potenzialità della vasta letteratura agiografica, che trovò nelle biografie il genere letterario più idoneo a favorire il culto, generando una produzione straordinariamente densa e vasta, la quale va accostata non tanto per il contenuto relativo alla vicenda del biografato, quanto piuttosto per i significati sottesi all'esemplarità della sua esistenza e alla valenza propagandistica che essa prospettava. Lo sfruttamento di queste biografie nella valutazione della capacità persuasiva dei "gruppi di pressione," che agivano per il buon esito di una candidatura agli altari, risulta molto interessante e apprezzabile, e sollecita ulteriori indagini per scoprire le personalità di quei biografi professionisti, finora piuttosto trascurati, sul piano letterario, per la ripetitività delle loro affermazioni e, su quello storico, per la scarsa attendibilità delle notizie: in realtà, proprio le carenze letterarie e storiche di tali scritti possono fornire chiavi di lettura estremamente interessanti sul registro della loro formazione e degli scopi che erano loro assegnati dai committenti delle biografie.

Il volume, dunque, sollecita notevoli riflessioni sul problema delle canonizzazioni in età moderna. L'autore è stato capace di evidenziare le connessioni tra il riconoscimento della santità e la parallela – ma non distante – storia del papato, della curia romana, dell'inquisizione, degli ordini religiosi, della teologia morale. Da tutti questi particolari segmenti storici fu influenzato in modo vieppiù forte il difficile *iter* per il riconoscimento della santità: resta, ora, da verificare come questo riconoscimento, con tante interferenze, sia stato recepito dai destinatari della pratica di canonizzazione, vale a dire dal popolo cristiano, quanto di quelle motivazioni di fondo che avevano animato gli attori delle Cause giunte alla base, in che modo fu recepito nei diversi ambiti di attività in cui operavano i gruppi di pressione dei "beati vincenti," e se e come, al contrario, fu spiegato dagli attori dei "beati perdenti" la loro sconfitta, che, evidentemente, comprendeva anche una rivisitazione dei parametri fondamentali della loro azione pastorale. Il cantiere delle verifiche periferiche risulta,

dunque, complementare a questa indagine effettuata al vertice: e proprio con una lettura dalla base sarà possibile, evidentemente, raccogliere altre suggestioni, slegate dai prevalenti aspetti “politici” che si concentrarono e depositarono sul fenomeno della santità nell’ambito della curia romana.

Libera Università “S. Pio V,” Roma

Ulderico Parente

Remembering Your Deeds. The Psalms and the Spiritual Exercises. De Blaise Arminjon, S.J. Trans. Francis C. Brennan, S.J. [No. 30 in Series IV: Studies on Jesuit Topics.] (St. Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 2006. Pp. ix, 266. \$37.95 Cloth; \$27.95 Paper.)

Publié en 1990, ce livre de méditations sur les Psaumes a connu un beau succès dans l’aire francophone. L’auteur, aujourd’hui décédé, n’est pas un exégète. Il a rempli d’importantes fonctions de gouvernement et de conseil spirituel dans la province jésuite de France et au-delà. Bon connaisseur de la tradition spirituelle, proche du P. Henri de Lubac, il a eu l’idée de proposer un parcours de retraite spirituelle conforme aux Exercices de saint Ignace et qui s’appuierait exclusivement sur les Psaumes.

Il n’est pas un état d’âme, en effet, pas une situation spirituelle qui ne trouve son expression dans les Psaumes. Le psautier reflète tous les aspects et toutes les vicissitudes possibles de la condition humaine. Il fournit au croyant les mots pour dire sa détresse, sa jubilation, son indignation, sa supplication, son découragement, sa confiance, bref tous les mouvements qui peuvent s’emparer du cœur humain.

L’itinéraire tout entier des Exercices spirituels est donc ici balisé en dix étapes, du Principe et Fondement à l’Action de grâce pour l’Amour, en passant par les points essentiels des quatre semaines, avec une note particulière pour “Struggle and discernment.” Pour chaque étape, deux ou trois psaumes fournissent la matière à méditer. (L’édition originale présente deux étapes de plus, l’une sur “Les alternances de consolation et désolation,” l’autre sur “La Sainte Jérusalem,” c’est-à-dire l’Eglise; elle présente aussi une dizaine de psaumes supplémentaires.)

Ce livre est le fruit d’une longue expérience des retraites et d’une grande familiarité avec l’Ecriture, les Pères et les mystiques. “Sans prétention scientifique,” l’auteur propose une rumination de la Parole qui s’apparente aux *Enarrationes* augustinienes et à la *lectio divina*, dans l’esprit de l’exégèse médiévale. Le texte des psaumes est établi en fonction des exégèses les plus récentes et les plus proches du texte hébreu. Le commentaire s’inspire d’Augustin, de Grégoire de Nazianze, de Bernard, de François d’Assise, de Jean

de la Croix, de Thérèse d'Avila, d'Elisabeth de la Trinité, bref des grands témoins de la tradition spirituelle.

C'est évidemment l'esprit de discernement ignatien, esprit de lucidité et de liberté, qui a orienté le choix des psaumes et qui fournit leur dynamique à ces pages savoureuses. L'auteur sait bien, ainsi qu'il l'explique dans sa brève introduction dont la traduction ne reproduit que le dernier alinéa, « qu'au jardin des Ecritures il est permis d'aller et de venir, de s'arrêter et de repartir, en se laissant simplement guider dans sa marche par l'attrait et le goût ». Ainsi se dessinent peu à peu les motifs qui vont permettre à chacun de reconnaître la manière dont l'Esprit lui parle, la manière dont Dieu a agi envers lui et continue d'agir en lui, comme le suggère avec bonheur le titre de la traduction (titre original: "Sur la lyre à dix cordes").

Facultés jésuites de Paris (Centre Sèvres)

Dominique Salin, S.J.

Chinese Books and Documents in the Jesuit Archives in Rome: A Descriptive Catalogue.

Japonica-Sinica I-IV. By Albert Chan, S.J. [Study of the Ricci Institute for Chinese-Western Cultural History "An East Gate Book."] (Armonk [New York]/London: M.E. Sharpe, 2002. Pp. xliii, 626. \$145.00 Hardback.)

While this belated review of an important catalogue of Chinese books comes five years after its publication, this delay has no correlation with the quality of the work or its scholarly significance for anyone working in the field of the history of Christianity in China. The late Albert Chan, S.J. (1915-1990), a bibliophile of the first order and an expert in Ming history, spared no effort in meticulously compiling the volume. Two periods of intensive work in the Roman Archives of the Society of Jesus in Rome (ARSI) in 1972 and again in 1975-76 at the behest of the archivist, Edmond Lamalle, S.J. (1900-1989), were followed up with further research in Hong Kong libraries on the Chinese sources described therein. After Fr. Chan moved from China to the University of San Francisco in 1985, he found a number of enthusiastic and competent collaborators at the Ricci Institute for Chinese-Western Cultural History—founded the previous year by Edward Malatesta, S.J. (1932-1998)—who assisted him in completing the manuscript and preparing it for publication in its present form. The result, which took thirty years to bring to completion, represents a milestone in Chinese bibliography and will remain a fundamental reference source for decades to come for anyone interested in the interaction between China and the West from the late sixteenth to the mid-eighteenth centuries in general and in Christian missions in East Asia in particular. What follows is a brief description of its contents, the rationale behind its compilation, and the complexity of the task faced by Fr. Chan and those who assisted him along the way.

In his preface, the author sets the scene with a brief summary of the most salient moments in the turbulent history of the Jesuit archival collections in Rome. Understanding that history is essential for any scholar who hopes to make effective use of the materials preserved in that archive. In fact, not only is the collection described in Chan's catalogue eclectic in the genres, periods, and authors of manuscript and printed works it contains, but it must be viewed and integrated with various other collections in Rome and beyond with which it is inextricably tied. These remarks call for further clarification.

In view of the rapid expansion of Jesuit missions outside of Europe since its inception in 1540, the growth in numbers of its members, and its insistence on frequent contact between the "periphery" and its central headquarters in Rome, the Society of Jesus quickly became one of the largest repositories of documents of any religious order. The East Asian missions, initially under the royal patronage of Portugal, Spain, and later France, also remained in close contact with the courts at Lisbon, Madrid, and Paris. The result was a diversified archive of documents, ranging from internal administrative letters recounting the day-to-day work of the Jesuit missionaries in minute detail (which included both official reports or "annual letters" and personal correspondence to the General superior or other officials of the Jesuit curia in Rome) to meticulously compiled geographical and ethnographical descriptions, catechisms and summaries of Christian doctrine (in this case, composed in Japanese and Chinese), as well as a variety of linguistic tools compiled by the local missionaries, such as grammars and dictionaries, to name but a few. When these documents arrived in Rome, they were catalogued and made available to members of the General's curia who were responsible for formulating policies and overseeing the administration of the missions. Today the Jesuit archives in Rome contain approximately one hundred thousand manuscript folios related to East Asia bound in over two hundred volumes. The documents sent from Japan, China, Vietnam, and Siam form the bulk of today's *Japonica-Sinica* collection and are numbered with Arabic numerals 1-202. Unfortunately, while detailed indices have been compiled for numerous volumes, these remain for the most part unpublished with the exception of Obara Satoru's *Kirishitan bunko. Iezusu-kai Nihon kankei monjo* (Tokyo: Nansōsha, 1981).

As the missionaries mastered the East Asian languages they had first encountered in the mid to late sixteenth century, they began to compose different works in Japanese and Chinese. Many of these pamphlets and books were subsequently published either on the Jesuit mission press in Japan, which began operations on a Gutenberg hand-press that the missionaries brought back with them from Portugal in 1590, or by Chinese *literati*, who befriended the Jesuits and helped them to make the necessary contacts with local print shops throughout the country. Unlike in Japan, where the Jesuits used metal type, in China these books were printed using the traditional woodblock or

xylographic technique. These *literati*, some of whom became Christians themselves, often assisted the foreign Jesuits with the translation of the texts into Chinese; elsewhere they polished or edited previously translated texts. Moreover, they often lent their own authority and prestige to the books by composing laudatory prefaces or postscripts, which were included in the text; and frequently they even provided the necessary funds to cover the printing costs. This second group of documents, which consists mainly in *printed* materials but includes some manuscripts, also belongs to the *Japonica-Sinica* collection in Rome. These volumes, which are the main object of Chan's catalogue, are numbered with Roman numerals, I-IV.

The suppression of the Jesuits in 1773, with the resulting confiscation of its archives, and the nationalization in Italy of all collections belonging to religious orders, which was carried out by the new government of Giuseppe Garibaldi in the early 1870s, resulted in the partial dispersal of what was once a unified collection. The famous Italian Jesuit sinologist, Pietro Tacchi Venturi, S.J. (1861-1956), succeeded in recovering a substantial part of the collection confiscated by the Italian state through the good offices of his friend, Benito Mussolini. Thus, in order to have a complete view of these archival treasures, one must also consult the catalogues of manuscripts and printed materials preserved today in the Vatican Library and the Vittorio Emanuele National Library in Rome, whose holdings integrate and complement the present *Japonica-Sinica* collection and which Chan often refers to or cross-references in his catalogue. He includes other references, where appropriate, to relevant holdings of extant copies in other libraries, such as the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris and the Naikaku Bunko (Cabinet Library) in Tokyo.

In view of this complex history of the collection and the diversity of the materials preserved therein, one of the fundamental difficulties in compiling such a catalogue is the formidable linguistic barrier that can only be overcome by a polyglot with encyclopedic knowledge such as Albert Chan. While the texts described in the catalogue are principally in Chinese, there are others, not to mention abundant manuscript annotations or complementary bibliographic data, in Portuguese, Spanish, Italian, French, and Latin as well as in Manchu and Japanese.

In terms of the variety of materials, we can only cite a few examples to illustrate the collection. Catechisms and summaries of Christian doctrine in Chinese figure prominently. Besides two very rare copies of the 1584 imprint of Michele Ruggieri's *Tianzhu shilu* (I, 189-190), there are also several copies of Matteo Ricci's *Tianzhu shiyi* (I, 44-47), including a rare copy of its translation into Manchu (I, 48). Other important works include the catechism (I, 87) by Ludovico Buglio (1606-1682), the Christian doctrine by Andrea Zottoli (I, 176), a treatise on a happy death by João Fróis (1591-1638), and the life of Christ by

Giulio Aleni (1582-1649) with engravings that portray Christ with Oriental features (I, 187-188), based on the famous illustrated work by Jerónimo Nadal (1507-1580).

Another genre is represented by debates with the Chinese concerning various aspects of Christian doctrine such as Ricci's *Pianxue yidu* (I, 50-51) and his *Jijien shipian* (I, 52); the latter work he considered to be his most influential among scholars. Other books, composed by Chinese authors, some of whom were converts, compare Christianity and Confucianism (I, 38/42), attempt to refute Buddhism (I, 132), or offer a comparison between Christian and pagan ideas (I, 134). Translation of the classics, both East and West, was the key medium of intercultural dialogue between the missionaries and their Chinese interlocutors. Thus, we find a partial rendering of Thomas Aquinas's *Summa theologiae* into Chinese by Ludovico Buglio (II, 3-9) on the one hand, and the first translations of the Confucian classics into Italian and Latin by Prospero Intorcetta (1625-1696) (III, 3-4) on the other.

The Jesuit contribution in print to the introduction of Western sciences in China cannot be described here in detail. Insight into the Jesuits' perception of their scholarly endeavours is gained by examining volumes that dealt with both scientific and philosophical questions. Among these we find a volume on human nature and the soul, *Xingxue zishu* (II, 21), a dialogue in question and answer format regarding Europe and its culture, *Xifang dawen* (II, 22), a summary of Western learning, *Xixue fan* (II, 23), and a treatise on geometry, *Jihe yaofa* (II, 18), all composed by Giulio Aleni. Johann Adam Schall von Bell's work at the Bureau of Astronomy is illustrated in works such as his exposition of Western astronomy, *Xinli xiaohuo* (II, 39.6-7), his treatise on celestial bodies, *Huntian yishuo* (II, 39.9), and another study on lunar eclipses, *Ceshilue* (II, 40.2), to mention but a few titles. Other treasures in the collection include several rare texts printed in Japan on the Jesuit mission press (I, 199, 201, 202, and 207) and in Manila on the Dominican mission press (I, 170-171). Finally, there are also various documents relating to the Chinese rites controversy, including the writings of Joachim Bouvet (1656-1730), one of the Jesuits sent to China by Louis XIV of France, letters by the Jesuits in Beijing defending their work (III, 1), and an account of the meeting between Chinese lay Catholics and the Vicar General (I, 205).

The entire catalogue is preceded by a full author and title list of all the books and documents contained therein, given both in Chinese characters and in Roman transcription where appropriate. Entries are listed according to the shelf-marks in the *Japonica-Sinica* collection in the Roman Archives. There is also a list of bibliographical references and abbreviations. In the catalogue itself, each entry opens with a detailed bibliographical description, including physical features of each book and any handwritten annotations on the binding, cover,

or in the works themselves. These often help identify who owned the copy in question, who annotated the text, who received it as a gift, who catalogued it when it arrived in Rome, and who added any further comments about any aspect of the book such as its author, printing, provenance, and condition (e. g. annotations by Ricci himself [I, 45] and D'Elia's detailed notes on Ruggieri's 1584 catechism [I, 189]).

Another key feature of each entry is the history of the text and of its publication; for some books it also lists a folio by folio description of its contents. At the end of each entry, there are also references to standard reference bibliographies such as those by Pfister, Cordier, Courant, and Streit. Moreover, Chan's descriptions give cross-references to other works in the volume as well as to extant copies in different library collections throughout the world. Chan pays particular attention to and discusses in detail both the prefaces and postscripts in many volumes, which offer the reader great insight into the social network of printers and *literati* with whom the Jesuits and other missionaries associated and who were willing to endorse publicly the missionaries' writings. Further data is mined from other manuscript sources in the *Japonica-Sinica* manuscript collection in ARSI, and especially from correspondence that provides valuable information on a particular volume's author, its content, the process of its compilation, or the vicissitudes surrounding its publication in China (e. g. Ludovico Buglio's Chinese version of the *Rituale Romanum* of 1675 [I, 161]).

Chan employs the Wade-Giles system throughout for transcriptions but also gives the Chinese characters for titles, personal and place names, as well as for important excerpts or quotations from the original text. At the end of the volume there are five indices that include the following: (1) an alphabetical list of works by title, sub-divided into Chinese titles (listed in Roman transcription) and titles in Western languages followed by the shelf-mark in ARSI, the page number in Chan's catalogue, or both; (2) a list of printing houses and publishers – extremely useful in reconstructing the relationship between Jesuit missionaries and their Chinese friends, patrons, and sponsors; (3) a list of names of places; (4) a subject index; (5) a list of names of persons, with sub-headings referring to the function of the person (author, preface writer, reviser, proofreader, collaborator, compiler, censor, commentator, annotator) and/or other significant data about that person in relation to the Christian mission in China.

Perhaps not a book for the faint-hearted or the beginner Sinologist, its complexity requires the reader to study carefully the intricate web of connections between each entry and the collection as a whole as well as the relation between individual works listed therein and other works or collections in other libraries or archives. In short, it represents no less than a printed “database” and it will remain a major reference work of encyclopedic erudition at an

interdisciplinary level, spanning different cultures, languages, and centuries. To facilitate its use, the Ricci Institute at the University of San Francisco is presently completing a digital version of Chan's printed catalogue, whose search capabilities will make it even more versatile and useful to scholars. Approximately ten percent of these bibliographic records are already available on the Institute's online library website (<http://riccilibrary.usfca.edu>). Anyone who consults Chan's catalogue even briefly will not only profit by finding answers to common queries but will soon discover new aspects of the history of Christianity and of Christian books in China and beyond.

Campion Hall, Oxford

M. Antoni J. Üçerler, S.J.

Clero cattolico e società europea nell'età moderna. By Mario Rosa. [Biblioteca Essenziale Laterza 73.] (Roma: Editori Laterza, 2006. Pp. xiii, 157. € 10,00. Paperback.)

This compact volume is modest in scope and ambition. In the introduction, Rosa states that he does not intend to write a "general history of Catholicism in Europe, for the period under consideration" but that he has, instead, "attempted a comparative reconstruction of various aspects of the different segments of the Catholic clergy" on the different hierarchical and organizational levels (vii). In other words, his focus is on the clergy itself within society, not the society as a whole. The subject is an important one: as Rosa notes, the Council of Trent on paper certainly emphasized the powers of the bishop and helped clarify those of the lower clergy, in relationship to each other as well as to the pope and to secular society. Since most readers are likely to be aware not only of the broad outlines of the history, and perhaps even familiar with Rosa's vast corpus, I will focus on the generalities in this review; it is not a book containing new research or controversial arguments, so I will simply consider whether it performs its objective well.

The pinpoint focus, not surprisingly, does not mean that Rosa's task is exactly small: the first section broadly covers, as its title suggests, "The Ecclesiastical Hierarchies and Aristocracies in a Divided Europe"—in a few pages laying out the various challenges and traditions of the bishops in the Iberian and Italian peninsulas, France, the Holy Roman Empire and its dependent territories, Poland, Switzerland, the Low Countries, and Britain, as well as their relationships with their local political establishment. This vast scope is surely to be commended; few studies of clergy can boast comparisons across more than a couple of regions within a small geographical area (I admit my own guilt here!), much less across the European continent, and extensive treatment is surely welcome in a study with appeal beyond the academy. The political terminology is deliberate and consistent—as in calling the Spanish and

Portuguese churches “The Churches of the Kings.” The second section, called “The ‘Workers in the Vineyard,’” discusses the “ecclesiastical proletariat;” the third section is called “The ‘Militias of Rome.”” In the latter sections, Rosa does not repeat his survey of all regions of Europe, but focuses instead on central, eastern, and southern Europe, for the obvious reason that Catholic clergy in these areas were an integral part of society, not marginalized or even persecuted as in the northwestern regions of the continent and Britain.

Rosa devotes two-thirds of the work to the upper clergy and the religious orders, but does not neglect the secular clergy, what he calls the proletariat or the “weak presence.” Because his main concern is not the pastoral element of the job—this is not to say he ignores it; he certainly does address it—he considers the role of economics, in particular the benefice system, politics, and the importance of the various ecclesiastical institutions (for example oratorios and seminaries) in the life of the clergy. The balance struck among the three sections—bishops, secular clergy, and regular clergy—reflects a lifetime of research and careful attention to detail.

The annotated bibliography, while large, indicates some weaknesses. First, it is somewhat dated, with the majority of its entries written prior to 2000; second, it concentrates (as the author indicates in the opening paragraphs of the section) on Italian-language works. Since this book is part of the Laterza series “Biblioteca Essenziale,” in which the average length is 175 pages, and since it has no citations, it is presumably aimed at a general Italian audience and therefore would not serve the graduate or upper-level undergraduate classroom well. On the other hand, it is well done and approachable in tone—quite readable, in fact—and thus would indeed provide an essential understanding to the non-specialized reader.

Georgia Southern University, Statesboro, Georgia Kathleen M. Comerford

Religione, conflittualità e cultura. Il clero regolare nell'Europa d'Antico Regime. A cura di Massimo Carlo Giannini. [= *Cheiron* 43/44.] (Roma: Bulzoni, 2006. S. 396. € 55,00. Hardback.)

Il volume raccoglie i contributi di un Seminario internazionale di studi tenutosi nel giugno 2004 presso l'Università di Teramo e affronta in modo convincente, ma per certi versi problematico, un tema di grande attualità come quello del mondo dei regolari in età moderna. I saggi pubblicati sono tutti contraddistinti da accuratezza storiografica e affrontano problemi, anche di grande respiro, legati alla centrale questione del rapporto fra politica, cultura e religione ovvero religiosità in età moderna. Sia detto subito che la qualità del volume è ottima, sia per ampiezza tematica (dagli aspetti più propriamente istituzionali, artistici e culturali, a quelli politici, teologici, di governo interno e

di rapporti tra i singoli ordini), sia per profondità analitica dei singoli contributi, che trattano, solo per citarne alcuni, fenomeni di lungo periodo come il rapporto tra la Compagnia di Gesù e le strutture di governo della Chiesa (Flavio RURALE), la figura del cardinale protettore (Massimo Carlo Giannini), ovvero il controverso rapporto tra la congregazione di *Propaganda Fide* e gli ordini impegnati nelle missioni (Giovanni Pizzorusso); oppure aspetti più particolari, come la celebre controversia *de auxiliis* (Paolo Broggio), ovvero le conflittualità tra e negli ordini nei territori d'oltralpe (Alexander Koller, Bernard Dompnier, István György Tóth, Silvano Giordano, Silvio Hermann de Franceschi). Da questo punto di vista il volume sarà certamente un punto di riferimento obbligato per chi si voglia avvicinare al tema della presenza del clero regolare nell'Europa di Antico Regime.

Più controverso (e proprio per questo motivo stimolante) è, a giudizio del recensente, l'approccio complessivo con il quale il volume intende affrontare tema qui proposto. Massimo Giannini, nella sua introduzione, mette giustamente in guardia dall'affrontare la storia dei regolari senza tener conto del contesto storico, politico e culturale (p. 21); così come sono opportune le riflessioni di Flavio RURALE circa i fraintendimenti cui può dar luogo un'analisi troppo concentrata sull'aspetto "moderno" e modernizzante dei processi storici in età moderna (p. 25-29). Più problematiche appaiono le affermazioni di Giannini sugli studi di carattere "apologetico e agiografico," chiamati in causa in diversi punti, che avrebbero dominato la scena nel passato, e questo non perché si voglia difendere quelle posizioni, ma semplicemente per non cadere, da un lato, nell'estremo opposto, e ritenere che l'unica storia della Chiesa possibile sia quella dei ricercatori laici, così come questa sarebbe dovuta essere fino a poco tempo fa esclusivo appannaggio dei teologi; dall'altro, per non sostituire agiografie e apologie di natura confessionale con altre di natura laica, dovendo riconoscere, ai migliori tra questi studi, di offrire ancora materiale degno di riflessione se, per esempio, in un contributo riuscito e innovativo come quello di Flavio RURALE, è citata con frequenza un'opera per sua natura apologetica come la *Storia dei Papi* di Ludwig von Pastor. Accettare infine l'immagine della Chiesa post-tridentina "caratterizzata da un rigido verticismo in grado di annullare e riassorbire ogni forma di conflittualità," proposta da "schemi storiografici tradizionali" (p. 21), per proporre una più aderente alla realtà appunto conflittuale della Chiesa stessa, non rende giustizia al sempre intenso dibattito teologico che ha portato e porta tuttora anche a dure prese di posizione e scontri; basti pensare, limitandosi ai temi trattati nel presente volume, alla già ricordata controversia *de auxiliis*, che qui viene analizzata da un punto di vista originale, e a quella dei riti cinesi e malabarici. Le stesse spinte accentratrici da parte di Roma, a cui più volte si accenna nel volume, sono comprensibili solo in un contesto di grande varietà e complessità all'interno del corpo ecclesiale complessivo. Se non si tiene conto di ciò, si corre il rischio di

accettare, pur volendone rifiutare i risultati scientifici, le premesse di quella visione monolitica che in realtà si vuole mettere in discussione in sede di analisi storica.

Sia consentita un'ultima osservazione: nonostante le giuste avvertenze del curatore, il quale mette in guardia dal considerare la conflittualità una "chiave di lettura universale per comprendere una realtà di cui occorre semmai cercare di recuperare e analizzare tutte le complessità, le ambiguità e le stratificazioni" (p. 20), forse un concetto guida così forte e caratterizzante come la conflittualità avrebbe dovuto essere definita con più chiarezza, per differenziarlo, ove necessario, da un lato dalla categoria più generale di complessità, elemento connaturato in ogni aggregazione umana e portatrice in sé di conflittualità, e che più della conflittualità sembra informare i contributi del volume; e dall'altro da quella di "costruzione d'identità" (p. 20), anch'essa più complessa della mera conflittualità, oltre che per sua natura e quasi inevitabilmente causa di conflitti. Si tratta di capire, insomma, se la conflittualità possa essere in sé uno strumento interpretativo efficace, o se sia in realtà un aspetto non direttamente essenziale, per quanto importante, di fenomeni più complessi, quali la religione e la cultura. L'insistere sulla conflittualità rischia forse di non lasciare aperti tutti i possibili esiti di un approccio storiografico convincente come quello proposto nelle presenti ricerche.

Università di Francoforte

Patrizio Foresta

I Gesuiti e la Ratio Studiorum. A cura di Manfred Hinz, Roberto Righi, e Danilo Zardin. ["Europa delle Corti." Centro studi sulle società di antico regime. Biblioteca del Cinquecento 113.] (Roma: Bulzoni, 2004. Pp. 538, illus. € 33.00. Paperback.)

These are the papers from a conference held in Fiesole, Italy, on June 21 and 22, 2002. After a preface and introduction by Michael J. Collins and Manfred Hinz respectively, the volume consists of eighteen papers, thirteen in Italian, four in English, and one in French. Although no information is provided on the contributors, the majority probably come from Italy and others from America, England, and Germany. Despite the use of *Ratio Studiorum* in the title, fewer than half of the articles deal with Jesuit education.

The longest article by far is Amedeo Quondam's 129-page analysis of the words and language of the *Ratio Studiorum*. Quondam emphasizes its classicism. He does not primarily mean the promotion of the study of classical texts. Instead, he sees the *Ratio Studiorum* as having form and balance, pedagogical order and flexibility, a sense of time and place, and as seeking the classical goal of creating the man of good habits, classical culture, and Christian doctrine. Quondam also believes that the *Ratio Studiorum* embodied much of the *studia*

humanitatis pedagogical program developed by fifteenth-century Italian humanists. The article guides the reader to see the *Ratio Studiorum* with new eyes.

Six more articles deal with the books that Jesuits produced in order to supplement the education prescribed by the *Ratio Studiorum*. Manfred Hinz studies several Jesuit progymnasmata, i.e., books of preparatory literary exercises, published at the end of the sixteenth century and in the early seventeenth. It is a good introduction to some lesser known pedagogical works. Danilo Zardin offers a good article on the manuals intended to guide Jesuit congregations. They were a combination of prayers, songs, and rules for virtue. He focuses on a treatise first published in 1576 by Frans Coster, a Belgian Jesuit, and follows it through numerous revisions and adaptations in various lands. Zardin stresses the universality of these manuals. Inge Botteri notes that Jesuit schools consciously stressed good manners. Hence, they produced books designed to foster modesty, grace, *sprezzatura*, good table manners, and affable conversation, just like the classic book of manners, *Il Galateo* (1558) of Giovanni della Casa. She examines a number of examples. Barbara Mahlmann-Bauer in a somewhat diffuse article looks at Antonio Possevino's *Bibliotheca Selecta* (1593) and *Apparatus Sacer* (1603-06), both of which commented on a great quantity of books in many fields. Possevino saw his two books as study guides that would supplement the *Ratio Studiorum*, but he mostly judged the works of other authors in terms of their fidelity, or lack of it, to Tridentine theological positions. Possevino also saw modern heresies as simply restatements of old heresies, a curious perspective. Mahlmann-Bauer rightly gives Possevino a failing grade for his efforts. Two more articles deal with artistic aspects of Jesuit education. Giovanni Zanlonghi examines some of the components of Jesuit theater that made it a method of teaching virtue. Alessandro Arcangeli looks at Jesuit allegorical ballet.

Other articles range widely. Andrea Battistini looks at a treatise on preaching published in 1615 by a Jesuit preacher, Giulio Mazarini (1544-1621). Because Battistini does not provide life dates and very little information on Mazarini's career, it is a little difficult to put his treatise into context. Roberto Righi examines Martin Delrio's encyclopedia on witchcraft, *Disquisitionum magicarum libri sex* (1599-1601). He focuses on the concept of *fascinatio* (bewitchment). After a brief history of the term, he gives Delrio's view. Even though he saw *fascinatio* as based on a pact with the devil, Delrio had some interesting comments.

Three articles discuss the influence of the *Spiritual Exercises*. Lydia Salviucci Insolera studies the illustrations found in printed editions of the *Spiritual Exercises*, reproducing some of them, with comments on Jesuit theories of images in the seventeenth century. Bernard Teuber and Christian Wehr look at

the influence of the *Spiritual Exercises* on the famous Spanish poet Francisco de Quevedo (1580-1648). A brief article by Michele Ranchetti links the *Spiritual Exercises* to the poetry of Gerard Manley Hopkins of the nineteenth century. Arnold I. Davidson compares the philosophical content of the *Spiritual Exercises* with contemporary philosophy, by which he mostly means Michel Foucault. Another literature article by Luca Curti refutes the view of Ugo Foscolo, articulated in 1816, that the Jesuits were implacably hostile to Dante, by examining the nuanced but basically sympathetic judgments of Jesuits Robert Bellarmine in the late sixteenth century, and Francesco Saverio Quadrio and Saverio Bettinelli in the eighteenth century. The article is quite interesting but would have benefitted from more information about the last two Jesuits.

Two articles discuss conscience and confession. Robert Maryks discusses the role of *consolatio* in Jesuit manuals for confessors and penitents published between 1554 and 1650, listing about seventy different works which had at least 650 printings. This is a brief but learned article which seems to be a prelude to a larger study. Flavio Rurale argues for the centrality of the conscience for the Jesuits when advising rulers and nobles. He argues that the Jesuits demonstrated awareness of the needs and exigencies of local realities and gives a good example. The writing is complex and Rurale sometimes omits pagination in his references. Olwen Hufton offers a sweeping picture of the money-raising efforts of the Jesuits beginning with Ignatius Loyola and ending in early seventeenth-century France. She sees Jesuit fund-raising techniques to be like those used by American universities, such as Harvard, today. And she is particularly interested in Jesuit fund-raising with women. Although the article is informative and colorful, it jumps about, is inadequately documented, and has grammatical errors.

John O'Malley provides impressive concluding remarks. Not only does he manage to include references to many of the articles, an achievement, but he makes original points and offers good suggestions for future research. He notes that scholarship on the Jesuits in the past ten years has progressed beyond seeing them as simply agents of the Counter Reformation. Scholars now ask the question, what were the Jesuits like? This has led to much new scholarship on a variety of topics, as the volume demonstrates. O'Malley, like Quondam, emphasizes that the Jesuits borrowed heavily from the Italian humanists of the fifteenth century for their lower school program. This reviewer agrees, and believes that this has been somewhat overlooked by scholars who insist on seeing Jesuit education, especially its exercises, as an elaboration of techniques encountered by the first Jesuits in Paris colleges. O'Malley goes further; he sees the Jesuit humanistic curriculum and pedagogy as a commitment to culture and to the *vita activa*. Jesuit schools performed a civic function by forming the non-Jesuit students into citizens, he suggests. O'Malley's remarks could be the basis

for a book on the Jesuits as civic humanists. And he calls for re-examination of Jesuit spirituality, the foundation of what might be called Jesuit mentality.

After having read several recent volumes of Jesuit conference papers, this reviewer would like to add to O'Malley's suggestions for future research. The outpouring of scholarship on the many cultural and intellectual activities of the Jesuits, from the congregations to China, from mathematics to music, has been wonderfully informative. But little new has been added about Jesuit philosophy, i.e., the upper-school trio of logic, natural philosophy, and metaphysics. Nor has there been much re-examination of Jesuit theology and scriptural study. Scholars still focus on studies of a few major figures and use terms as "second Scholasticism," which does not adequately represent the originality of Jesuit Aristotelianism and Jesuit Thomism, which was not very Thomist at times. New studies in these areas, such as monographs on figures less imposing than Robert Bellarmine and Francisco Suárez, would be very welcome. Naturally, these desiderata in no way diminish the achievement of this excellent volume. It is a worthy addition to Jesuit studies.

University of Toronto Emeritus and Chapel Hill, N. C. Paul F. Grendler

Brokers of Culture: Italian Jesuits in the American West, 1848-1919. By Gerald McKevitt, S.J. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007. Pp. xviii, 428. \$60.00. Hardback.)

This is a fascinating study about the work of Italian Jesuits in the western part of the United States in the seventy or so years following the European revolutions of 1848. Driven into exile by a hostile government, some 350 to 400 Italian Jesuits sought refuge in the United States. In this year when, on July 4th, Italy celebrated the 200th anniversary of the birth of Giuseppe Garibaldi (1807-1882), one is very mindful that what the Jesuit historian William V. Bangert, in *A History of the Society of Jesus* (1986), had described as "the modern Society's most plentiful harvest" (p. 480) was actually an unwitting consequence of that Italian patriot's contribution to the unification of Italy. While this history by Gerald McKevitt focuses mainly on the activities of the Jesuit exiles in the American West, it does not neglect the American East where they first arrived and, in the early 1870s, established, in imitation of the Roman model, a Jesuit seminary, "the academic flagship of the Society of Jesus in America" (p. 87), in Woodstock, Maryland. The author of *The University of Santa Clara* (1979), McKevitt proves himself an exceptional scholar by concretizing the threefold task of the historian in finding the sources, evaluating the sources, and writing his own history in this, his latest work.

In finding the sources, McKevitt has visited the archives of the archdioceses of Denver and Seattle; those of the American Jesuit Provinces of California,

Maryland, Missouri, New Orleans, New York, and Oregon; those of the Italian Jesuit Provinces of Naples, Rome, and Turin as well as those of the headquarters of the Society of Jesus in Rome and those of the Istituto Sociale in Turin; those of Georgetown University, Marquette University, Regis University, Santa Clara University, and Woodstock College; those of National Archives in Washington, D. C., and the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament in Bensalem, Pennsylvania; and important libraries like the Bancroft in Berkeley, California, the Huntington in San Marino, California, and the Mudd at Yale University; in addition to a number of other relevant collections.

In evaluating the sources, McKevitt has accurately and rigorously applied the principles of historical reasoning in dealing with the authenticity, credibility, and integrity of his sources. If a reader were to consider the book's notes (pp. 331-394), such a one would be amazed at the thoroughness of the author's documentation. In a study with a preface (xiii-xviii) and thirteen chapters (1-328), there are a total of some 1050 endnotes of historical sources. While they include published books and articles (unfortunately, the works of Antonino Lo Nardo on the Sicilian Jesuits are lacking), most of the citations are from primary sources. In following the scholar's rule of quoting sparingly, the author skillfully employs the words of eyewitnesses to launch his individual chapters and to quicken the pace of his narrative.

And, in his writing of his own history, McKevitt has put together the results of his research in such an effective way that it reflects not only a basic familiarity with the available sources but an intuitive and mature grasp of leading interpretations in American religious and secular history. This is a very human story in its background and development, especially about what the Italian Jesuits had to endure in their expulsion from Italy, their traveling to America, and their adjustment to the American frontier. The latter was done first by those Jesuits from Province of Turin on the Northwestern frontier starting in 1854 and later by the those Jesuits from the Province of Naples on the Southwestern one starting in 1866. At the same time, one learns exactly how important to this story was the mining of gold and silver as was the expansion of the railroad. That the author has taken the time in his concluding reflections (pp. 320-321) to show just how "central" is the relationship of immigration to American religious history is indicative of McKevitt's consciousness to highlight the opportunities for research that remain open for scholars of American history.

What one finds in this work is the "collection of wonders" (p. 319) wrought by the exiled Italian Jesuits, priests and brothers as well as scholastics, mainly from the Provinces of Naples and of Turin but there were also those who had come earlier from Rome, particularly in the case of the colleges at Georgetown, Holy Cross, and Woodstock. That the exiles built missions, parishes, and

schools among the Native Americans of the Northwest and the Hispanics of the Southwest constituted remarkable achievements in laying the foundations of the dioceses of Catholicism in those parts of the United States. Likewise, their legacy exists in the urban colleges and universities and the high and prep schools associated with such Jesuit educational foundations as those in Santa Clara, San Francisco, Spokane, Seattle, and Denver which attracted Catholic students of Irish background as well as non-Catholics. As the title of the chapter on these institutions asks: "Who Could Have Done Anything Like This in Italy?"

What was remarkable about these "brokers of culture" was the way that they were able to insert themselves into the cultures in which they found themselves in the new world. Throughout this study, McKevitt emphasizes how these Italian missionaries were successful because they followed the traditional Jesuit strategy of adapting their operations to persons, places, and times. Through "cultural insertion" (p. 142) and "adaptability" (p. 318), they became very effective in mediating between the culture of the Native American and the white man in the Northwest just as their companions did between the culture of the Hispanic and the white man in the Southwest. This same strategy of inculturation was also reflected to a certain extent in arriving at a curriculum of education in their colleges and universities that swung away from the emphasis on Latin and Greek and the bachelor of arts, so strictly required by European advocates of the *Ratio Studiorum*, to the more practical degree of a bachelor of science, advocated by those Jesuits adjusting to the demands of education in the West. What is particularly enlightening about all this is that these same Jesuits had, as far back as the 1880s, the foresight of moving in a different direction long before such a switch in education became common in the Jesuit colleges and universities of the East where their religious companions had continued to uphold the emphasis on the ancient classics rather than move to modern science as vital to an American education.

Essential in implementing the strategy of accommodation, acculturation, and adaptability was the role of language that enabled the Italian Jesuits to present the teachings of the Church in a manner suited to the inhabitants of the Northwest and to the Southwest. That they were able to master the languages of the Native Americans gave them an access and an edge which Protestant missionaries lacked in brokering between cultures. That their Jesuit companions in the Southwest advocated the preservation of the language of the Hispanics in pursuing a bilingual path helped many Mexican immigrants to adjust to the American scene. In the whole process, even though at times some Italian Jesuits were failures with English, the emphasis on the importance of this language as well as the language of the Native Americans in the Northwest and on the importance of English as well as Spanish in the Southwest helped the Italians to bridge the walls between the cultures. Yet, in all this, one can only marvel,

on the one hand, at Jesuits like Filippo Canestrelli, Giuseppe Cataldo. Urbano Grasso, Eduardo Griva, Gregorio Mengarini, and Antonio Morvillo who became proficient in the languages of the Natives Americans in the Northwest going so far, in a number of cases, as to produce dictionaries and grammars while, on the other hand, one can only be impressed by *La Rivista Católica*, a journal, launched by Donato Gasparri in 1873, which was effective in binding together the Hispanics in the Southwest until its demise in 1962.

In that connection with the process of acculturation, one must say something about the transnational quality of Catholicism that was taught by the Italian Jesuits who even reached out to Alaska. Given the order's cosmopolitan and supranational character, the brand of Italian Catholicism, especially in religious devotions and practices, which those Jesuits spread among their flocks, was completely in character with the cultures that the missionaries encountered and this helped to bind together the Native Americans in the Northwest and the Hispanics in the Southwest to the Catholic Church. While this transnational idea was set forth by its major spokesman, the late Peter R. D'Agostino in his book, *Rome in America: Transnational Catholic Ideology from the Risorgimento to Fascism* (2004), McKevitt makes the interpretation of it sensibly clear and captivating in his analysis (pp. 136-142, 192-200, and 314-319) of what the Italian Jesuit missionaries, with their ideals and commitments, have achieved.

Understandably, a number of Italian Jesuits stood out above the others among those engaged in the brokering process and this relates directly to a major controversy in the history of American Catholicism during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, namely, that of its Americanization or of its Europeanization. Although Jesuits, in general, were known to have been the foes of Americanization, this was not completely true given those involved directly in it as far as the United States was concerned. Certainly, some old conservative Italian Jesuits were lined up against young liberal American Jesuits, but there were some Italians who did not fit that mold just as there were some Americans who did not. Italian Jesuits like Camillo Mazzella and Salvatore Brandi did oppose the Americanizers on the European side of the Atlantic as did Filippo Cardella, Nicola Congiato, Carlo Piccirillo, Luigi Sabetti, and Nicola Russo on the American side. Yet, at the same time, there were others like Bartolomeo Calzia, Domenico Giacobbi, Giovanni Pinasco, Giuseppe Sasia, and Luigi Varsi who defended the Americanization of Catholicism and opposed the conservative Europeanizers. However, what is truly noteworthy about McKevitt's analysis is that he shows how the controversy, insofar as it was concerned with what was going on in the Catholic Church on both sides of the Atlantic, was far more complicated, as he points out in the case of Brandi (pp. 315-316). The latter's views which, not unlike the *lettere edificanti* of the Jesuit Provinces of Naples and Turin, helped to explain America to the Europeans, became more partial to America when Brandi later became the influential editor

of *La Civiltà Cattolica*. A conclusion that becomes evident as the study ends is that, despite the deep split among the Jesuits (pp. 274-275), those who were in favor of Americanization were the ones who eventually had come forth with the winning issues for the success of the Jesuit mission in the United States.

Certainly, many of the Italian Jesuits proved to be giants. While mention has already been made of some of them, there were others like the missionaries Geronimo D'Arste, Pietro Folchi, Eduardo Griva, and Felice Ziccardi who remained active despite their advanced ages; a few who had earned popular titles like Carlo Pinto, the Apostle of El Paso; Pietro Prando, the Apostle of the Crows; Filippo Rappagliosi, the Apostle of the Blackfeet; and Carmelo Tranchese, the Apostle of the Poor (San Antonio); and there were still more like Michele Accolti, Giuseppe Bayma, Antonio Ciampi, Giuseppe Giorda, Antonio Maraschi, Giuseppe Marra, Lorenzo Palladino, Domenico Pantanella, Angelo Paresce, Salvatore Personè, Paolo Ponziglione, Antonio Ravalli, Benedetto Sestini, Felice Sopranis, and Eugenio Vetromile, each of whom was a mover and a shaker in contributing to the Jesuit legacy.

In conclusion, it can be said that McKevitt has demonstrated in this work that he is an accomplished historian in the mold of such illustrious American Jesuits as Robert Ignatius Burns, Gerald P. Fogarty, John W. O'Malley, and Francis Paul Prucha. As an historical study, *Brokers of Culture* should be considered for one of the prizes awarded for the writing of American Catholic history. Of the available awards, the Howard R. Marraro Prize, which is given annually for a distinguished book on the history of Italians or on Italian Americans, would appear to be quite appropriate.

College of the Holy Cross, Worcester, Ma. Vincent A. Lapomarda. S. J.

"Totus mundus nostra fit habitatio": Jesuiten aus dem deutschen Sprachraum in Portugiesisch- und Spanisch-Amerika. Di Joannes Meier. (Mainz/Stuttgart: Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur/Franz Steiner Verlag, 2007. S. 36 mit 7 z. T. farbigen Abb. € 8,00. Paperback.)

Il presente lavoro del prof. Johannes Meier, storico della Chiesa presso la facoltà di teologia cattolica dell'università Johannes Gutenberg di Magonza, consiste in una breve presentazione di un ben più ampio e consistente progetto di ricerca finanziato dalla Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, dal titolo *Jesuiten zentraleuropäischer Provenienz in Portugiesisch- und Spanisch-Amerika (17./18. Jahrhundert)*, consultabile in Internet all'indirizzo www.uni-mainz.de/FB/kath/projekt/index.htm, che si propone offrire agli studiosi della Compagnia di Gesù un manuale bio-bibliografico dei padri gesuiti provenienti dall'Assistenza tedesca durante l'età moderna e inviati in missione in America Latina, aggiornato e con una solida base documentaria, sostituendo così l'ormai

datato lavoro di Anton Huonder, *Deutsche Jesuitenmissionäre des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts. Ein Beitrag zur Missionsgeschichte und zur deutschen Biographie*, uscito nel 1899 a Friburgo per i tipi di Herder. Una serie di pubblicazioni in forma di articoli, contributi in volumi miscellanei e tesi di dottorato affianca infine il progetto principale.

Dopo una breve introduzione, nella quale Meier fa riferimento a spunti metodologici dai lavori di Michael Sievernich SJ e John W. O'Malley SJ a proposito del concetto fondamentale di *missio* nei primi gesuiti, in particolare in Jerónimo Nadal, accennando anche alla “mobilità globale” dell'Ordine, viene presentata una succinta descrizione della storia delle Assistenze e Province gesuitiche, per concentrarsi poi sulla storia particolare dei gesuiti di lingua tedesca attivi in America Latina a partire dal 1618 e successivamente, con maggiore continuità, dalla seconda metà del XVII secolo, lungo tutto il Settecento fino alla serie di soppressioni nell'ultimo decennio del secolo. Meier fornisce una serie di dati statistici circa provenienza, famiglia, formazione e stato sociale dei missionari che interessano non solo lo storico delle missioni, ma anche chi si occupa della storia della Compagnia in Europa (si vedano le tabelle nelle pagine 17 e 27). Alle poche pagine di questo scritto, originariamente una relazione presentata all'Accademia delle Scienze e della Letteratura di Magonza nell'aprile 2006, non si può rimproverare la mancanza di completezza bibliografica, cui l'autore certamente non ambiva. L'opuscolo è piuttosto una riuscita presentazione del più vasto e impegnativo progetto sopra accennato, le cui ricerche hanno prodotto, solo per citare il lavoro più recente, la tesi di dottorato di Christoph Nebgen, “*Ingens martyrium non posse esse martyrem*”. *Missionarsberufungen nach Übersee in drei ausgewählten Provinzen der Gesellschaft Jesu im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert* (Regensburg: Schnell und Steiner, 2007).

Nonostante il progetto *Jesuiten zentraleuropäischer Provenienz* si sia posto come obiettivo, in modo storiograficamente avvertito, il superamento dell'ottica eurocentrica, che fino a qualche decennio fa ha caratterizzato in modo sostanziale la ricostruzione della storia delle missioni d'oltremare, il costante riferimento alla realtà europea è d'altra parte inevitabile durante tutto l'arco temporale preso in considerazione. Non sarà qui necessario porre l'accento sul ruolo delle potenze iberiche nella nascita, sviluppo e fine delle missioni gesuitiche, così come sulle vicende politiche dell'Impero tedesco dall'avvento della Riforma fino alla fine della Guerra dei Trent'Anni. L'approccio culturale e storiografico del progetto, tratteggiato per sommi e convincenti capi da Meier, ha dato e continuerà senz'altro a dare frutti importanti per una “nuova” storia delle missioni della Compagnia di Gesù.

Culture, Art, Religion: Wu Li (1632-1718) and His Inner Journey. (Macau: Macau Ricci Institute, 2006. Pp. 511. Illus. N.p. Hardback.)

Among the best-known names on the roster of Jesuits from both the Old Company and the New are those of Jesuit poets and artists. Figures such as Andrea Pozzo and Gerard Manley Hopkins loom large in the history of the Society of Jesus thanks to the appeal of their art and to its prominent place within the Western Canon. The life and work of the Chinese Jesuit, Wu Li (also known as Wu Yushan, 1632-1718), is apt to be less familiar to those whose interests lie outside the field of Chinese studies. In addition to being a renowned poet, Wu Li was one of the most important painters of the early Qing dynasty. His landscape paintings are considered to be unparalleled in their style and use of color, and his poetic refrains on the fall of the Ming Dynasty are esteemed as high points of Chinese pathos. But Wu Li's artistic achievements are not the sole mark that he left on history. He was one of the first four Chinese men to be ordained and serve as priests within the Society's China mission. Upon receiving holy orders in 1688, he spent the last thirty years of his life serving at mission stations in the Yangzi Delta region (Jiangnan), such as Changshu, Shanghai, and Jiading.

The two sides of Wu Li's persona, his Chinese art and his Catholicism, pose a paradox for scholars: How did he reconcile the Asian elements of his cultural formation and practice with the Western aspects of his priestly training and religious outlook? The standard line on the exportation of Catholicism by Jesuits in the early modern period rests on their role as the transmitters of European culture as well as religion. Yet Wu Li remained resolutely orthodox in his painting—no explicit traces of Western influence can be detected in it—and largely conventional in his poetry, even if he did write on themes that might be considered exotic, such as the multi-ethnic city of Macau or Catholic rituals. The volume of essays from the Macau Ricci Institute is an attempt to offer an answer to this paradox. *Culture, Art, and Religion* is a set of conference proceedings from an international symposium held in November 2003 at Macau, where Chinese, European, and American scholars gathered to reflect on Wu Li. The essays are divided into five sections, but they are primarily dedicated to the intersection (or avoidance, in the case of Wu Li's art) of Western and Chinese art in the early modern world. Most of the texts focus on Wu Li's paintings and poetry, but some texts treat Jesuit science, Western architecture and Chinese painting, or engage in speculations about Wu Li's "inner journey." A few articles in this mix stand out from the mediocrity that pervades this book: Fok Kai Cheong's analysis of the "Macau Formula" which regulated the Portuguese presence in Southern China; Han Qi's brief investigation of Jiangnan Catholics in the late seventeenth century; Gauvin Bailey's comparison of Wu Li and his fellow Jesuit artist Giuseppe Castiglione (1688-1768); and Tereza Sena's examination of Wu Li's stay in Macau.

As is the case with many conference proceedings, this volume lacks the strong hand of an editor. Indeed, no editor is named, and the presence of one is sorely missed. Here is a short sample of the numerous flaws of this volume. First of all, it lacks coherence. The essays do not build on one another; rather, they repeat the same biographical data about Wu Li and the same passages from his writings. This would not be so grave a problem if the translations offered for those texts were uniform. Alas, the same passage from Wu Li's poetry or prose is represented in different essays by divergent translations (presumably by different translators, although their names are not noted). Fortunately, there exists a fluent translation of Wu Li's poems on Macau and Catholicism, namely Jonathan Chaves's *Singing of the Source: Nature and God in the Poetry of the Chinese Painter Wu Li* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993), which is often cited in the volume. In general, however, the variation in the citations of Wu Li's works (for example, *Mojing ji* or *Mojing shicao*, which lack standard English translations) is excessive; it confuses the reader, especially one unfamiliar with Chinese poetry. A second area in which the presence of an editor is greatly lacking is the footnotes. All too often, especially in texts by Chinese authors, quotations are given without attribution, or with incomplete references. As a result, the uninformed reader can easily mistake quotations from modern scholarship for citations from seventeenth-century sources. Moreover, the general lack of dates for historical figures—especially those of Chinese painters, poets, scholars, and officials from the Late Imperial period—renders much of the scholarship in the volume of limited use to its target audience, that is, to scholars without a good knowledge of the Chinese language or familiarity with the country's political and intellectual history. Finally, despite the numerous references to Wu Li's paintings in the volume, only a handful of black and white images (some of poor quality) accompany the articles. This is a significant flaw in light of the sheer number of texts that make specific reference to his style and that of his artist peers.

For the reader with an interest in the figure of Wu Li and his life, there are a few valuable passages in this volume, but to discover them requires close attention. As mentioned above, little of Wu Li's writings has been put into English; Chaves's work is the exception. The reader may therefore benefit from the passages from the Chinese Jesuit's prose found scattered through the articles in this volume. These snippets offer some insights into his pastoral activities at the turn of the eighteenth century, suggesting something of the tone and content of his interactions with his flock in Jiangnan. Other passages translated from the writings of Wu Li's contemporaries also reveal how the Chinese painter-poet-priest was understood by his literati compatriots. Unfortunately, a clear synthesis of these materials is nowhere to be found in this volume. So the figure of Wu Li, a man who stood squarely at the intersection of Chinese and European culture, remains shrouded in mystery.

Prägende Professoren in der Entwicklung des theologischen Lehrbetriebes im Cistercienserstift Heiligenkreuz von 1802 bis 2002. Di Alkuin Volker Schachenmayr, O. Cist. (Mainz: Bernardus Verlag Langwaden, 2004. Ss. 339. N.p. Paperback.)

Tra i sacerdoti dell'area linguistica tedesca vi sono due gruppi ben studiati: i vescovi ed i professori universitari. Il clero in cura d'anime rimane dietro, lontano. Il presente lavoro di A.V. Schachenmayr, diretto da Michaela Kronthaler, si occupa di sei professori della scuola di formazione del monastero cistercense della Santa Croce. Alla biografia è premessa la storia dell'inizio dell'insegnamento dalla sua fondazione, dal 1802, fino al 2002. L'autore è membro del monastero.

Da ciò deriva il suo interesse ed il suo coinvolgimento non solo alla didattica, ma anche al suo aggancio con la vita del monastero, comprese le parrocchie incorporate. La fondazione originaria, che era solo per la formazione dei cistercensi austriaci, nel 1967 venne elevata ad istituto universitario e all'epoca, con in suoi 123 uditori, assunse sempre più importanza sovra regionale. A questo contribuì la fondazione del convitto teologico, da parte del vescovo di Regensburg Rudolf Graber.

Ciò che è esposto nella prima parte del volume, viene completato nella seconda parte attraverso sei biografie. Tra i professori, attualmente, si trovano studiosi apprezzabili le cui ricerche sono rimaste tuttavia molto limitate a causa dei numerosi impegni nella vita del monastero. La fondazione dell'istituto universitario è stata accompagnata da un netto salto di qualità.

L'analisi costituisce un apprezzabile contributo sia per la storia della formazione, sia per le particolari condizioni di vita in un significativo monastero austriaco.

Campo Santo Teutonico, Roma

Erwin Gatz



JESUIT HISTORIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

INSTITUTUM HISTORICUM SOCIETATIS IESU

The Institutum has moved! After approximately forty years at Via dei Penitenzieri, 20, the offices of the IHSI have moved closer to the Jesuit archives (ARSI). Our postal address is C.P. 6139; 00195 Roma-Prati; or Borgo S. Spirito, 4; 00193 Roma. The telephone number is 39-06-689-77466; fax number, 39-06-689-77461; e-mail address: <ihsiroma@sjcuria.org> It is hoped that subscribers will soon be able to pay their annual fees on-line, and be able to order copies of our publications.



MONUMENTA HISTORICA SOCIETATIS IESU NOVA SERIES

Martín M. Morales, S.J., laid the foundation for the MHSI new series with *A mis manos han llegado. Cartas de los PP. Generales a la Antigua Provincia del Paraguay (1608-1639)* (€ 40,00 to subscribers; € 50,00 to non-subscribers). The Universidad Pontificia Comillas (Madrid) and the IHSI agreed to co-publish monographs and/or editions of original documents, considered important for the history of the Society of Jesus. Their second joint venture, *Leyenda de los Santos [Beato Iácopo da Varazze, O.P.]*, edited by Félix Juan Cabasés, S.J., appeared at the end of last year. This volume was sold to subscribers for € 60,00, and to non-subscribers for € 70,00.

The second volume of the new series, R. Po-chia Hsia, *Noble Patronage and Jesuit Missions: Maria Theresia von Fugger-Wellenburg (1690-1762) and Jesuit Missionaries in China and Vietnam*, is available to subscribers for € 40,00, and to non-subscribers, for € 50,00.

BIBLIOTHECA INSTITUTI HISTORICI SOCIETATIS IESU

Subscribers to the series receive significant discounts. For example: Robert Danieluk, S.J., *La Bibliothèque de Carlos Sommervogel: Le sommet de l'oeuvre bibliographique de la Compagnie de Jésus (1890-1932)*, and Thomas M. McCoog, S.J., ed., *The Reckoned Expense: Edmund Campion and the Early English Jesuits*, a second edition with additional material, were priced at € 40,00 for subscribers and € 50,00 for others; Paul Shore, *Jesuits and the Politics of Cultural Pluralism in Eighteenth Century Transylvania*; Victor Houlston, *Catholic Resistance in Elizabethan England: Robert Persons's Jesuit Polemic, 1580-1610* (both co-published with Ashgate); and Eva Fontana Castelli, *"La Compagnia di Gesù sotto altro nome": Niccolò Paccanari e la Compagnia della Fede di Gesù* were priced at € 40,00 for subscribers and € 50,00 for others..

MISCELLANEOUS PUBLICATIONS

The IHSI published Jordi Roca, S.J., *Numismática Ignaciana* to commemorate the 450th anniversary of the death of Ignatius Loyola. Based on Father Roca's own collection of medallions, this beautifully illustrated volume reproduces in color more than four hundred medals from the late 16th century to the present. Students of Ignatian iconography will be able to trace the portraits used on the medals to print sources. Equally interesting, the reverse sides depict favorite Jesuit images such as the Madonna della Strada and the Madonna Salus Populi, as well as particular Jesuit devotions, like the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary, the Holy Family, Mater Dolorosa, Immaculate Conception, and the Guardian Angel. Such medals were important to early Jesuit missionaries. Examples of medals brought by missionaries to the New World have been uncovered in Huron archeological sites in Canada and New York. The volume is not intended as an exhaustive, definitive study, but as the first step in the exploration of a previously neglected area of Ignatian iconography. It would be of interest to any scholar of Ignatian iconography and/or Roman Catholic material culture.

The IHSI website is currently being revised and updated. The new site can be viewed at: <http://www.ihsiroma.org>

Please send any comments or queries to: <ihsiroma@sjcuria.org>

AD INFORMATIONEM LEUVEN

Open Letter to All Researchers into Matters Jesuit

Dear fellow researcher,

You may have read the announcement published in an earlier issue of *AHSI* 54 (2005) 533-35. In it we elaborated on the history of the Jesuitica collection held in Leuven, Belgium, at the Maurits Sabbe Library (K.U.Leuven, Faculty of Theology). We announced the presence on the web of a new site, www.jesuitica.be pertaining to matters Jesuit. This site is part of a project at the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Belgium (K.U.Leuven) which endeavors to stimulate research into the spirituality and history of the Society of Jesus, on the basis of the existing rich collection of books which the Society in Flanders has treasured for so long. A first move towards benefitting from the collection in the fullest sense is the incorporation of these volumes in the existing university library database (with an in-depth description). This work will take a few years to finish, but meanwhile the results can be followed on-line thanks to the website where these books can be found together, searchable by author/Jesuit concerned, title or date. The list of biographical data, pseudonyms, call names can be added to endlessly and is equally searchable. This website thus serves as a passage to the full university database (Libis^{ng}).

Moreover, the website envisages becoming a meeting place for researchers worldwide on matters Jesuit (spirituality or other disciplines). To that end news items are posted (e.g. exhibits worldwide), and a researchers' corner has been created, where new articles or books can be signalled to the webmaster who in turn notifies those who subscribed, so they can check these research results. Finally, a links page has been developed, with links classified under different (S.J.) categories such as: *Jesuitica* (narrow sense), libraries, miscellaneous, periodicals, research centres, spirituality, S.J.-links, universities.

To make this webpage truly an interactive meeting place for researchers of many different scientific disciplines, the collaboration of everybody, Jesuit and non-Jesuit alike, is hereby solicited.

1) In the first place, we invite you to **visit** the site, www.jesuitica.be and see for yourself what opportunities it could offer you.

2) In the second place, we invite you to **sign up** via the "research"-button of the site for the list-server. You will be notified whenever a new item has been posted. The items added remain on the site (at least for a year).

3) we furthermore invite you to send us your **comments**, additions, corrections on any item you find on the site.

4) we also invite you to notify us about **upcoming events**, like jubilees of

historical persons, exhibitions, colloquia, etc. wherever they may be held, so our “news page” can be regularly updated.

5) we definitely invite you to send in the titles of newly published/discovered **books or articles** regarding matters Jesuit via the “research”-button of the site.

6) and lastly, we invite you to **spread the word** among your colleagues and fellow researchers in your home base, or far away.

At your service,

Fr. Rob Faesen, S.J., director

Bernard Deprez, researcher

Jan Verkoyen, webdeveloper

K.U.Leuven

Bernard Deprez

BRUSSELS

I quattrocento anni dei Bollandisti

“Bog ljubiti troicu” (Dio ama la trinità), recita un proverbio russo. La celebrazione dei quattrocento anni della Società dei Bollandisti, che ha avuto luogo nei giorni 4 e 5 ottobre 2007 presso la Biblioteca Reale di Bruxelles, si è svolta in triplice forma: con una mostra, un colloquio e un libro.

Nel pomeriggio del quattro ottobre è stata inaugurata la mostra “Bollandistes, saints et légendes. Quatre siècles de recherche.” Allestita nella Cappella Nassau della Biblioteca Reale, l’esposizione offre un percorso, lungo quattro secoli, sulla ricerca agiografica che ha avuto inizio nel 1607—data di riferimento per il giubileo bollandista—with la pubblicazione dell’opera di Heribert Rosweyde *Fasti Sanctorum*. I visitatori possono ammirare non solo le pubblicazioni dei Bollandisti—dagli *Acta Sanctorum* ai loro libri più recenti—ma anche alcuni manoscritti agiografici e vari documenti relativi alle attività della più antica società erudita del Belgio. In una mostra rivolta al passato trova posto anche il futuro: in una postazione informatica si può consultare un database di tutti i volumi pubblicati degli *Acta Sanctorum* e della serie *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina*. La mostra terminerà alla fine di novembre.

La seconda parte della celebrazione ha avuto luogo il cinque ottobre nell’ampio auditorio Lippens della medesima Biblioteca Reale. Si è trattato di un colloquio internazionale dal titolo “De Rosweyde aux *Acta Sanctorum*. La recherche hagiographique des Bollandistes à travers quatre siècles” che ha visto la partecipazione di un folto pubblico proveniente da tutto il mondo.

Il colloquio si è aperto con la lettura delle lettere inviate dal Papa Benedetto XVI e dal P. Peter Hans Kolvenbach, Preposito Generale della Compagnia di Gesù in occasione del giubileo bollandista per proseguire con diversi contributi in lingua francese, fiamminga e inglese, presentati dagli stessi Bollandisti e da

diversi relatori invitati dal Belgio e dall'estero. L'ampia scelta dei temi affrontati ha reso possibile non solo di ripercorrere la storia della grande opera iniziata quattro secoli fa, ma anche di soffermarsi su alcuni problemi specifici e di indicare le nuove prospettive della ricerca agiografica e storiografica.

Durante l'intervallo, oltre alla possibilità di visitare la mostra, i partecipanti potevano acquistare il libro *Bollandistes, saints et légendes. Quatre siècles de recherche* pubblicato dai Bollandisti in occasione del loro quattrocentesimo anniversario.

Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu

Robert Danieluk, S.J.

CONFERENCES

MONTEPULCIANO

Roberto De Nobili. Missionario Gesuita

(Montepulciano 1577-Meliapuur 1656)

20 ottobre 2007

Il 20 ottobre 2007 si è svolto a Montepulciano il convegno di studi storici "Roberto De Nobili. Missionario gesuita (Montepulciano 1577-Meliapuur 1656)."

L'incontro è stato promosso dalla Diocesi di Montepulciano-Chiusi-Pienza, dal Comune di Montepulciano, dall'Università per Stranieri di Siena, dall'Istituzione Biblioteca "Piero Calamandrei" e dalla Società Storica Poliziana. Tra i numerosi partecipanti, riuniti nel Palazzo del Capitano adiacente al palazzo della famiglia De Nobili e a pochi passi da quello del Bellarmino, vi erano i rappresentanti delle massime autorità ecclesiastiche e civili locali, professori e ricercatori provenienti da diverse istituzioni universitarie italiane.

I contributi offerti vertevano sulla figura e sulle attività dell'illustre missionario. La prima parte è stata dedicata agli aspetti biografici di De Nobili con gli interventi di Alfia Caltabiano, già Dirigente scolastico di Montepulciano: *La famiglia*, che ha tracciato una storia della famiglia De Nobili e Paolo Aranha, Researcher dell'Istituto Universitario Europeo di Firenze: *La formazione del giovane Roberto De Nobili*.

Il contesto storico in cui visse il missionario—in particolare modo in India—è stato il tema del contributo di Duccio Pasqui, Direttore della Biblioteca Comunale di Montepulciano: *L'India nella prima metà del Seicento*, mentre lo sviluppo delle missioni e la condizione della Compagnia di Gesù sono stati affrontati rispettivamente da Giovanni Pizzorusso, Università di Chieti: *Le missioni nella prima metà del Seicento* e da chi scrive: *La Compagnia di Gesù fra Cinquecento e Seicento*. Oltre all'azione missionaria del nostro gesuita, che ha visto

l'intervento di Giacomo Di Fiore, Università Orientale di Napoli: *L'azione missionaria di Roberto De Nobili*, sono stati trattati alcuni temi particolari con Matteo Sanfilippo, Università della Tuscia: *La querelle dei riti malabarici* e con Giancarlo Rocca, Direttore del Dizionario degli Istituti di Perfezione: *La questione dell'abito*. Il convegno si è concluso con il secondo contributo di Paolo Aranha su *Cristianesimo e dialogo interreligioso in India: l'eredità di Roberto De Nobili* che ha dato lo spunto ad un'interessante riflessione e discussione sull'attualità dell'iniziativa missionaria del gesuita poliziano.

È prevista la pubblicazione di un volume con i lavori presentati al Convegno.

Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu

Robert Danieluk, S.J.

ROMA

Gli Archivi Ecclesiastici: Metodi di intervento nella Conservazione della Documentazione moderna e contemporanea

L'Ordine dei Ministri degli Infermi (Camilliani), dopo aver messo a punto una "completa opera di riordino e di ristrutturazione del proprio Archivio," ad attività conclusa, hanno voluto mettere a parte di questa loro importante realizzazione gli Enti Ecclesiastici che hanno degli Archivi.

Il Superiore Generale dell'Ordine, lunedì 26 Novembre per l'intera giornata ha ospitato nella Sede Capitolare dell'Ordine, a Piazza Maddalena, gli Archivisti degli Enti Ecclesiastici per una "grande Tavola Rotonda," in modo da consentire loro di discutere su problematiche comuni. Oltre 60 sono stati i partecipanti all'incontro.

Gli interventi dei componenti della Tavola Rotonda hanno avuto assegnata come traccia: 1) come è strutturato l'Archivio, 2) cosa si intende fare, 3) problemi di gestione e di organizzazione dell'Archivio.

Il P. Renato Salvatore MI, Superiore Generale, ha dato il saluto di benvenuto e di inizio dei lavori a tutti i partecipanti, seguito dal P. Marcel Chappin S.I. Viceprefetto dell'Archivium Secretum Vaticanum, che ha espresso apprezzamento per questa importante iniziativa e ha portato il saluto del Cardinale Prefetto.

Mons Gaetano Zito, della Associazione Archivisti Ecclesiastici, ha trattato il tema: "Gli Archivi Ecclesiastici del '900: problemi di tutela e di conservazione della memoria contemporanea."

Alla Tavola Rotonda, che ha avuto come Moderatore il Prof. Marco Pizzo del Centro Documentazione AGMI, sono intervenuti:

P. Lazaro Sastre OP, per l'Archivio dei Domenicani

P. Alvaro Cacciotti OFM, per l'Archivio dei Frati Minori di Aracoeli

P. Filippo Lovison B, per il Centro Studi Storici Barnabiti

P. Salvatore Pandolfo S.I., per l'Archivio dei Gesuiti

P. Jaime Pellicer SP, per l'Archivio Generale delle Scuole Pie

Daniel Ponziani, del Centro Documentazione AGMI

Domenico Rocciolo, per l'Archivio Storico del Vicariato

Invitato, ma impedito, Don Luigi Cei SDB, dell'Archivio Salesiano Centrale

Dopo una apprezzata e ricca sosta rinfresco, nel pomeriggio si prosegue con un'altra Tavola Rotonda, moderata da Johan Ickx, del Centro Documentazione AGMI, con una introduzione del Prof. Andrea Ciampiani, della Libera Università Maria SS.ma Assunta.

Si sono successivamente avvicendati con interessanti interventi:

Dott. Luigi Londei, dell'Archivio di Stato di Roma

Dott. Luigi Stanziani, del Comune di Roma

Prof. Giovanni Pizzorusso, della Università di Studi D'Annunzio di Chieti

Prof.ssa Nicoletta Bazzano, della Università di Studi di Teramo

Prof.ssa Paola Gioia, della Biblioteca di Storia Moderna e Contemporanea

Dott. Ricardo Cerveron, della Università Cattolica di Valencia (Spagna) con un interessante lavoro multimediale sulla vita e opere di San Giuseppe Calasanzi e dell'Opera dei Camilliani

Ha concluso i lavori applaudito calorosamente da tutti il Fr. Luca Perletti, Segretario Generale dei Camilliani.

Tutti i partecipanti hanno ricevuto un CD ed una pubblicazione sui lavori fatti sull'Archivio dei Camilliani.

Archivio dei Gesuiti, Roma Michele Turco S.I. e Salvatore Pandolfo S.I.

MAINZ

Picturing Jesuit Identity:

Spaces, Functions and Mediality of Knowledge in the Society of Jesus

An International Interdisciplinary Conference, Mainz, 11-12 January 2008

Elisabeth Oy-Marra/Volker Remmert: Introduction

Specific Visual Strategies: Theory and Application

Chair: Volker Remmert

Joseph Imorde (Berlin): “Die Bildvalenz der Eucharistie.”

Carolyn Behrmann (Berlin): “‘Le monde est une peinture.’ Zur Bildtheorie von Louis Richeôme.”

Kristina Müller (Mainz): “Jesuit Martyrdom–Cycles–Proof of Tradition or Creation of a new Genealogy?”

Jesuit Visual Strategies in Print

Chair: Evonne Levy

Ralph Dekoninck (Löwen): “‘The Book Procurer’ (Furetière). The visual strategies of the Jesuit frontispieces published by the Moretus in Antwerp during the first half of the seventeenth-century.”

Louise Rice (New York): “Battle of Wits: The military metaphor in Jesuit Thesis Prints.”

Eckhard Leuschner (Passau): “Jesuitische Druckgrafik.”

Evonne Levy (Toronto): “Jesuit identity, identifiable Jesuits?: Jesuit dress in theory and in image.”

Visualising Knowledge

Chair: Ralph Dekoninck

Antonella Romano (Florence): “Between orthodoxy and modernity: the Jesuits and the reframing of knowledge and science in the early modern world”

Volker Remmert (Mainz): “Picturing a Jesuit empire of knowledge.”

Cristina Osswald (Porto): “The theory of the emblem by François Menestrier seen in context.”

Elisabeth Oy-Marra (Mainz): “Between allegorical and empirical knowledge: Visual strategies in the garden treatises of Giovanni Battista Ferrari. Books of wit or propaganda?”

Picturing Jesuit Identity

Chair: Elisabeth Oy-Marra

Fiona Healy (Mainz): “Forging Identity for Future Saints: Peter Paul Rubens and the Church of St. Ignatius in Antwerp.”

Oliver Scheiding (Mainz): “Maps and Jesuit identity in New France.”

LISBOA

Jesuítas e a História de Portugal

Coordenação Dr. José Eduardo Franco

Entidade promotora: Sociedade História da Independência de Portugal

22 de Outubro 2007:

José Eduardo Franco, Universidade de Lisboa, “Afirmção e percursos de uma ordem controversa.”

29 de Outubro 2007:

Hermínio Rico, S.J., “Espiritualidade da Companhia de Jesus.”

5 de Novembro 2007:

Henrique Leitão, Universidade de Lisboa, “Ciência e Cultura dos Jesuítas I.”

12 de Novembro 2007:

Henrique Leitão, Universidade de Lisboa, “Ciência e Cultura dos Jesuítas II.”

19 de Novembro 2007:

Cristina Osswald, Universidade do Porto, “Arte da Companhia de Jesus em Portugal.”

26 de Novembro 2007:

Cristina Osswald, Universidade do Porto, “Arte da Companhia de Jesus no mundo extra-europeu.”

3 de Dezembro 2007:

António Júlio Trigueiros, S.J., “Expulsões dos Jesuítas e as experiências de exílio.”

10 de Dezembro 2007:

António Júlio Trigueiros, S.J. Expulsões dos Jesuítas e as experiências de exílio.”

VILNIUS

Jesuits in Lithuania (1608-2008): Life, Works, Heritage**International Conference on the 400th Jubilee of the Founding of the Jesuit Province of Lithuania**

The National Museum of Lithuania and the Jesuit Province of Lithuania are sponsoring an International Conference on October 9-10, 2008 in Vilnius, the

400th year of the Jesuit Province of Lithuania. We invite scholarly contributions on the history of Jesuits in Lithuania:

- 1) the beginnings and history of Jesuit institutions in Lithuania in the European context;
- 2) notable Jesuit personalities and their work;
- 3) the Role of Jesuits in the pastoral and spiritual life of Lithuania;
- 4) Contributions of Jesuits in education, culture and public life;
- 5) the missions of Lithuanian Jesuits outside Lithuania;
- 6) Jesuits in times of religious and political oppression.

The conference will have simultaneous translation into English and Lithuanian. Presentations in other languages should be sent in advance so that translations may be prepared for the participants.

Conference presenters from abroad will be provided room and board. We expect to be able to reimburse travel expenses from a grant. There is no registration fee. Conference papers will be published in a separate volume.

Summaries of contributions should be sent by 15 June 2008, to:

Lionginas Virbalas, SJ, Didžioji g. 34, LT-01128 Vilnius, Lithuania
tel. +370-5-2121715, fax. +370-5-2121876, e-mail: <sj@jesuit.lt>

CHICAGO

3-5 April 2008

At the annual meeting of the Renaissance Society of America, the following papers explicitly treated Jesuit themes.

Florence M. Weinberg, Trinity University, "George Buchanan and the Jesuits: Founders of French Classical Theater."

Camille Weiss, Suffolk University, "Revered or Reviled: Henri IV and the Jesuits at Court."

Stefania Tutino, University of California, Los Angeles, "Robert Persons's *Conference* in Rome: Catholic Politics and Political Theory between England and the Continent."

Andrea Catellani, Université Catholique de Louvain, "From Illusion to Truth: On Figures and Degrees of Vision in J. David [S.J.]'s *Duodecim Specula* (Antwerp, 1610)."

Jennifer Rebecca Rust, Saint Louis University, "Malengin and Mercilla, [Robert] Southwell [S.J.] and Spenser: The Poetics and Politics of Tears and Martyrdom in *The Fairie Queene*."

Kathleen M. Comerford, Georgia Southern University, "Jesuit Teaching and Medici Power in Florence, 1540s-90s."

Sabina Pavone, Università degli Studi Bari, "Spies, Mandarins, Brahmins: The Jesuits and Their Disguises."

Buenos Aires

XII Jornadas Internacionales sobre las Misiones Jesuíticas: "Interacciones y Sentidos de la Conversión"

Lugares: Manzana de las Luces (Calle Perú 272) y Convento Mercedario (Calle Reconquista 269), Ciudad de Buenos Aires, Argentina.

Fecha: 23 al 26 de septiembre de 2008

<XIIjornadasjesuiticas@yahoo.com>

CIRCULAR N° 2

CONVOCATORIA A PRESENTACIÓN DE RESÚMENES EN SIMPOSIOS

El Comité Organizador de las Jornadas Internacionales sobre las Misiones Jesuíticas se complace en anunciar la realización de su próximo encuentro en la ciudad de Buenos Aires durante los días 23 al 26 de septiembre de 2008.

Las Jornadas Internacionales sobre las Misiones Jesuíticas se realizan de manera ininterrumpida desde el año 1982 en Brasil, Argentina, Paraguay y Uruguay. Tienen como objetivo la difusión de resultados de las investigaciones sobre los procesos generados, directa o indirectamente, por el accionar de la Compañía de Jesús, en su acción evangelizadora, durante el período de expansión mundial de las monarquías ibéricas (principalmente entre los siglos XVI y XVIII).

Se encuentran abiertas a la participación de especialistas de diversas disciplinas sociales y humanísticas (historia, historia del arte, arqueología, lingüística, antropología cultural, etnohistoria, sociología, etc.) y se orientan a un abordaje interdisciplinario de los procesos sociales, políticos, ideológicos, económicos y culturales involucrados en la acción evangelizadora de los religiosos jesuitas, indagando sobre las actitudes de adaptación y resistencia de los nativos indígenas de las diversas regiones, las estrategias desplegadas y las interacciones en juego.

La doceava edición del encuentro se organizará en torno al tema: "Interacciones y Sentidos de la Conversión".

Son sus objetivos enfatizar:

1. la relación de la doctrina jesuítica y las prácticas culturales indígenas,
2. el rol de las misiones en la expansión de las redes culturales, económicas y políticas atlánticas y pacíficas,

3. la comparación entre diversas regiones de acción misional,
4. la función de las artes, las ciencias y los conocimientos nativos en las misiones.

Las actividades se desarrollarán en la Manzana de las Luces y el Convento Mercedario, situados en el centro histórico de la ciudad de Buenos Aires, lugares que, además de encontrarse cómodamente ubicados, son de gran relevancia en la historia jesuítica y colonial de la región.

Las presentaciones estarán organizadas en base a la modalidad de Simposios temáticos abiertos. Se invita a profesionales y estudiantes de distintos niveles a participar con investigaciones originales sobre la problemática misional.

Con el objetivo de fomentar la discusión y el intercambio de disciplinas, el comité organizador ha establecido los seis simposios relacionados con el desenvolvimiento jesuítico y post-jesuítico misional:

SIMPOSIO 1) PODER, INTERESES Y CONFLICTO

SIMPOSIO 2) PRÁCTICAS RELIGIOSAS, CULTURALES Y JURÍDICAS

SIMPOSIO 3) ARQUITECTURA, ESPACIO Y POBLACIÓN

SIMPOSIO 4) ECONOMÍA, FINANZAS Y ADMINISTRACIÓN
MISIONAL

SIMPOSIO 5) MEMORIA, PATRIMONIO Y TRADICIONES ORALES

SIMPOSIO 6) IMAGEN, SONIDO, RITUAL Y ESCRITURA

FUNDAMENTACIONES

SIMPOSIO 1: PODER, INTERESES Y CONFLICTO

Coordinadores:

Dra. María Cristina Dos Santos (Pontificia Universidade Católica de Rio Grande do Sul, Porto Alegre, Brasil)

Dra. Elisa Frühauf García (Universidade Federal Fluminense/CNPq, Brasil)

Lic. Carlos Paz (Universidad Nacional del Centro de la Provincia de Buenos Aires, Tandil, Buenos Aires/ Conicet, Argentina)

Fundamentación

Las experiencias misionales jesuíticas se desarrollaron en contextos sociales diversos donde los grados de complejidad e integración de las sociedades receptoras de aquellas variaron considerablemente. A esto debemos sumar que los conjuntos sociales con los cuales se tomó contacto durante las experiencias misionales no fueron homogéneos ni armónicos. Por ello es que el accionar de los misioneros en aquellas poblaciones debió afrontar diferentes escenarios y tramas de poder que llevaron a experimentar, diseñar, implementar y modificar estrategias misionales diversas, orientadas tanto a la consolidación del proyecto misional como a la construcción de nuevas formas de acceso, legitimación e instrumentación del poder.

Las acciones jesuíticas así como las propias acciones nativas de adaptación o resistencia, son una lente privilegiada para explicar los intereses encontrados o negociados entre unos y otros, así como los conflictos y los tejidos de poder que resultaron de la interacción y la política misional.

El objetivo de este simposio es presentar resultados, parciales o definitivos, de investigaciones que tengan como problema, central o subsidiario, los procesos de construcción de relaciones de poder, facciones y enfrentamientos, violencia, intereses, mecanismos de legitimación simbólica e instituciones de las nuevas sociedades misionales, enfatizando la complejidad de la relación entre los discursos y prácticas concretas. Se tendrán en cuenta, entre otros, los siguientes tópicos:

- 1) Formación y desestructuración de cabildos y liderazgos indígenas
- 2) Símbolos y emblemas de poder
- 3) mecanismos de disciplinamiento y control social
- 4) Guerras y conflictos bélicos
- 5) Relaciones entre Iglesia y Estado en diferentes niveles
- 6) Relaciones entre metrópoli y colonias
- 7) Relaciones entre iglesia, imperios ibéricos y grupos indígenas nativos

SIMPOSIO 2: PRACTICAS RELIGIOSAS, CULTURALES Y JURÍDICAS

Coordinadores:

Dra. Eliane Cristina Deckmann Fleck (UNISINOS, São Leopoldo, Brasil)

Dra. Graciela Chamorro (Universidad Federal de Dourados, Mato Grosso do Sul, Brasil)

Lic. Mercedes Avellaneda (Sección Etnohistoria, Universidad de Buenos Aires, Argentina)

Fundamentación

Las reducciones jesuitas constituyeron el resultado de un largo y complejo proceso de etnogénesis en el que se cruzaron las perspectivas y tradiciones culturales y lingüísticas de los religiosos y los indígenas de las diferentes regiones. En este proceso tuvieron un lugar central tanto los aspectos jurídicos formales como las diversas manifestaciones de la vida religiosa cotidiana, en sí misma, un producto de la negociación propia de estos ámbitos.

Este simposio se propone abordar la diversidad de prácticas religiosas, culturales y jurídicas que produjeron los ámbitos misionales jesuíticos, estableciendo el grado de participación de los diversos actores sociales, explorando los mecanismos, lógicas y estrategias de interacción.

Se recibirán trabajos relacionados tanto con el ordenamiento jurídico de la misión como con la vida cotidiana misional en tiempos jesuíticos y post-jesuíticos, poniendo especial énfasis en la formación del patrón cultural propio de la misión, la construcción de devociones y sentimientos, las transformaciones de significados ocurridas a lo largo del tiempo. El simposio se

propone abarcar un amplio espectro regional y temporal para poder realizar comparaciones de las diferentes experiencias misionales y de los procesos regionales que las involucraron.

Se sugieren los siguientes temas y problemáticas:

- 1) Derecho natural y derecho de gentes
- 2) Expresiones devocionales nativas
- 3) Hechicería e idolatría
- 4) Adaptaciones conceptuales y lingüísticas
- 5) Catecismos y vocabularios
- 6) Lenguas nativas
- 7) Formas no escritas del derecho
- 8) Géneros, Sexualidad y representaciones del cuerpo
- 9) Construcción del espacio y el tiempo
- 10) Vida cotidiana misional
- 11) Toponimia

SIMPOSIO 3: ECONOMÍA, FINANZAS Y ADMINISTRACIÓN MISIONAL.

Coordinadores:

Dra. María Laura Salinas (Instituto de Investigaciones Geohistóricas, Conicet, Chaco, Argentina)

Mg. Julia Sarreal (Universidad de Harvard, Estados Unidos)

Mg. Ignacio Telesca (Universidad Católica de Asunción, Paraguay)

Fundamentación

Este simposio pretende abordar desde una diversidad de perspectivas metodológicas los aspectos económicos de la problemática jesuítica misional. En esta línea interesa la dimensión de la actuación apostólica y política de la Compañía de Jesús, no sólo en el territorio paraguayo sino también un abordaje de la actuación de la orden, en todos los territorios descubiertos, conquistados y colonizados, conocidos por los europeos, extendiendo su acción desde las regiones de la América Meridional (desde Chile al Canadá, desde Paraguay y Bolivia a Brasil y Amazonia) hasta las misiones del Oriente (Japón y otras partes).

La historiografía jesuítica se ha ocupado en diversas oportunidades de los temas económicos relacionados no sólo con las misiones sino también con los Colegios de la Compañía, sin embargo, creemos que existen variables que merecen profundizarse. Por ello, proponemos orientar las propuestas hacia los siguientes temas: cuentas, producción y circulación de bienes, reclamos indígenas, crisis, tierras y encomienda, desamortización postjesuítica, administración de colegios, haciendas, estancias, misiones y reducciones, funcionamiento de oficios y procuradurías, manejo de recursos naturales, situación de los esclavos y temporalidades.

Los temas escogidos para el Simposio procuran responder con nuevos estudios a la necesidad de establecer las bases para una historia comparada de la actuación jesuita en los territorios mencionados que ofrezca nuevas miradas, perspectivas y respuestas hacia una temática de gran interés y abordaje.

SIMPOSIO 4: IMAGEN, SONIDO, RITUAL Y ESCRITURA.

Coordinadores:

Lic. Estela Auletta (Universidad de Buenos Aires, Argentina)

Dr. Eduardo Neumann (Universidad Federal de Rio Grande do Sul, Brasil)

Dr. Marcos Holler (Universidad del Estado de Santa Catarina, Brasil)

Fundamentación

Este simposio se propone un abordaje de las artes y oficios en las sociedades misionales poniendo énfasis en el papel de la imagen, la música, la pintura, la escultura y la liturgia en el proceso de conversión.

Pretendemos abordar la enseñanza de las artes y oficios,, privilegiando una perspectiva en la cual los indígenas, al familiarizarse con los códigos de la cultura occidental, presentan respuestas creativas a los modelos impuestos. El canto, las danzas y las escenificaciones en forma de “autos” fueron manifestaciones artísticas valorizadas entre los indios y utilizadas por los misioneros como instrumentos para viabilizar la conversión emprendida en América. En las reducciones, los indios valorizaban lo gestual, y toda la escénica envuelta en los momentos rituales, en las tomas de posesión y celebraciones, manifestaciones típicas de una sociedad de Antiguo Régimen. La introducción de la alfabetización en la organización social de las reducciones corresponde a un nuevo ritual mediante la mudanza de registro, en el caso de una sociedad fundada en la oralidad primaria a las prácticas de la cultura escrita.

A los fines prácticos, el simposio se dividirá en tres bloques dedicados a las temáticas propuestas, siendo un objetivo fundamental generar un diálogo entre los diversos especialistas.

Escritura

La instrucción alfabética practicada con las poblaciones indígenas estaba al servicio de la gloria mayor de Dios y se constituía en una medida decisiva para el éxito de la evangelización practicada en la América Ibérica. Mediante la convivencia con las prácticas de la escritura, inicialmente volcada a la catequesis, los indios de las reducciones, en determinadas ocasiones utilizaron su capacidad alfabética de maneras inesperadas. Así, la cultura gráfica no estuvo restringida a los textos canónicos ni tampoco los indios a la mera función de copistas, muy por el contrario, ellos demostraron en las reducciones usos inventivos para su saber letrado.

Música

Desde el inicio de su actuación en las misiones, los jesuitas vieron en la música una herramienta eficaz de interacción con los indígenas, y su uso en el

proceso de conversión y catequesis fue intenso hasta el momento de la expulsión de los padres en el siglo XVIII. La documentación sobre la música y la enseñanza, en los ritos y en las prácticas cotidianas de los establecimientos de la Compañía de Jesús es una importante fuente para la comprensión del proceso histórico de la música en las Américas, y nos permite evidenciar interacciones y divergencias entre el uso de la música por la Compañía de Jesús en la América portuguesa y española.

Artes plásticas

En las manifestaciones plásticas los indios deslizaron sus propios usos expresivos sobre las imágenes y los modelos iconográficos cristianos. Dueños ellos de una peculiar tradición representativa prehispánica, sobre materiales perecederos (construcciones de madera y hojas, pinturas corporales, adornos plumarios, cestería, etc), actualizados por el uso y registrados por escrito por viajeros y misioneros. Todo ello estrechamente vinculado a su mundo religioso-ritual, como al desarrollo de su vida cotidiana, acorde a la organizada vida en las reducciones, después de su conversión.

Algunos temas sugeridos:

- Pintura, escultura, cerámica y tejido
- Diseño gráfico y escritura
- Estilos, motivos y técnicas
- Géneros musicales y corporales
- Adaptaciones de la liturgia, fiestas, procesiones
- Iconografía, imprentas
- Cartografía y escritos indígenas

SIMPOSIO 5: ARQUITECTURA, ESPACIO Y POBLACIÓN

Coordinadores:

Dr. Artur Barcelos (Universidade de Caxias, Rio Grande do Sul, Brasil)

Dr. Daniel Schavelzon (Facultad de Arquitectura, Universidad de Buenos Aires, Argentina)

Dr. Norberto Levinton (Universidad del Salvador, Buenos Aires, Argentina)

Fundamentación

El espacio misionero como lugar de intercambio entre indígenas y jesuitas puede analizarse desde diversas escalas y puntos de vista. El propósito principal de este simposio es convocar a las diferentes disciplinas (arqueología, antropología, historia, geografía, demografía, etc.) para discutir sobre los resultados materiales y espaciales de la acción misional. Se pretende definir una lectura diacrónica y sincrónica de la organización del territorio, el urbanismo, la arquitectura y otras expresiones misionales, estableciendo categorías críticas para el análisis de procesos de adaptación, articulación, rechazo o reinterpretación de espacios y elementos simbólicos por parte de las poblaciones nativas.

Se aceptarán: a) trabajos enfocados en períodos anteriores a la etapa de la misionalización, enfocados en la dinámica interna de los grupos indígenas y sus vínculos territoriales con indígenas reducidos o parcialmente integrados en los conjuntos misionales; b) trabajos que traten de los aspectos espaciales de la acción jesuítica en sus diferentes actividades, tales como fueron las reducciones, estancias, colegios, haciendas, etc. c) situación espacial, territorial y cartográfica post-jesuítica. Con el objeto de establecer comparaciones regionales, se considerarán estudios sobre experiencias misioneras jesuíticas de las regiones más variadas de Sudamérica (Mocobíes, Abipones, Tobas o Lules; Chiquitos, Mojos, Chiloé) y otras partes de América. Además se tendrá en cuenta los emprendimientos misionales del período colonial y el siglo XIX, y la relación de la Compañía de Jesús con otras órdenes religiosas (franciscanos, dominicos y mercedarios entre otros). Algunos temas sugeridos son los siguientes:

- 1) Formación de pueblos
- 2) Caminos y conexiones
- 3) Marcas espaciales
- 4) Espacio urbano y civilidad cristiana
- 5) Relaciones entre monte y pueblo
- 6) Censos y Demografía
- 7) Templos, casas y cementerios
- 8) Demarcaciones territoriales
- 9) Cartografía
- 10) Litigios por tierras
- 11) Fugas
- 12) Transporte (barcos, carretas, ríos y caminos)
- 13) Restauración y conservación de edificios
- 14) Urbanismo y ruralidad

SIMPOSIO 6: MEMORIA, PATRIMONIO Y TRADICIONES ORALES

Coordinadores:

Mg. Ana María Gorosito Kramer (Universidad Nacional de Misiones, Argentina)

Dra. Capucine Boidin (Institute de Hautes Études d'Amerique Latine, Universidad de Paris III, Francia)

Dr. Dalton Sala (Universidad de Sao Paulo, Brasil)

Fundamentación

La interpretación de los aspectos urbanísticos, estilísticos, sociales y culturales de la vida reduccional o de sus restos monumentales y arqueológicos, ha estado durante largos períodos sujeta a la investigación histórica y más recientemente, al análisis de los procesos constructivos que las caracterizaran. En gran medida, estas interpretaciones (muchas de las cuales han constituido importantes aportes científicos para la comprensión del proceso reduccional y

los que sucedieron a la expulsión de la Orden), no han prestado gran atención a los que se produjeron en las poblaciones nativas, indígenas, colonizadoras o criollas, tanto desde el punto de vista de su reutilización o interpretación.

Este simposio se propone congrega a investigadores que han centrado su interés en estos últimos procesos, generados por no especialistas, y que han desarrollado (y lo continúan haciendo) formas de producción simbólicas, estéticas o interpretativas en diversos planos (religiosos, cosmológicos, políticos) del pasado reduccional y sus restos.

Dentro de este campo de fenómenos se inscribe el análisis de diversas fuentes de información: desde los repertorios de la tradición oral, los archivos fotográficos familiares y las representaciones estéticas en diversos soportes, pasando por las prácticas de recreación o invención de estilo de culto (a las imágenes, a los difuntos, etc.) y rituales, así como la incorporación de materiales para nuevas edificaciones con fines prácticos u ornamentales, etc.

Dentro de este repertorio de fenómenos, uno de la mayor importancia se refiere a las luchas por la apropiación simbólica de los "sentidos auténticos", confrontación desigual en cuanto a la legitimación de la posiciones asumidas por los actores, y que conforman un campo escasamente visible de disputas a las que recientemente se han incorporado sectores de la sociedad contemporánea (indígenas y pobladores), para los cuales el período reduccional y sus restos actuales componen nuevos espacios potenciales para su reivindicaciones étnicas y políticas.

Además la organización prevé la realización paralela de mesas redondas, conferencias y paneles con invitados internacionales dedicados a la indagación de aspectos singulares de la experiencia misional.

ENVÍO DE RESUMENES

Los interesados deben enviar una ficha de preinscripción al correo electrónico de las Jornadas (<xijornadasjesuiticas@yahoo.com>) incluyendo datos personales, pertenencia académica, categoría (expositor o asistente). Debe incluirse en la ficha el título del trabajo a presentar y un abstract de un máximo de 350 palabras, incluyendo hasta cinco referencias bibliográficas básicas.

El Comité organizador de las Jornadas en colaboración con los coordinadores de los simposios evaluará y seleccionará los resúmenes para los simposios y mesas, informando oportunamente a los autores su aceptación. Se privilegiarán las propuestas que introduzcan nuevas fuentes de investigación, abordajes originales y discusiones de interés. Se alienta especialmente a los estudiantes de licenciatura, maestría y doctorado a presentar trabajos de sus investigaciones en curso. Se aceptarán hasta 20 trabajos por simposio o mesa, lo que permitirá un mejor funcionamiento y dinámica de las discusiones. Las lenguas oficiales del encuentro serán el español y el portugués. Se aceptarán propuestas en francés e inglés en caso de que sean de interés especial para las problemáticas tratadas en el encuentro.

Las versiones finales de los trabajos deberán ser enviadas en una segunda fecha que establecerá la organización para su distribución entre los comentaristas de los simposios y mesas, así como para su publicación en Actas. Los trabajos finales deberán estar de acuerdo con las normas editoriales que oportunamente serán informadas a los autores por la organización general de las Jornadas.

Fecha límite para el envío de resúmenes: 30 de abril de 2008

Fecha límite para el envío de los trabajos: 30 de junio de 2008

CUOTAS DE INSCRIPCIÓN

Hasta el 30 de abril de 2008

| | MERCOSUR Y LATINOAMÉRICA | OTRAS REGIONES |
|----------------------|-----------------------------|----------------|
| Expositor graduado | US\$ 30 | US\$ 50 |
| Expositor estudiante | US\$ 15 | |

La organización abrirá una cuenta en Brasil y otra en Argentina para el pago de inscripciones. Los datos estarán disponibles en una página web actualmente en proceso de diseño. Igualmente los interesados pueden solicitar una ficha de preinscripción al e-mail de contacto para iniciar el trámite.

COMITÉ ORGANIZADOR DE LAS JORNADAS

Dr. Guillermo Wilde (Universidad Buenos Aires/CONICET, Argentina)

Dr. Eduardo Neumann (Universidade Federal de Rio Grande do Sul, Brasil)

Dr. Artur Barcelos (Universidade de Caxias, Rio Grande do Sul, Brasil)

Dra. Lía Quarleri (Universidad de Buenos Aires/CONICET, Argentina)

Dr. Norberto Levinton (Universidad del Salvador, Argentina)

Mg. Ignacio Telesca (Universidad Católica de Asunción, Paraguay)

Lic. Carlos Paz (Universidad Nacional del Centro de la Provincia de Buenos Aires/CONICET, Tandil, Prov. de Buenos Aires)

Lic. Mercedes Avellaneda (Universidad de Buenos Aires, Argentina)

Prof. Ana Hosne (Universidad de Buenos Aires/CONICET, Argentina)

COMITÉ ACADÉMICO E INVITADOS DEL EXTERIOR

Dr. Ernesto Maeder (Conicet, Argentina)

Dr. Bartomeu Melià (Centro de Estudios Paraguayos “Antonio Guasch”, Paraguay)

Dr. Rafael Carbonell de Masy (Universidad Gregoriana de Roma, Italia)

Dr. Arno Alvarez Kern (Pontificia Universidade Católica de Rio Grande do Sul, Brasil)

- Prof. Olinda Masare de Kostianovsky (Academia Paraguaya de la Historia, Paraguay)
- Dr. Darko Sustersic (Universidad de Buenos Aires/Conicet, Argentina)
- Dr. John Monteiro (Universidad de Campinas, Brasil)
- Dr. Pierre Antoine Fabre (Escuela de Altos Estudios en Ciencias Sociales, Francia)
- Dra. Charlotte de Castelnau-L'Estoile (Universidad de Paris X, Francia)
- Dr. Christophe Giudicelli (Universidad de Paris VII, Francia)
- Dra. Antonella Romano (Istituto Universitario Europeo, Italia)
- Dr. Martín Morales (Universidad Gregoriana de Roma, Italia)
- Dr. Carlos Page (Conicet, Argentina)
- Prof. Carmen Curbello (Universidad de la República, Uruguay)
- Dr. Bernardo Illari (University of North Texas, Estados Unidos)
- Dr. Arq. Alberto de Paula (Conicet, Comisión Nacional de Museos y Monumentos)
- Dra. Graciela Chamorro (Universidade Federal de Dourados, Mato Grosso do Sul, Brasil)
- Dr. Daniel Santamaría (Conicet, Argentina)
- Dra. María Cristina dos Santos (Pontificia Universidade Católica de Rio Grande do Sul, Brasil)
- Dra. Eliane Deckmann Fleck (Universidade do Vale dos Sinos, Rio Grande do Sul, Brasil)
- Dr. Bernard Vincent (Escuela de Altos Estudios en Ciencias Sociales, Francia)
- Dra. Capucine Boidin (IHEAL- Université Paris III Sorbonne Nouvelle, Francia)
- Dr. Dalton Sala (Universidade de São Paulo)
- Dra. Regina Gadelha (Universidade de São Paulo)
- Dra. María Laura Salinas (Universidad del Nordeste, Chaco, Argentina)
- Dr. Fernando Gil (Pontificia Universidad Católica Argentina)
- Dr. Daniel Schavelzon (Universidad de Buenos Aires)
- Dr. Marcos Tadeo Holler (Universidade do Estado de Santa Catarina, Brasil)
- Dr. Victor Rondón (Universidad de Chile)
- Dr. Gauvin Alexander Bailey (University of Aberdeen, Reino Unido)
- Dr. Jaime Valenzuela (Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile)
- Dr. Roberto Tomichá (Universidad Católica Boliviana, Bolivia)
- Dra. María Susana Cipolletti (Universidad de Bonn, Alemania)
- Mg. Alfredo Poenitz (Universidad Nacional de Misiones)
- Lic. María Elena Imolesi (Universidad de Buenos Aires)
- Lic. Estela Auletta (Universidad de Buenos Aires)
- Prof. Soledad Justo (Universidad de Buenos Aires)

INSTITUCIONES PROMOTORAS Y AUSPICIANTES

Consejo Nacional de Investigaciones Científicas y Técnicas (Argentina)

Universidad de Buenos Aires (Argentina)

Centro Franco argentino de Altos Estudios, UBA (Argentina)

Agencia Nacional de Promoción Científica (SECYT, Argentina)

Universidad Nacional del Centro de la Provincia de Buenos Aires (Argentina)

Secretaría de Cultura de la Nación (Argentina)

École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (Francia)

Pontificia Universidade Católica de Rio Grande do Sul (Brasil)

Universidade Federal de Rio Grande do Sul (Brasil)

Conselho Nacional de Pesquisas Científicas (CNPq, Brasil)

Universidad Católica de Paraguay (Paraguay)

A partir del mes de febrero se encontrará disponible una página web con más detalles del encuentro. Para más información ponerse en contacto con el comité organizador a través del siguiente correo electrónico:
<XIIjornadasjesuiticas@yahoo.com>

MONUMENTA HISTORICA SOCIETATIS IESU

NOVA SERIES

Vol. 2

Noble Patronage and Jesuit Missions: Maria Theresia von Fugger-Wellenburg (1690-1762) and Jesuit Missionaries in China and Vietnam

R. Po-chia Hsia

Long after the generations of Matteo Ricci, Adam Schall, and Ferdinand Verbiest, Jesuit missionaries in China were still struggling to maintain the mission and propagate the faith. A new wave of Catholic renewal in early 18th century Europe provided fresh impetus for a mission under siege, trying to recover from the twin blows of the papal prohibitions of Chinese Rites and the Chinese imperial proscription of Christianity. The last three decades of the Jesuit Mission in China and Vietnam were recorded in the published letters of the French and German Jesuits, the *Lettres edifiantes* and *Wolt-Bote*. Several of the letters in the latter series were addressed by Florian Bahr and other German-speaking Jesuit missionaries to Countess Maria-Theresia von Fugger-Wellenburg, Chief Lady-in-Waiting for Empress Amalia in Munich. A cache of more than 140 letters in the Fugger-Archiv in Dillingen, hitherto unexplored, forms the core from which the few published letters are drawn. These letters, transcribed or summarised with commentary in this volume, represent the correspondence of the Countess with Jesuits in China, Vietnam, France, and Bohemia; they contain detailed information not only on the conditions of the missions in East and Southeast Asia, but also document the network of support in Catholic Europe for the Jesuit overseas missions. Supplementary research into the history of the Fugger-Wellenburg family has enabled the author to reconstruct the life of the Countess and the history of her patronage of the Jesuit mission. The author has also written a long analytical introduction, which places this personal story in the larger global context of the religious and cultural history of the age.

Rome, 2006

€ 50,00 (€ 40,00 to subscribers)



BOOKS RECEIVED

Braun, Harald. E. *Juan de Mariana and Early Modern Spanish Political Thought*. [Catholic Christendom, 1300-1700.] (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007. Pp. xiii, 200. £55.00. Hardback.)

Broggio, Paolo, Francesca Cantù, Pierre-Antoine Fabre, e Antonella Romano, ed. *I gesuiti ai tempi di Claudio Acquaviva. Strategie politiche, religiose e culturali tra Cinque e Seicento*. (Brescia: Morcelliana, 2007. Pp. 320. €22,00. Paperback.) José Martínez Millán, "La trasformazione della Monarchia hispana alla fine del xvi secolo. Dal modello cattolico castigliano al paradigma universale cattolico-romano" (19-53); Giovanni Pizzorusso, "La Compagnia di Gesù, gli ordini regolari e il processo di affermazione della giurisdizione pontificia sulle missioni tra fine xvi e inizio xvii secolo. Tracce di una ricerca" (55-85); Paolo Broggio, "Attività missionaria e strategie insediative nelle province spagnole della Compagnia di Gesù (1581-1700)" (87-118); Francesca Cantù, "Come ese nuevo mundo está tan lexos destas partes.' Strategie e politiche di governo della Compagnia di Gesù nella provincia peruviana (1581-1607)" (119-55); Carmen Salazar-Soler, "Costruendo l'indio': Società e religione nel Perù dei secoli xvi e xvii" (157-83); Pierre-Antoine Fabre, "Saggio di geopolitica delle correnti spirituali. Alonso Sánchez tra Madrid, il Messico, le Filippine, le coste della Cina e Roma (1579-1593)" (185-203); Ines G. Županov, "Correnti e controcorrenti. La geopolitica gesuita in Asia (xvi secolo)" (205-18); Bernadette Majorana, "tra carità e cultura. Formazione e prassi missionaria nella Compagnia di Gesù" (219-60); Antonella Romano, "Prime riflessioni sull'attività intellettuale dei Gesuiti ai tempi di Claudio Acquaviva. L'impossibile dialogo tra Roma, Spagna e Nuovo Mondo?" (261-85); Maria Antonietta Visceglia, "Un convegno e un progetto. Riflessioni in margine" (287-305).

Burrieza Sánchez, Javier. *Valladolid, tierras y caminos de jesuitas. Presencia de la Compañía de Jesús en la provincia de Valladolid, 1545-1767*. (Valladolid: Diputación de Valladolid, 2007. Pp. 327. N.p. Paperback.)

- _____. *Jesuitas en Indias: Entre La Utopía y el Conflicto. Trabajos y Misiones de la Compañía de Jesús en la América Moderna*. [Historia y Sociedad, no. 125.] (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 2007. Pp. 592, N.p. Rústica.]
- Coello de la Rosa, Alexandre. *En compañía de ángeles. Vide del extático y fervoroso Padre Juan de Alloza, SJ [1597-1666]*. [Serie General Universitaria 69.] (Barcelona: Edicions Bellaterra, 2007. Pp. 218. N.p. Rústica.]
- Daly, Peter M. and G. Richard Dimler, S.J., eds. *The Jesuit Series. Part 5 (P-Z)*. [Corpus Librorum Emblematum.] (Toronto/Buffalo/London: University of Toronto Press, 2007. Pp. lx, 317. \$175.00/£ 87.00. Hardback.)
- Gilbert, Paul, S.J., ed. *Universitas nostra Gregoriana. La Pontificia Università Gregoriana ieri ed oggi*. (Roma: Segretario nazione dell'Apostolato della Pregariera, 2006. Pp. 377. € 20,00. Paperback.) Peter-Hans Kolvenbach, S.J., "La Compagnia di Gesù e la Gregoriana" (9-10); Franco Imoda, S.J., "Un progetto educativo" (11-14); Ignacio Iglesias, S.J., "Influjo de los Ejercicios Espirituales en la pedagogía ignaciana" (15-33); Gabriel Codina Mir, S.J., "El 'modus parisiensis'" (35-63); Adrien Demoustier, S.J., "Le discernment ignatien et l'invention de la Compagnie" (65-94); Cándido Pozo, S.J., "La Facoltà di teologia del Collegio romano nel XVI secolo" (95-119); Peter Henrici, S.J., "L'insegnamento della filosofia durante i primi decenni del Collegio romano" (121-34); Mario Fois, S.J., "L'organizzazione dell'insegnamento alla Gregoriana prima del 1773" (135-58); Giovanni Sale, S.J., "Pauperismo architettonico e architettura gesuitica" (159-74); Juan Alfaro, S.J., "El tema bíblico en la enseñanza de la teología sistemática" (175-212); Bernard Lonergan, S.J., "On Theology and Philosophy" (213-25); Josef Fuchs, S.J., "Moraltheologie und Dogmatik" (227-57); Joseph Vercruysse, S.J., "L'oecuménisme dans la formation théologique" (259-71); Michael L. Fitzgerald, M.F.R. "The Pontifical Gregorian University and Interreligious Dialogue" (273-82); Clarence Gallagher, S.J., "Cenni storici sulla Facoltà di diritto canonico" (283-95); Michael P. Gallagher, S.J., "University and Culture: Towards a Retrieval of Humanism" (297-326); Vincent J. Duminuco, S.J., "The *Ratio studiorum* Revisited. Late 20th Century Renewal of Jesuit Education" (327-41); Carlo Mosca, "Formazione, libertà e globalizzazione del sapere" (343-52); Peter-Hans Kolvenbach, S.J., "Pietas et erudition" (353-69); Gianfranco Ghirlanda, S.J., "Lo statuto attuale della Gregoriana" (371-74).
- Klaiber, Jeffrey, S.J. *Los Jesuitas en América Latina, 1549-2000. 450 años de inculturación, defensa de los derechos humanos y testimonio profético*. [Serie Humanidades.] (Lima: Fondo Editorial Universidad Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, 2007. Pp. xi, 508. N.p. Rústica.)

Lehner, Ulrich, heraus. *Die scholastische Theologie im Zeitalter der Gnadenstreitigkeiten I: Neue Texte von Diego Paez († 1582), Diego del Mármol († 1664), und Gregor von Valencia († 1603)*. [Religionsgeschichte der frühen Neuzeit. Band 2.] (Nordhausen: Verlag Traugott Bautz, 2007. S. 207. €32,00. Hardback.)

Li Jiubiao. *Kouduo richae. Li Jiubiao's Diary of Oral Admonitions. A Late Ming Christian Journal* Trans. and ed. Erik Zürcher. [Monumenta Serica Monograph Series LVI/1-2.] (Sankt Augustin/Brescia: Institut Monumenta Serica /Fondazione Civiltà Bresciana, 2007. 2 vols. Pp. 862. Illus. Maps. Facsimile. €80,00. Hardback.)

Lo Nardo, Antonino. *Dalla Sicilia alle Montagne Rocciose: P. Giuseppe Cataldo, Gesuita di Terrasini (PA)*. [ERCTA 42.] (Palermo: Provincia Regionale di Palermo/Biblioteca Istituto di Formazione Politica *Pedro Arrupe*/Centro Studi Sociali, 2007. Pp. 351. N.p. Paperback.)

Nebgen, Christoph. *Missionarsberufungen nach Übersee in drei Deutschen Provinzen der Gesellschaft Jesu im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*. [Jesuitica. Quellen und Studien zu Geschichte, Kunst und Literatur der Gesellschaft Jesu in deutschsprachigen Raum 14.] (Regensburg: Schnell und Steiner, 2007. S. 384. € 56,00. Hardback.)

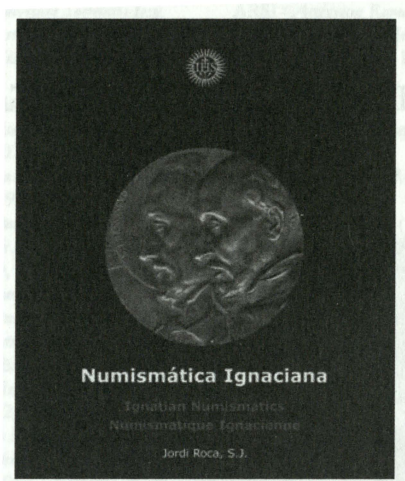
Springhetti, Aemilius, S.J. *Litterae Latinae Humanisticae*. Cura et studio domini Cl. Pavanetto. ([Cives Vaticana: Opus fundatum Latinitas, 2007.] Pp. 195. € 20,00. Paperback. "Humanismi saec. XV-XVI notio et natura" (7-23); "Humanismi ortus et relatio cum medio aevo" (25-41); "Humanismi praeparatio et ortus" (43-65); "Manat tota Italia humanismus" (95-124); "Humanismi fortuna in dicione reipublicae Venetae ad medium saeculum XV" (125-46); "Florilegium ex operibus quorundam humanistarum" (149-90).

Torres Olleta, M. Gabriela. *Vita thesibus et vita iconibus. Dos Certámenes sobre San Francisco Javier*. (Pamplona: Universidad de Navarra, 2007. Pp. 31, and non-paginated facsimile edition. Illus. N.p. Hardback.)

Wang, Peter Chen-Main, ed. *Contextualization of Christianity in China. An Evaluation in Modern Perspective*. [Collectanea Serica.] (Sankt Augustin: Institut Monumenta Serica, 2007. Pp. 316. € 40,00. Paperback.) Peter Chen-Main Wang, "Introduction" (7-9); Claudia von Collani, "From Accommodation to a Chinese Theology" (13-45); Vincent Shen, "Generosity towards the Other: Matteo Ricci's Strategy for Strangification in China" (47-69); Christoffer H. Grundmann, "Contextualizing the Gospel by 'Imitating Christ.' The Emergence of Medical Missions in Nineteenth Century China" (73-95); John E. Geddes, "Singing a New Song. The Development of the Use of Taiwanese-Chinese Words and Music in the Hymn Book of the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan, 1865-1965" (97-118); Jessie G. Lutz, "The Sinification of

Historiography of the China Christian Colleges" (119-49); Peter Chen-Main Wang, "Bishop Frederik R. Graves and the Changing Context of China in the 1920s" (153-81); Edward Yihua Xu, "Westernization and Contextualization. A Study of Three Pioneering Chinese Pastors of the *Sheng Kung Hui* in China" (183-207); Richard R. Cook, "Wang Mingdao and the Evolution of Contextualized Chinese Churches" (209-23); Robert Entenmann, "Chinese Catholics and their Relations with the State during the Campaign against the White Lotus" (227-42); R.G. Tiedemann, "Anti-Christian Conflict in Local Context. The Life and Times of Pang Sanjie: Patriot, Protector, Bandit or Revolutionary?" (243-75); Beatrice Leung, "Christianity in Post-Mao China. Legalism and Accommodation" (277-96).

Ugento, Maria Rosa. *Padre Carlo Giacon. Un Ritratto Familiare*. (Carvarzere: Grafiche Mariotto snc, 2007. Pp. 59. N.p. Paperback.)



Numismática Ignaciana Jordi Roca, S.J.

El Instituto Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús, Roma, ha publicado *Numismática Ignaciana* de Jordi Roca, S.J. para conmemorar el 450 aniversario de la muerte de Ignacio de Loyola. Basada en la propia colección de medallas del P. Roca, este libro, preciosamente ilustrado, reproduce en color más de 400 medallas desde finales del siglo XVI hasta el presente. Los estudiosos de la iconografía ignaciana podrán identificar los retratos que se han usado para las medallas en fuentes impresas. Igualmente interesante, en los reversos se representan imágenes preferidas por los jesuitas como Ntra. Señora de la Strada, y la Virgen Salus Populi, y también devociones particulares de los jesuitas, como los Sagrados Corazones de Jesús y María, la Sagrada Familia, la Virgen de los Dolores, la Inmaculada Concepción y el Ángel de la Guarda. Medallas como estas eran muy importantes para los misioneros del Nuevo Mundo. Ejemplos de medallas llevadas por los misioneros al Nuevo Mundo se han descubierto en yacimientos arqueológicos de los hurones, en Canadá y Nueva York. Con esta publicación no se pretende un estudio exhaustivo y definitivo, sino que es como un primer paso en la exploración de un área, hasta ahora descuidada, de la iconografía ignaciana. Interesará a todo especialista en iconografía ignaciana y en los objetos de devoción de los católicos-romanos.

La introducción ha sido traducida también al inglés y al francés.

En rústica. Págs. 242.

Precio: € 50,00.

MONUMENTA HISTORICA SOCIETATIS IESU
NOVA SERIES
Vol. 3



Leyenda de los Santos [Beato Iácopo da Varazze, O.P.]

Félix Juan Cabasés, S.I.

La Leyenda de los Santos es la obra más conocida del Beato Dominico Iácopo da Varazze (1228-1298). No sólo es la obra de la que más manuscritos se conservan, después de la Biblia, sino que, apenas llegada la imprenta, fue objeto de incontables ediciones en su original latino y en diversas traducciones, porque este Año Cristiano era de obligada presencia en todas las Bibliotecas monacales, catedralicias, parroquiales . . . El libro inspiró una parte importante de la iconografía medieval, y constituye un testigo insustituible de la espiritualidad y de la piedad cristianas entre los siglos XIII y XVI. Ofrecemos la transcripción íntegra del único ejemplar conocido de la edición hecha en Sevilla y en 1520 por el impresor salmantino Juan de Varela, texto idéntico o muy similar al que el período 1521-1522 fue libro de cabecera del convaleciente Íñigo de Loyola, cuya conversión a Dios acompañó e inspiró.

Copublicado con Universidad Pontificia Comillas, Madrid

Roma/Madrid, 2007.

€ 70,00 (€ 60,00 a los subscriptores)

NOTAE COMPENDIARIAE

- AHSI=Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu.* *ARSI=Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu.*
BHISI=Bibliotheca Instituti Historici Societatis Iesu. *MHSI=Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu.*
DHCJ=Diccionario Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús. Ed. C. O'Neil and J. Domínguez. 4 vols. Madrid, 2001.
Bobadilla=Bobadilla Monumenta. Madrid, 1913, reprinted 1970 (46).
Borgia=Sanctus Franciscus Borgia, quartus Gandiae dux et Societatis Iesu praepositus generalis tertius. 6 vols. Madrid, 1894-2003 (2, 23, 35, 38, 41, 156).
Broet=Epistolae PP. Paschasii Broeti, Claudii Jaji, Joannis Codurii et Simonis Rodericii Societatis Iesu. Madrid, 1903, reprinted 1971 (24).
Cat. Prov. Austr.=Catalogi Provinciae Austriae. 2 vols. Rome, 1978-1982 (117, 125).
Chronicon=Vita Ignatii Loiolae et rerum Societatis Iesu historia. Auctore J.A. de Polanco. 6 vols. Madrid, 1894-1898 (1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11).
Constitutiones I=Monumenta Constitutionum praevia. Rome, 1934 (63).
Constitutiones II=Textus hispanus. Rome, 1936 (64).
Constitutiones III=Textus latinus. Rome, 1938 (65).
Directoria=Directoria Exercitiorum spiritualium (1540-1599). Rome, 1955 (76).
Doc. Ind.=Documenta Indica. 18 vols. Rome, 1948-1988 (70, 72, 74, 78, 83, 86, 89, 91, 94, 98, 103, 105, 118, 123, 127, 132, 133).
Doc. Mal.=Documenta Malucensia. 3 vols. Rome, 1974-1984 (109, 119, 126).
Epp. Ign.=Sancti Ignatii de Loyola Societatis Iesu fundatoris epistolae et instructiones. 12 vols. Madrid, 1903-1911, reprinted 1964-1968 (22, 26, 28, 29, 31, 33, 34, 36, 37, 38, 40, 42).
Epp. Mixtae=Epistolae mixtae ex variis Europae locis ab anno 1537 ad 1556 scriptae. 5 vols. Madrid, 1898-1901 (12, 14, 17, 18, 20).
Exerc. Spir.=Exercitia spiritualia. Textus antiquissimi. Rome, 1969 (100).
Faber=Fabri Monumenta. Beati Petri Fabri, primi sacerdotis et Societate Iesu epistolae, Memoriale et processus. Madrid, 1914, reprinted 1972 (48).
Fontes doc.=Fontes documentales de S. Ignatio de Loyola. Rome, 1977 (115).
Fontes narr.=Fontes narrativi de Loyola et de Societatis Iesu initiis. 4 vols. Rome, 1943-1965 (66, 73, 85, 93).
Lainez=Lainii Monumenta. Epistolae et acta Patris Jacobi Lainii secundi praepositi generalis Societatis Iesu. 8 vols. Madrid, 1912-1917 (44, 45, 47, 49, 50, 51, 53, 55).
Litt. Quad.=Litterae quadrimestres ex universis praeter Indiam et Brasiliam locis, in quibus aliqui de Societate Iesu versabantur. 7 vols. Madrid, 1894-1932 (4, 8, 10, 59, 61, 62).
Mon. Ang.=Monumenta Angliae. 3 vols. Rome, 1992-2000 (142, 143, 151).
Mon. Ant. Flor.=Monumenta Antiquae Floridae, 1565-1572. Rome, 1946 (69).
Mon. Ant. Hung.=Monumenta Antiquae Hungariae. 4 vols. Rome, 1969-1987 (101, 112, 121, 131).
Mon. Bras.=Monumenta Brasiliae. 4 vols. Rome, 1956-1960 (79, 80, 81, 87).
Mon. Iap.=Monumenta Historica Iaponiae. 3 vols. Rome, 1975-1995 (111, 137, 148).
Mon. Mex.=Monumenta Mexicana. 8 vols. Rome, 1956-1991 (77, 84, 97, 104, 106, 114, 122, 139).
Mon. Nov. Franc.=Monumenta Novae Franciae. 9 vols. Rome, 1967-2003 (96, 116, 130, 135, 138, 144, 146, 149, 154).
Mon. paed.=Monumenta paedagogica. 7 vols. Rome, 1965-1992 (92, 107, 108, 124, 129, 140, 141).
Mon. Per.=Monumenta Peruana. 8 vols. Rome, 1956-1986 (75, 82, 88, 95, 102, 110, 120, 128).
Mon. Prox. Or.=Monumenta Proximi Orientis. 6 vols. Rome, 1989-2003 (136, 145, 147, 150, 152, 155).
Mon. Sin.=Monumenta Sinica. Rome, 2002 (153).
Mon. Xavier=Monumenta Xaveriana. 2 vols. Madrid 1899-1912 (16, 43).
Nadal=Epistolae P. Hieronymi Nadal Societatis Iesu ab anno 1546 ad 1577 (et alia scripta). 5 vols. Madrid-Rome, 1898-1962 (13, 15, 21, 27, 90).
Pol. Compl.=Polanci Complementa. Epistolae et commentaria P. Joannis Alphonsi de Polanco e Societate Iesu. 2 vols. Madrid, 1916-1917 (52, 54).
Regulae=Regulae Societatis Iesu. Rome, 1948 (71).
Ribadeneira=Ribadeneira. Patris Petri de Ribadeneira Societatis Iesu sacerdotis Confessiones, epistolae aliaeque scripta inedita. 2 vols. Madrid, 1920-1923 (58, 60).
Salmeron=Epistolae P. Alphonsi Salmeronis Societatis Iesu. 2 vols. Madrid, 1906-1907 (30, 32).
Xavier=Epistolae S. Francisci Xaverii aliaeque eius scripta. 2 vols. Rome, 1944-1945 (67, 68).
Sommervogel=Carlos Sommervogel, Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus. 10 vols. Paris/Brussels, 1890-1909, rep. 1960.

INSTITUTUM HISTORICUM SOCIETATIS IESU

JESUIT HISTORICAL INSTITUTE (ROME)



Founded by Father General Ledóchowski on 11 February 1930, the Jesuit Historical Institute (IHSI) promotes research on the history of the Society of Jesus. Its members in Rome, with the assistance of other Jesuits (“corresponding fellows”) throughout the world, oversee the publication of the *Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu* (MHSI) and the monograph series *Bibliotheca Instituti Historici Societatis Iesu* (BIHSI).

Giovanni Sale, S.J.
Director

Thomas M. McCoog, S.J.
Editor-in-Chief

Robert Danieluk, S.J.
Paul Oberholzer, S.J.
James F.X. Pratt, S.J.
José Antonio Yoldi, S.J.
Permanent Members

Francisco de Borja Medina, S.J., *emeritus*
László Szilas, S.J., *emeritus*

ARCHIVUM HISTORICUM SOCIETATIS IESU

Thomas M. McCoog, S.J.

Editor

Advisory Editors

Sibylle Appuhn-Radtke (Munich)

Paul Begheyn, S.J. (Amsterdam)

Robert L. Bireley, S.J. (Chicago)

Francesco Cesareo (Worcester, Ma.)

Kathleen M. Comerford (Statesboro)

Marek Inglot, S.J. (Rome)

Jeffrey Klaiber, S.J. (Lima)

Mark A Lewis, S.J. (New Orleans)

Antonio Maldonado, S.J. (Córdoba)

Martín M. Morales, S.J. (Rome)

Julius Oswald, S.J. (Augsburg)

Ulderico Parente (Naples)

Antonella Romano (Florence)

Flavio Rurale (Udine)

Lydia Salviucci-Insolera (Rome)

Nuno da Silva Gonçalves, S.J. (Lisbon)

Nicolas Standaert, S.J. (Leuven)

Robert Trisco (Washington, D.C.)

M. Antoni J. Üçerler, S.J. (Oxford)

Agustín Udías, S.J. (Madrid)

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Disillusioned Go-betweens: The Politics of Mediation and the Transformation
of the Jesuit Missionary Enterprise in Sixteenth-Century Brazil*Alida C. Metcalf* 283¿Escritura de Polanco o de S. Ignacio? *Manuel Ruiz Jurado, S.J.* 321

Bibliography on the History of the Society of Jesus

Paul Begheyn, S.J. 347

Reviews 497

Jesuit Historiographical Notes 537

Books Received 557

Index 565

ARCHIVUM HISTORICUM SOCIETATIS IESU

Back issues may be obtained. The price for a single issue is € 20,00 (plus postage). Volumes I-L (1981) may be purchased for € 35,00 (plus postage) a volume. Volumes LI-LXIX (1982-2000) are € 40,00 (plus postage) a volume. Anyone purchasing a complete set of volumes I-LXIX (1932-2000) with the three volumes of index will receive a 30% discount. The four volumes of indices (vol. 1: I-XX [1932-1951]; vol. 2: XXI-XXX [1952-1961]; vol. 3: XXXI-L [1962-1981]; vol. 4: LI-LX [1982-1991]) are available for € 20,00 or \$22.00 each.

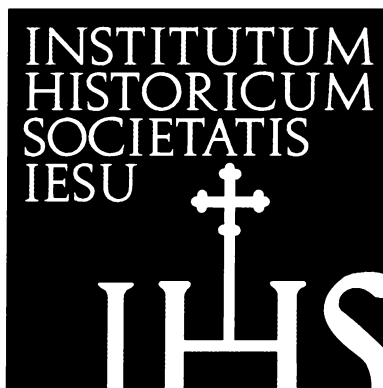
Articles from back issues of the *Archivum* may also be obtained electronically from Chadwyck/Healey Ltd. through their website at:

<www.chadwyck.co.uk>

While back issues are available electronically, current issues are not published on-line.

Manuscripts, books for review, news for the historiographical notes section, should be addressed to *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*, C.P. 6139; 00195 Roma-Prati, or Borgo S. Spirito, 4; 00193 Rome; telephone number 39-06-689-77466; fax number 39-06-689-77461; e-mail address: <ihsiroma@sjcuria.org>

Subscription for 2008: \$ 44.00 for all subscriptions (domestic and international)



Published Semi-Annually by
Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu
International Standard Serial Number (ISSN) 0037-8887
Copyright 2008 by the Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu

DISILLUSIONED GO-BETWEENS: THE POLITICS OF MEDIATION AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE JESUIT MISSIONARY ENTERPRISE IN SIXTEENTH- CENTURY BRAZIL

Alida C. Metcalf*

The role of the third party between two opposing, antagonistic, or mutually incomprehensible parties is a complex one. Nowhere is this clearer than among the early Jesuits in Brazil.¹ The Jesuits were the first missionary order in Brazil, and they enjoyed unparalleled patronage from the kings of Portugal from 1549 to 1580. King João had opened the Portuguese maritime network of ports and small colonies to the Jesuits, and Brazil was one of the first overseas ministries, following the missions to India. Six Jesuits arrived in the Bay of All Saints on 29 March 1549—four priests and two brothers—with the first governor appointed by King João III, Tomé de Sousa.² These men quickly sought to become the premier spiritual and political intermediaries between two opposing cultural and religious worlds of sixteenth-century Brazil: the villages of the Tupi-Guarani and the settlements of European Catholics. The first Jesuits saw themselves first and foremost as the spiritual guides who would lead the Tupi and Guarani-speaking

* Dr. Metcalf is professor of history at Trinity University in San Antonio, Texas.

¹ On Jesuits as intermediaries, see my *Go-betweens and the Colonization of Brazil, 1500-1600* (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 2005), 89-118. One of the few historians to study the Jesuits as intermediaries is Maria Cândida D.M. Barros, "The Office of Lingua: A Portrait of the Religious Tupi Interpreter in Brazil in the Sixteenth Century," *Itinerario: European Journal of Overseas History* 25 (2001) 110-40.

² The priests were Manoel da Nóbrega, leader of the mission, António Pires, Leonardo Nunes, and João Azpilcueta, also known as Juan de Azpilcueta Navarro; the brothers were Vicente Rodrigues and Diogo Jácome, see MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, I, 109 n. 1.

peoples to Christianity. But to succeed in this role they viewed it essential that they transact the encounters between the Portuguese colonists and the Tupi and Guarani peoples. Therefore, Jesuits sought to monopolize the roles of spiritual guides and political brokers. Their experience as third parties, whether spiritual or political, often led to disillusionment, which in turn led to changes in the missionary enterprise.

Sociologist Georg Simmel defines the mediator as a third party who guides opposing sides to a resolution, and who keeps him or herself out of any decision, which is the foundation of legal mediation today.³ The Jesuits hardly intended to be neutral mediators in Simmel's sense. They fully expected that through their spiritual mission they would convert the Tupi and Guarani-speaking peoples of Brazil to Christianity, thereby bringing them into the Christian fold. Although they would be willing to adapt some aspects of Christian doctrine and social life to make Christianity more attractive to potential Tupi and Guarani converts, they could not accept a compromise between indigenous beliefs and Christianity or between Tupi-Guarani and Catholic customs. This profoundly influenced their roles as third parties. Simmel recognizes that the third party can take sides; when it does so, he labels this third party the arbitrator. Arbitrators possess great power because the two parties have relinquished the final decision to the arbitrator, who then influences the coming to terms. According to Simmel's definition, therefore, it would seem that the Jesuits were more similar to arbitrators rather than to mediators, for they are firmly on the side of the European Catholic cultural tradition.⁴ But although they saw themselves as the preferred and indeed crucial political intermediaries at the intersection between the Indian world and the Portuguese colony, and claimed the power of arbitrators, the Jesuits never were truly arbitrators in Simmel's sense. Neither the colonists nor the indigenous groups ever relinquished the final outcome to them, and thus the Jesuits never had the

³ Georg Simmel, *The Sociology of Georg Simmel*, trans. Kurt H. Wolff (New York: Free Press, 1970) p. 148.

⁴ Dauril Alden sometimes characterizes the Jesuits in Brazil as mediators in *The Making of an Enterprise: The Society of Jesus in Portugal, its Empire, and Beyond 1540-1750* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996). For example, "though the Jesuits seldom adopted an unpopular position, they continually sought to protect the Amerindians against settler abuses and, along with other religious, were assigned by the crown responsibilities for mediating between employers and Indian laborers" (p. 658) or "They [Jesuit missionaries] simply wanted to mediate between the mission Indians and their secular employers to see that the former were not abused or exploited" (p. 478). Charlotte de Castelneau-L'Estolle also frequently refers to Jesuits as mediators in *Les ouvriers d'une vigne stérile: Les jésuites et la conversion des Indiens au Brésil, 1580-1620* (Lisbon/Paris: Centre Culturel Calouste Gulbenkian, 2000). See, for example, pp. 153, 156, 163, and 261. As I argue below, "mediator" does not exactly characterize the Jesuit role, for they never intended to be neutral third parties.

full power of Simmel's arbitrators. This reality led to much disillusionment in the early mission in Brazil.

The concept of the go-between is a useful way to understand the position of the Jesuit missionaries, who were neither entirely mediators nor arbitrators, in sixteenth century Brazil. Go-betweens—individuals who connect previously unknown and mutually incomprehensible worlds—were very much a part of the Atlantic world in the sixteenth century. Go-betweens can be divided into three distinct types: the physical—those who traveled; the transactional—those who translated, negotiated, and mediated or arbitrated; and the representational—those who characterize and define the meaning of new peoples and new worlds to others.⁵ Jesuits clearly fit into all three of these categories, and especially in the role of transactional go-between. However, they were quite different from most of the transactional go-betweens typical of the fifteenth and sixteenth century, most of whom stumbled into the role by chance or were forced to perform it. Survivors of shipwrecks, penal exiles, agents left ashore by merchants, and slave interpreters, for example, all found themselves with little choice but to play the role of the third party. Although they characterized themselves as instruments of God, Jesuit missionaries well understood that the key to a successful mission in Brazil lay in doing what all effective transactional go-betweens did: interpreting, translating, and brokering encounters.

The letters, reports, and histories written by men of the Society in the sixteenth century are rich sources for chronicling the early mission.⁶ Distinct shifts in the Jesuit approach can be discerned in these writings, and as we shall presently see, these changes were prefaced by disillusionment. Jesuits described this disillusionment as "*desconsolação*"—distress, suffering, sorrow, desolation. Many factors can be cited as contributing to this disillusionment, but clearly the Jesuit roles as spiritual and political go-betweens factored greatly. Jesuits did not want to be neutral mediators in Simmel's sense, and therefore they could not be emotionally, spiritually, or politically uninvested in the outcome. Instead, because they saw themselves rather more as arbitrators who imposed decisions, flowing from the heart and soul of how they viewed their mission, they were highly invested in the outcome.

Jesuits as Spiritual Go-betweens

As missionaries, Jesuits saw themselves as third parties between pagan Tupi and Guarani peoples and the word of God. They sought to be the guides,

⁵ This typology of go-betweens is drawn from my *Go-betweens and the Colonization of Brazil*, pp. 1-15. This introduction is available online at "Table of Contents and Excerpt, Metcalf, Go-Betweens and the Colonization of Brazil" (<https://www.texas.edu/utpress/excerpts/exmergob.html>).

⁶ The five volume comprehensive collection of Jesuit letters is MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*

teachers, and counselors who would lead the lost peoples of Brazil to salvation. While they may have seen themselves as mediators, emulating Jesus, who as stated in II Timothy 2:5 is the ultimate spiritual mediator: "For there is one God, and one mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus," they were not mediators in Simmel's sense. The Jesuits sought to be arbitrators, for they wanted to shape how the Tupi and Guarani became Christians. Writing a letter to Diego Laínez, the second superior general of the Society,⁷ for the leader of the Brazilian mission, Father Manoel da Nóbrega,⁸ Brother Antônio Blázquez⁹ put it into words this way: "This is, Reverend, Father in Christ, that which the Lord *through the members of the Society* [of Jesus] has worked since the last [letter] that we wrote until the present" (emphasis mine).¹⁰ With these words, Blázquez makes clear that the Jesuits saw themselves as the instruments through which God worked in Brazil, and that they willingly embraced this role. Jesuits fully expected to encounter many obstacles and setbacks. But in this same letter, written in April of 1558, Blázquez adds, "and if it [the work] is not as much as should have been reasonable . . . Your Excellency must understand this as *a sterile and unfertile land*, from which we hope . . . to *harvest more copious fruit*" (emphasis mine). Blázquez's metaphor of the sterile land and the failed harvest expresses the disillusionment felt by Jesuit missionaries near the end of their first decade in Brazil and marks the first discernable shift in their mission strategy for Brazil. In 1558, the Jesuits abandoned their non-violent mission of persuasion in favor of war against the independent chiefs and villages in the Bay of all Saints. Following this war, waged by the third governor of Brazil, Mem de Sá, the Jesuits regained their role as spiritual guides, but in a more controlled environment: that of the mission village.

In 1549, before any thought of disillusionment had set in, the first Jesuits in Brazil intended to build on their work in Europe, where they dedicated themselves to those to whom no clergy ministered, and in India, where they sought to bring Christianity to those who had never before been evangelized.¹¹

⁷ *1512 Almazán, Sória (Spain); SJ one of the co-founders of the Society; †19.i.1565 Rome (MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, III, 78*-79*).

⁸ *19.x.1517 Minho (Portugal); SJ 21.xi.1544 Portugal; †18.x.1570 Rio de Janeiro (MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, I, 34*-37*).

⁹ *1528 Alcántara (Spain); SJ 19.ix.1548 Coimbra; †27.xii.1606 Bahia (MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, II, 72*).

¹⁰ Blázquez for Nóbrega to Laínez, Bahia, 30 April 1558, MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, II, 444.

¹¹ John O'Malley, S.J., *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1993) pp. 93-94; Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise*, 41-55. On the Jesuit mission to Brazil, Serafim Leite's *História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil*, 10 vols. (Lisbon/Rio de Janeiro: Livraria Portugalica/Civilização Brasileira, 1938-1950) I & II remain fundamental. John Hemming's *Red Gold: The Conquest of the Brazilian Indians* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1978), provides an

The first Jesuit missionaries were deeply committed to teaching basic Christian doctrines, so that baptism would mark a significant transformation in the lives of the indigenous peoples. In one of his first letters from Brazil, written from the new capital city, Salvador, that was being built by the governor just inside the Bay of all Saints, the leader of the Jesuit mission, Manoel da Nóbrega, describes teaching and preaching in the nearby villages. He speaks of having already baptized 100, with six to seven hundred catechumens nearly ready. Some of these followed the Jesuits as they walked from village to village, asking when they would be baptized, and “showing great desire and promising to live as we tell them.”¹²

The Jesuit role as spiritual go-betweens began with a simple and straightforward approach: conversation. As in Europe and India, Jesuit ministries in Brazil were characterized by discourse.¹³ Language and example were seen to be essential to evangelism, for the first Jesuits believed that the coastal Tupi Indians might be persuaded to convert to Christianity if they understood that baptism would allow them to enjoy eternal life. Conversion to Christianity, the Jesuits fully realized, required that the Tupi peoples of Brazil give up many of the defining features of indigenous life in Brazil. But they were optimistic that they could convince them to do so willingly, through their persuasive arguments. Holding forth the prize of salvation, the Jesuits did believe that even such entrenched customs as ritual cannibalism and polygyny, or the power and influence traditionally wielded by shamans and wandering prophets, could be conquered by persuasive conversation about Christianity.

Jesuits immediately faced complex and powerful rivals in their desire to be spiritual teachers. The shamans and wandering prophets of Tupi and Guarani peoples customarily held privileged positions as intermediaries between the sacred and the worldly, the very role coveted by the Jesuits. The Jesuits quickly recognized their influence: “These are our greatest adversaries,” Nóbrega wrote of them in 1549.¹⁴ Using their traditional roles and powers, shamans and

essential chronological overview. Important new works are Thomas H. Cohen, *Fire of Tongues: Antônio Vieira and the Missionary Church in Brazil and Portugal* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998) pp. 13-49; Cristina Pompa, *Religião como tradução: missionários, Tupi e Tapuia no Brasil colonial* (Bauru, SP: EDUSC, 2003); Castelnau-L'Estoile, *Les ouvriers d'une vigne stérile*, and Edgard Leite, *Homens vindos do céu: contatos religiosos no litoral da América Portuguesa, séculos XVI e XVII* (Rio de Janeiro: Papéis e Cópias, 1997).

¹² Manoel da Nóbrega to Dr. Martín Azpilcueta Navarro (in Coimbra), Salvador 10 August 1549, MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, I, 139-40.

¹³ O'Malley, *First Jesuits*, p. 365; Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise*, p. 14.

¹⁴ “Informação das terras do Brasil do P. Manuel da Nóbrega,” Bahia, 1549, MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, I, 152.

wandering prophets represented the Jesuits and the Portuguese colonial enterprise as evil.¹⁵ As the Jesuits began their mission, indigenous shamans and wandering prophets wasted little time in interpreting them in a negative light. Using their authority as healers, shamans proclaimed that the Jesuits, through their teachings, brought death. One Jesuit wrote that the shamans persuaded the Indians that "in baptism we put death into them;" they told Indians, moreover, that calling on Jesus or making the sign of the cross was the "sign" of death. When an Indian chief in Bahia died after having been baptized, the shamans spread the word that "the holy baptism had killed him." Shamans would extract knives, scissors, and fishhooks from the sick, claiming that the Jesuits had put them there.¹⁶

Language presented another formidable barrier. Only João de Azpilcueta¹⁷ quickly learned the Tupi-Guarani language, which was widely spoken along the coast of Brazil. Azpilcueta created the kind of missionary approach first envisioned by the Jesuits by walking from village to village teaching, baptizing converts, building churches, and celebrating mass. Although the texts no longer exist, he apparently succeeded in translating into Tupi-Guarani, with the help of local interpreters, fundamental Christian tenets such as the creation of the world, the Ten Commandments, the articles of faith, and prayers. Azpilcueta best represents the Jesuit approach during their early years: an articulate, engaged, enthusiastic missionary who through language persuaded independent and autonomous indigenous villages to embrace Christianity.¹⁸

Jesuits selected the arguments they believed most compelling to achieve conversion. Often they relied on interpreters, or on brothers who joined the Society in Brazil, to translate their arguments into words, images and metaphors

¹⁵ According to modern anthropologists and ethnohistorians, the shaman (*pajé*) and the wandering prophet (*caraíba*) performed distinct religious roles in Tupi societies; a *pajé*, or shaman, lived in a village and was a healer and interpreter of dreams, while the *caraíba*, was a messianic wandering prophet whose power extended beyond the village. See Carlos Fausto, "Fragmentos de história e cultura Tupinambá: Da etnologia como instrumento crítico de conhecimento etno-histórico," in Manuela Carneiro da Cunha, *História dos índios no Brasil* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1992) pp. 385-88 and Frank Lestringant's comment in *Le Brésil d'André Thevet: Les Singularités de la France Antarctique* (1557) (Paris: Éditions Chandeigne, 1997) p. 355 n. 1 and Lestringant's note in Jean de Léry, *Histoire d'un voyage fait en la terre du Brésil* (1578), 2nd ed. (Paris: Le Livre de Poche, 1994) p. 396 n. 1.

¹⁶ Antônio Pires to the fathers and brothers of Coimbra, Pernambuco 2 August 1551, MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, I, 255-56; Luís da Grã to Ignatius de Loyola, Bahia 27 December 1554, MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, II, 134; Nóbrega, "Informação das terras do Brasil, 1549," MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, I, 152.

¹⁷ *1521-1523 Navarra; SJ 22.xii.1545 Coimbra; †30.iv.1557 Bahia (MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, I, 38*).

¹⁸ João de Azpilcueta to the fathers and brothers of Coimbra, Bahia 28 March 1550, MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, I, 180; Nóbrega to Simão Rodrigues, Salvador 6 January 1550, MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, I, 159.

that the Tupi Guarani could understand. Leonardo Nunes¹⁹ emphasized the fear of death, writing in one letter that because the Indians “greatly fear death and the day of judgment and hell,” this led many to convert in order to be saved. Nunes ordered his interpreter “always to touch on this in the conversations, because the fear puts them in great confusion.”²⁰ Another theme stressed by Vicente Rodrigues was that “the time of dreams had passed” and that it was time for Indians to “wake up and hear the word of God, our Lord.”²¹ Pero Correia,²² a brother who joined the Society in Brazil and who was known as their best interpreter, preached to the Tupi and Guarani of São Vicente that “if they believed in God that not only would our Lord give them great things in heaven . . . but that in this world on their lands he would give them many things that were hidden.”²³

Jesuit missionaries enhanced the conversation with music. By adopting but transforming indigenous music, Jesuits hoped to open a path that would lead to conversion. During his first year in Brazil, Azpilcueta set the Pater Noster [Lord's Prayer] to “their way of singing” so that the Indian boys would learn it faster and enjoy it more.²⁴ One Jesuit wrote, “because they love musical things, we, by playing and singing among them, will win them.” This strategy was particularly effective when children, who had come from Portugal as orphans to be raised by the Jesuits, went from village to village “singing and playing in the way of the Indians and with their very same sounds and songs, moving the words in praise of God.” They shook rattles, beat sticks on the ground, and sang at night, in the Indian style.²⁵ Nóbrega disclosed in 1552 that the “songs of Our Lord” that the Jesuits sang were in Indian tones and set to the accompaniment of Indian instruments that were customarily used in “their celebrations when they kill enemies and when they walk around drunk.”²⁶

¹⁹ *? San Vicente da Beira, Guarda (Portugal); SJ 1548 Coimbra; †1554 shipwrecked (MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, I, 37*-38*).

²⁰ Leonardo Nunes to the fathers and brothers of Coimbra, São Vicente 20 June 1551, MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, I, 233.

²¹ Vicente Rodrigues to the fathers and brothers of Coimbra, Bahia 17 September 1552, MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, I, 410-11.

²² *?; SJ 1549/1550 São Vicente (Brazil); †1554 southern Brazil (MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, I, 44*-45*).

²³ Pero Correia to Brás Lourenço (in Espírito Santo), São Vicente 18 July 1554, MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, II, 70.

²⁴ Azpilcueta to fathers and brothers of Coimbra, Bahia, 28 March 1550, MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, I, 180.

²⁵ Meninos órfãos, written by Francisco Pires, to Pero Deménech (in Lisbon), Bahia 5 August 1552, MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, I, 383-89.

²⁶ Nóbrega to Simão Rodrigues, Bahia end of August 1552, MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, I, 408.

While Jesuit missionaries were willing to tolerate Indian music, instruments, and dancing, they would not accept other customs deemed incompatible with Christianity. Ritual cannibalism and polygyny were two such customs which many colonists, and even governors, seemed willing to tolerate, at least partially, but which the Jesuits rejected completely. Coastal Tupi groups practiced exocannibalism, or the eating of those from outside their group, such as enemies captured in warfare.²⁷ Several accounts from the sixteenth century emphasize its centrality in the social customs of Tupi villages.²⁸ In the Jesuit mind, cannibalism could not be tolerated, and therefore they sought to persuade Indians to willingly end the practice. If Indians gave it up, Jesuits believed that they could retain other less harmful customs, such as their music, if turned towards spiritual ends.²⁹ Nóbrega called cannibalism “the most abominable” custom that exists among the Indians, and he linked it to the practice of warfare which he understood to be motivated by hatred and revenge. Nóbrega characterized warfare and cannibalism as the heart “of their happiness and desire,” the sum total of their “honor.”³⁰

In the early years, the assault against cannibalism was through language. Jesuits preached constantly against cannibalism, hoping to persuade chiefs to relinquish the practice and thereby to lead their villages away from the custom. In a letter from 1550, Azpilcueta describes how the villages where he had been preaching went to war and returned with enemies. On entering a house, he found six or seven old women dancing around a pot “looking like devils in hell.” Azpilcueta then describes his response, which reveals his acceptance of his role as a spiritual teacher who must use language and persuasion, but not force: “I remembered that question of the Apostles to the Lord,” he writes, in

²⁷ Beth A. Conklin, *Consuming Grief: Compassionate Cannibalism in an Amazonian Society* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001) pp. xxiv-xxxi; 3-15.

²⁸ Many Jesuit letters describe cannibalism. See, for example, Nóbrega to Dr. Martín Azpilcueta Navarro (in Coimbra), Salvador 10 August 1549, MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, I, 136-37; Nóbrega, “Informação das terras do Brasil” [1549], MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, I, 152; Pero Correia to Noão Nunes Barreto (in Africa), São Vicente 20 June 1551, MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, I, 227-29; José de Anchieta to Loyola (Rome), Piratininga 1 September 1554, MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, II, 113 among many others. Sixteenth-century eyewitness accounts of cannibalism include Hans Staden, *Hans Staden: The True History of His Captivity, 1557*, trans. Malcolm Letts (New York: Robert M. McBride & Co., 1929) p. 148; the French Calvinist missionary, Jean de Léry, *History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil, Otherwise Called America*, trans. Janet Whatley (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992) p. 127; and another German, Ulrico Schmidel, *Relatos de la conquista del Río de la Plata y Paraguay, 1534-1554* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1986) p. 104.

²⁹ Nóbrega to Simão Rodrigues, Bahia end of August 1552, MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, I, 408.

³⁰ Nóbrega to Dr. Martín de Azpilcueta Navarro (in Coimbra, Portugal), Salvador 10 August 1549, MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, I, 136-37.

Latin: "Vis, Domine, descendat ignis de celo et consumat illos?" This is a clear reference to Luke 9: 54 "And when his disciples James and John saw this, they said, Lord, wilt thou that we command fire to come down from heaven, and consume them, even as Elias did?" Azpilcueta describes himself as pausing and considering Jesus' answer, which he then writes in the letter: "Conversus increpavit eos, deciendo no veni perdere animas sed salvare," another reference to Luke 9:55-56: "But he turned, and rebuked them, and said, Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of. For the Son of man is not come to destroy men's lives, but to save them. And they went to another village." This passage makes clear that Azpilcueta understood Jesus' rebuke of his disciples to mean that force should not be employed against sinners, and that the wish for violence on his part when facing abominable cannibalism must be suppressed. Instead, Jesuit missionaries must, like Jesus, meet setbacks with the knowledge that true spiritual guides would bring salvation through words and conversion. Azpilcueta finishes this section of the letter with the hope that in time they will give up such old customs and receive the sacrament of baptism.³¹

The Jesuits were equally unwilling to compromise on polygyny. There the problem was not only in their mission to the Tupi and Guarani, but the Portuguese towns and settlements, too. In his first letter written in Brazil in 1549 Nóbrega immediately expresses his concern about the colonists, who all live in mortal sin "because there is not a single one who does not have many slave women."³² These women, called *negras* by Nóbrega, were Indian slaves who had born many mixed-race children to the colonists. Nóbrega returned to this concern often. In August of the same year, he spelled out for the Provincial of Portugal, Simão Rodrigues³³ that it was the "custom of the land" to have many women, and that the male colonists had taken to this indigenous custom, keeping their slave women as well as some free women as their concubines.³⁴ "They leave them when they please," he explains, "which is a great scandal for the new church which the Lord wants to establish." When pressed, the men told Nóbrega that they had no suitable women to marry. Nóbrega sought to solve this problem by requesting women who had no prospects for marriage in

³¹ Azpilcueta to fathers and brothers of Coimbra, Bahia 28 March 1550, MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, I, 183.

³² Nóbrega to Simão Rodrigues (in Lisbon), Salvador, 10? April 1549, MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, I, 110.

³³ *1510 Vouzela, Viseu (Portugal); SJ one of the co-founders of the Society; †1579 Lisbon (Eduardo Javier Alonso Romo, "El legado escrito de Simão Rodrigues," in *A Companhia de Jesus na península Iberica nos séculos XVI e XVII: Espiritualidade e cultura*, 2 vols. [Porto: Faculdade de Letras, 2004] I, 69-70, 73).

³⁴ Nóbrega to Simão Rodrigues, Bahia 9 August 1549, MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, I, 119-21. See also the letter of 6 January 1550, MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, I, 165-66.

Portugal, such as orphans or dishonored women, to be sent to Brazil. Other men could not marry because they were already married to women in Portugal, and some had gone ahead and married Indian women in Brazil. But since they already had wives in Portugal, Nóbrega did not want to absolve them of the sin of bigamy.³⁵ By continually preaching against concubinage and bigamy, by bringing more European women to Brazil, and by reinforcing the example of prominent colonists, Nóbrega hoped to encourage proper Christian marriage in Brazil. This was part of the larger missionary strategy, for the first Jesuits believed that colonists had a central role to play in the conversion of the indigenous peoples. Until more colonists came to Brazil, Jesuits believed that it would be difficult to convert the Tupi.³⁶ However, colonists had set a poor Christian example in their dealings with Indians as well as in their own lives. Therefore, Nóbrega sought to inspire them to become part of the mission to the indigenous population. As historian Thomas Cohen argues, Nóbrega's letter to the settlers of Pernambuco (1552) asks nothing less than that they—the colonists and not the Jesuits—become successors to the Apostles.³⁷ With such a vision in mind, Nóbrega could hardly allow the sins of concubinage and bigamy to remain unquestioned and unpunished in the Portuguese settlements.

Among the Tupi, the problem was more difficult to solve because polygyny was well established and because it had created too much consanguinity among coastal Tupi groups. Nóbrega says little in his "Informação das terras do Brasil" (1549) about marriage among the Tupi except that parents did not give their daughters dowries, and that sons-in-law were obligated to serve their wives' parents.³⁸ Jesuits often did not recognize polygyny as marriage, as can be seen in a later report from the 1580s:

They do not ordinarily celebrate marriage among themselves, and one can have 3 to 4 women, even though many only have one, and if one is a great chief and valiant, one has 10, 12, or 20 women.³⁹

³⁵ Nóbrega to Simão Rodrigues (in Lisbon), Porto Seguro 6 January 1550, MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, I, 165-66.

³⁶ See the letters of Luís da Grã to Ignatius de Loyola (in Rome), Bahia 27 December 1554, MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, II, 131-32; Nóbrega to Ignatius de Loyola (in Rome), São Vicente 24 March 1555, MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, II, 171, and José de Anchieta to Ignatius de Loyola (in Rome), São Vicente end of March 1555, MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, II, 207.

³⁷ Nóbrega to the settlers of Pernambuco, Bahia [5 June] 1552, MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, I, 329-35; Cohen, *Fire of Tongues*, pp. 19-24.

³⁸ Nóbrega, "Informação das terras," MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, I, 153.

³⁹ José de Anchieta, "Informação do Brasil e de suas Capitanias 1584," in José de Anchieta, *Cartas: Informações, fragmentos históricos e sermões*, Cartas Jesuíticas III (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1933; rpt. São Paulo: Editora da Universidade de São Paulo, 1988) p. 337.

Yet Jesuit missionaries were well acquainted with chiefs who had multiple wives, and they understood that these women were in fact wives. José de Anchieta⁴⁰ explained it as a lack of desire to be obligated—neither on the part of the husband to the wife nor the wife to the husband—characteristic of the Indians of Brazil. He recounted the story of Caiubi, a chief in Piratininga who, in his old age, left his long-standing wife to marry a slave woman taken in war, without his wife, any of his sons, sons-in-law, daughters, or grandchildren making any objection. Similarly, Anchieta describes the principal wife of Cunhambebe, who left her husband, a powerful chief, “because he had others [wives] or because she wished to, and she married or began living with another. And other women do the same thing without their husbands caring.”⁴¹

Jesuits frequently preached against polygyny and concubinage and required Indian men to select only one wife before baptism. Because the great chiefs of the Tupi had many women, and because these women connected chiefs to their kin, the Jesuit insistence that Indian men must choose only one woman and renounce the rest proved to be a major stumbling block for converting powerful Indian men. Even when Indian men and women were willing to commit themselves to one spouse, the church’s rules on consanguinity forbade marriages between related kin. Because it was so difficult for an Indian man to find a woman to whom he was not related and because the Jesuits would not baptize a man who kept a concubine, Anchieta suggested that such rules be relaxed, so that marriage at all degrees be admitted, except those between brothers and sisters.⁴²

From their first days in Brazil Jesuits found little to admire in the example, counsel, and behavior of the secular, i.e., non-monastic, clergy. Not only did the clergy tell colonists that they could sin with their Indian women because they were their slaves, but according to Nóbrega, they also told the colonists that they could kidnap Indians for slaves because they were “dogs.”⁴³ This disappointment with the secular clergy only intensified when the first bishop appointed to Brazil opposed the spiritual approach Jesuits had developed for their mission. Bishop Pedro Fernandes Sardinha arrived in Salvador, the

⁴⁰ *19.iii.1534 La Laguna, Tenerife (Canary Islands); SJ 1.v.1551 Coimbra; †9.vi.1597 Aldeia de Rerituba, Espirito Santo (Brazil) (MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, II, 67*-69*).

⁴¹ José de Anchieta, “Informação dos casamentos dos ‘índios,’” in *Textos históricos*, ed. Hélio Abranches Viotti (São Paulo: Edições Loyola, 1989) pp. 76-77.

⁴² Anchieta to Ignatius de Loyola (in Rome), Piratininga 1 September 1554, MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, II, 114.

⁴³ Nóbrega to Simão Rodrigues (in Lisbon), Pernambuco 11 August 1555, MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, I, 270.

colony's new capital, in June of 1552 and almost immediately rejected the Jesuit strategy of adapting Christianity to some Indian customs. The bishop disagreed with Jesuit tolerance of various indigenous customs, such as nudity or their burials and funerary practices. He was shocked at the way Jesuits used indigenous music or allowed the Portuguese orphans they were raising to cut their hair in the Indian style. He particularly objected to the Jesuit use of interpreters in the confessional.⁴⁴ The criticisms of the bishop were particularly galling not only because they focused on what the Jesuits believed were minor points in a much larger vision, but because the Jesuits had hoped that the bishop would rein in the secular clergy.

Nóbrega then chose to leave Bahia and to concentrate on the Jesuit mission in São Vicente. This is a hint of what would become a Jesuit pattern: disillusionment leading to changes within their mission. Writing to the king, Nóbrega cited the lack of good interpreters and the unleashing of "such cruel" intertribal wars, in addition to conflicts with the bishop, as reasons why the Jesuits could no longer make any progress in Bahia.⁴⁵ In contrast, Nóbrega believed São Vicente offered the Jesuit mission greater possibilities for success, in part because there had never been wars between the indigenous groups and the colonists.

Nóbrega sailed south to São Vicente with the governor, Tomé de Sousa, who was undertaking a review of the Portuguese settlements along the coast, arriving in early 1553. Nóbrega found the mission begun by Leonardo Nunes thriving. A church, a school, and the Jesuit residence were well established, the latter frequently supported up to 100 persons. As in the first years in Bahia, Jesuits in São Vicente preached to the Tupi villages that customs such as cannibalism or polygamy must be given up, but other customs, such as music and life in autonomous Indian villages could be maintained. Pero Correia, who had entered the Society in Brazil, had become a gifted interpreter, "a great instrument," Nóbrega wrote, "through which the Lord can accomplish much." With Correia's example and skill, Nóbrega intended to launch a mission among the Guarani peoples to the south and west, who he believed would be very receptive to Christianity.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Bishop Pedro Fernandes Sardinha to Simão Rodrigues (in Lisbon), Bahia July 1552, MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, I, 358-60; Nóbrega to Simão Rodrigues, Bahia, end of July 1552, MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, I, 369-70; 373-74.

⁴⁵ Nóbrega to King João III, São Vicente October 1553, MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, II, 15-17.

⁴⁶ See Nóbrega's letters to Simão Rodrigues, São Vicente 12 February 1553, MHSI, *Mon. Bras.* I: 420-24, quotation from 423; São Vicente 10 March 1553, MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, I, 449-58; as well as the letters of an anonymous brother to Jesuit brothers in Portugal, São Vicente 10 March 1553, MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, I 426-33 and Pero Correia to Simão Rodrigues, São Vicente 10 March 1553,

In his letter dated June 1553, Nóbrega wrote to Luís Gonçalves da Câmara⁴⁷ in Lisbon that they had determined it to be God's will that they enter the wilderness 100 leagues and build a house where they would gather the children of the Indians, teaching and joining together many Indians in "a great city" where they would live "in conformity with reason."⁴⁸ But Governor Tomé de Sousa later determined that it was too dangerous to allow the Jesuits to live so far away from the Portuguese settlement in São Vicente, and he blocked Nóbrega's plan to establish a Jesuit residence among the Guarani.⁴⁹ While the governor forbade the creation of a permanent Jesuit residence in the wilderness of São Vicente, he did permit individual Jesuit missionaries to move among the Guarani. Nóbrega continued to send Correia with other brothers to preach to villages of Indians along the coast and deep in the wilderness. On one such mission, a group of Guarani Indians, incited by a Spaniard who lived among them, shot Correia, and one of his companions, to death with arrows.⁵⁰

The loss of the Society's best interpreter, Pero Correia, and his companion, João de Sousa,⁵¹ in 1554 was a severe blow to the Jesuit mission. Leonardo Nunes, the founder of the mission in São Vicente, also died in 1554 when his ship wrecked enroute from Brazil.⁵² A tone of disillusionment first appears in the Jesuit letters as the fathers and brothers recognized that cannibalism and polygyny continued among the Tupi with the support of many colonists. In his letter to Ignatius de Loyola, which recounted the martyrdom of Correia and Sousa, Anchieta noted despairingly that a new war between hostile indigenous groups had broken out in São Vicente and that victory celebrations with ritual killings were held in all of the villages, including "the very town of the Portuguese" in front of all colonists. "Far from reprimanding or prohibiting such things," Anchieta writes, "almost all attended the spectacle and approved

MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, I, 434-48.

⁴⁷ *1519 Funchal, Madeira, or Abrantes (Portugal); SJ 27.iv.1545 Coimbra; †15.iii.1575 Coimbra (MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, II, 60*-61*).

⁴⁸ São Vicente, MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, I, 492.

⁴⁹ Tomé de Sousa to King João III, São Vicente 1 June 1553, in *História da Colonização Portuguesa do Brasil*, Carlos Malheiro Dias, Ernesto de Vasconcelos, and Roque Gameiro, 3 vols. (Porto: Litografia Nacional, 1921-1924) III, 366.

⁵⁰ José de Anchieta to Ignatius de Loyola (in Rome), Piratininga 1 September 1554, MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, II, 117; José de Anchieta to Ignatius de Loyola (in Rome), São Vicente end of March 1555, MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, II, 200-01.

⁵¹ *?; SJ ? Bahia? Brazil; †1554 southern Brazil (MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, II, 104).

⁵² Luís da Grã to Ignatius de Loyola (in Rome), Piratininga 8 June 1556, MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, II, 288-89, and 288 n. 11.

and praised it.” Anchieta saw this as exciting the boys the Jesuits were teaching; these boys now wanted to go to war and bring back captives. As he draws this letter to a close, Anchieta expresses his doubts about what the Jesuits had accomplished. He feared that it was worth less than they had thought. He then expresses a view that would soon be echoed by Nóbrega: “There are many other peoples, who have been conquered by the force of arms, of whom it is certain that greater and more copious fruits will be harvested if the word of God is spread among them.”⁵³

Nóbrega returned to Bahia in 1556, arriving in Salvador at the end of July.⁵⁴ His “Diálogo sobre a conversão do gentio” is traditionally dated to this year when he returned to Bahia, 1556-1557. In this writing, considered to be the first work of literature written in Brazil, Nóbrega argues in favor the missionary enterprise among the Indians of Brazil.⁵⁵ Similarly, letters written in Bahia in 1556 by Antônio Blázquez continue to express an optimism that seems to have emanated from Nóbrega’s return with two brothers from São Vicente exceptionally skilled in speaking the Tupi-Guarani language. These brothers were able to make great headway among the Indian slaves of the colonists, as well as among free Indians living in their independent villages. The Quarterly letter for September 1556 through January 1557 describes new missions to the autonomous villages surrounding Salvador and the building of new churches outside of Salvador for evangelism. There were obstacles, but the skill of the new interpreters seemed to be yielding success.⁵⁶

Yet sometime during 1557, Nóbrega’s optimism about the traditional mission began to falter.⁵⁷ The dashing of Nóbrega’s high hopes for the mission in São Vicente, his poor health, and events in Bahia, are probable factors in his

⁵³ Anchieta to Ignatius de Loyola (Rome), São Vicente end of March 1555, MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, II, 206-08. The letters of Antônio Blázquez to fathers and brothers of Coimbra, Bahia 8 July 1555, MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, II, 252-54, and Ambrosio Pires to Ignatius de Loyola (Rome), Bahia 12 June 1555, MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, II, 235 also express a new pessimism about the Jesuit mission in Brazil.

⁵⁴ Nóbrega arrived in Salvador 30 July 1556, Antônio Blázquez to fathers and brothers of São Roque (Lisbon), Bahia 4 August 1556, MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, II, 297.

⁵⁵ The text may be found in MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, II, 317-45. See Cohen, *Fire of Tongues*, pp. 19-32.

⁵⁶ Antônio Blázquez to fathers and brothers of São Roque (Lisbon), Bahia 4 August 1556, MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, II, 298; Quadrimestre [Quarterly Letter] Setembro de 1556 a Janeiro de 1557, Bahia 1 January 1557, MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, II, 345-56.

⁵⁷ Dauril Alden makes a similar argument in “Changing Jesuit Perceptions of the Brasis during the Sixteenth Century,” *Journal of World History* 3(1992) 205-18. Similarly, Cohen argues that the death of Sardinha seems to have crystallized Nóbrega’s attacks against cannibalism. Formerly, he viewed it as a cultural problem, but after Sardinha’s death, he wonders if the Jesuits can have any success among the Indians. See *Fire of Tongues*, pp. 36-37.

increasing disillusionment with the Jesuit strategy of persuasion. Certainly the news that the bishop with whom Nóbrega had tangled earlier had died was deeply discouraging. The bishop had left Salvador because he had been recalled to Lisbon. The news of his death, which must have arrived in Salvador in early 1557, was horrific because the ship he was traveling on had sunk off the northeastern coast, and although the bishop, as well as most of those on the ship, had saved themselves, they subsequently were cannibalized by Caeté Indians. Brother Antônio Blázquez wrote, at the request of Nóbrega, a letter retelling what had been done the year before, since all of the letters the Jesuits had written that year had been lost on the same shipwreck that took the life of the bishop. Concluding this letter, Blázquez speaks of the “sad” and “disconsolate” city of Salvador without a bishop.⁵⁸

Nóbrega’s own health had begun to deteriorate, most likely contributing to his disillusionment. Nóbrega thought that he was near death in Bahia in August of 1557 from continual fevers and vomiting blood. A doctor who attended him in Salvador thought that he had a broken vein, and Nóbrega describes a “fever wasting me little by little.”⁵⁹ In this same letter, Nóbrega writes of his sadness over the state of affairs in Bahia. He writes of his despair with the colonists, saying that it was a miracle to find one who could be absolved in confession, noting “this is a great disconsolation for us.” Also discouraging was the fact that most of the free Indians had fled from the new churches built only the year before, because the colonists had seized their lands or threatened them with death. Finding “this land very lost” he sees little remedy in continuing in the same way. He expresses his wish to begin a new kind of approach to Indians who had been subjugated—he uses the word *sujeito*—in settlements where they would become vassals of the king, subject to the church, and where justice from the abuses of colonists would be provided. This, he argues, will be pleasing to God and beneficial to the well being of the land, and as for those indigenous groups who do not want to accept the yoke of reason, he suggests that following the example used in Peru, they should be conquered and made tributaries to the king and the colonists.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ The date of the Bishop Pedro Fernandes Sardinha’s death is traditionally given as 16 June 1556. The letters written in Salvador dated August 1556 and January 1557, cited above, make no mention of the shipwreck. Antônio Blázquez’s letter that does reference the shipwreck is dated 10 June 1557 and is addressed to Loyola, MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, II, 378-91, quotations from 390. On Nóbrega’s later response to the cannibalization of the bishop, see his letter to Tomé de Sousa, Bahia 5 July 1559, MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, III, 72-73.

⁵⁹ Nóbrega to Miguel de Torres (in Lisbon) Rio Vermelho, Bahia August 1557, MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, II, 404. I make the case that this may have been yellow fever in *Go-betweens and the Colonization of Brazil*, pp. 139-40.

⁶⁰ Nóbrega to Miguel de Torres (in Lisbon) Rio Vermelho, Bahia August 1557, MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, II, 404.

The third governor of Brazil, Mem de Sá (1557-1572) arrived in December of 1557 to find a disconsolate Nóbrega. Mem de Sá quickly began "to put the land in order" in the words of Antônio Blázquez. By April, Mem de Sá had begun to consolidate independent Indian villages into large settlements to facilitate conversion. Forbidding cannibalism, Blázquez writes that the governor had already begun to punish and yoke some, "with the result that there is now another way of proceeding . . . which is by fear and subjection." Far from characterizing this as a negative direction, Blázquez sees the early signs as positive: "we know the fruit will be gathered, because with this [new approach], all fear and all obey and prepare themselves to receive the faith."⁶¹

Nóbrega's letter to Miguel de Torres,⁶² the new provincial of the Society of Jesus in Portugal, written in May 1558, reflects how the Jesuits had stepped back from the role of the third party and had allied themselves with the governor and the Portuguese colony. For Simmel, this is the essence of the difference between the mediator and the arbitrator, for the mediator "only guides the process of coming to terms; because, in other words, he must always keep out of any decision—whereas the arbitrator ends up by taking sides."⁶³

The tone of Nóbrega's letter is angry. He expresses resentment that the Portuguese, who come from a nation feared and obeyed around the world, are suffering in Brazil and even accommodating themselves to the ways of Indians—"the most vile and sad people of the world." The past approach had not worked, Nóbrega writes, for even after the king's governors and judges put an end to the enslavement of Indians, Indians still seized ships and killed and cannibalized Christians. As a result, Brazil more nearly resembled a frontier with the Moors, or Turks, where colonists did not dare to settle, except along the beaches. Nóbrega then turns against a fundamental position that the Jesuits had held since arriving in Brazil: he supports the enslavement of Indians that will result from Mem de Sá's war. Nóbrega writes that that subjugating the Indians would solve many of the conflicts over Indian slavery, because after a declaration of a Just War, the defeated parties could be legally enslaved, thereby satisfying the colonists' desire for slaves. With more slaves, colonists could build more sugar mills and carve out more cattle ranches, which would increase the income of crown and allow the Portuguese population of Brazil to grow.⁶⁴

⁶¹ Antônio Blázquez commissioned by Nóbrega to Diego Laínez (Rome), Bahia last day of April 1558, MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, II, 438.

⁶² *1507 Alagón, Aragon (Spain); SJ 1545 Rome; †24.x.1593 Toledo (MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, III, 79*-80*).

⁶³ Simmel, *Sociology*, p. 148.

⁶⁴ Nóbrega to Miguel de Torres (in Lisbon), Salvador 8 May 1558, MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, II, 445-59.

Mem de Sá's military campaign was intense. He exploited the power of the Portuguese horses, ships and guns, and he isolated chiefs and villages. The Jesuits recognized the violence but accepted it as the inevitable birth of a new way forward. "Never has another such war been waged in this land," proclaims a letter dated September of 1558 that predicts "not only these Indians, but the whole coast will be shocked and afraid." Sá had "punished some" and "yoked all," which opened up a "new way of proceeding" that had not been seen before. Speaking through the metaphor of the vineyard, this Jesuit expresses a new hope. "For such a great harvest [i.e., of souls], it is necessary that many workers [i.e., missionaries] come," he writes, noting that "this land is promising so much fruit." Afraid and obedient is how he describes the Indians who "now prepare themselves to accept the faith."⁶⁵

Mem de Sá eliminated many independent and powerful Indian chiefs around Salvador, who formerly negotiated directly with the governor. These previously independent Indian villages where the Jesuits had built small churches and schools, as well as completely autonomous villages where they had preached, were now consolidated into large mission villages (*aldeias*) under the control of the governor and the Jesuits.⁶⁶ Nóbrega makes clear how the lives of the Tupi indigenous groups would change in the *aldeias*. They must live under the law, which must forbid the eating of human flesh, making war without permission of the governor, living with more than one woman, and walking around naked. Shamans must be taken away from the villages, Indians must live in peace and justice with each other and with the colonists, the villages should not move around, lands sufficient to support them should be granted, and the Jesuits should teach them Christianity. The Tupi would become vassals of the king, and they would live in obedience to Christians.⁶⁷ Only once they had been mastered or dispossessed (*senboreado ou despejado*), did Nóbrega believe that the Tupi could have a spiritual life knowing God.

The new setting gave Jesuits far more power than they had had before, which allowed them to develop a huge advantage in their modes of persuasion. Within the more controlled environment of the *aldeias*, Jesuit evangelists could return to their preferred approach: persuasion through teaching, preaching, and

⁶⁵ [António Pires?] to the Miguel de Torres, Provincial of Portugal, Salvador 12 September 1558, MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, II, 473.

⁶⁶ Mem de Sá first consolidated four independent villages into one large new mission village near the city of Salvador as is recounted in the letter written by Blázquez for Nóbrega to Láinez (in Rome) Bahia, last day of April 1558, MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, II, 439. By September there were four large new mission villages, and others planned to be quite distant from Salvador. See [António Pires?] to Miguel Torres, Provincial of Portugal, Salvador 12 September 1558, MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, II, 470.

⁶⁷ Nóbrega to Miguel de Torres (in Lisbon), Salvador 8 May 1558, MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, II, 450.

conversation. The *aldeias* represented a new beginning, and one that allowed many of the first Jesuits to regain their optimism, which had wavered as their first decade in Brazil came to an end. Luis da Grã, who succeeded Manoel da Nóbrega as Provincial of Brazil, wrote enthusiastically from Bahia in 1561 that “this land is in such a peace that one could not imagine” and that the “fruit” he expected to be gained through the Jesuit mission was great. The new *aldeias*, as well as others the Jesuits hoped to found, needed more missionaries, but in the meantime, he was doing all he could with those he had “to remedy such holy hunger as these people have for spiritual bread.”⁶⁸

Persuasion now took on more a sophisticated approach. Rather than simple conversation with individuals and small groups, Jesuits began to work through schools and staged dramas to convey their message. The schooling of children had always been a priority for the first Jesuits, but in the new *aldeias* it took on a new meaning. The new *aldeias* were large, far larger than Indian villages had once been.⁶⁹ As a result, according to Jesuit letters, the number of children enrolled in the *aldeia* schools was high. The *aldeia* of São João had 100 children in school, Santa Cruz (on the island of Itaparica) had 300, and Bom Jesus had 400.⁷⁰ From Nóbrega’s account of the *aldeia* of São Paulo in Bahia, the children now followed a set routine. In the morning they fished to support themselves and their parents; in the afternoons, the Jesuits taught for three or four hours. After school there was catechism for all, which ended with a *Salve Regina* sung by the boys, and the *Ave Marias*. At night, after a bell was rung, the boys taught their parents and elders. On Sundays and Holy days, the Jesuit priest said Mass and preached in the Tupi-Guarani language. On those days, the chief of the *aldeia* also preached at dawn in the houses of the *aldeia* in the traditional Indian style.⁷¹

⁶⁸ Luís da Grã to Miguel de Torres (in Lisbon), Bahia 22 September 1561, MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, III, 429.

⁶⁹ According to a Jesuit history written two decades later, each new *aldeia* had a population of at least 2,000; some were as large as 4,000, and mass baptisms of as many as 1,000 per year were common. See “Informação dos primeiros aldeamentos na Bahia,” in Anchieta, *Cartas: Informações, fragmentos históricos e sermões*, pp. 358–62. These numbers seem imprecise and impossibly high, yet they reflect the numbers reported in the letters written by the Jesuits in the 1560s, for example, Leonardo do Vale wrote that the provincial baptized 1,219 in Bom Jesus *aldeia*, 1,152 in São Pedro *aldeia*, and 1,088 in N.S. da Assunção *aldeia* in 1561 and 1562. See Leonardo do Vale to fathers and brothers of São Roque (in Lisbon), Bahia 26 June 1562, MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, III, 469–507.

⁷⁰ Antônio Blázquez to Diego Laínez, Bahia 1 September 1561, MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, III, 400, 408; Antônio Rodrigues to fathers and brothers of Bahia, Aldeia do Bom Jesus (Bahia) August 1561, MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, III, 389.

⁷¹ Nóbrega to Miguel de Torres and fathers and brothers of Portugal, Bahia 5 July 1559, MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, III, 51–52.

Jesuits used the *aldeias* for spiritual festivals, such as large baptisms, processions, and even Jubilees, that appealed to colonists as well as the indigenous residents. In 1564, for example, there were Jubilees at the *aldeias* of Espírito Santo, São Paulo, and Santiago that drew many colonists from Salvador. There was singing and dancing through the night, followed by confessions that began at three in the morning lasting until the Mass at dawn. The procession before the Mass included delegations of children from the *aldeias*, Jesuit priests and brothers, clergy, Indian chiefs, and sometimes the bishop of Salvador.⁷²

The creation of the *aldeias* and renewed optimism encouraged Jesuits to continue to side with the governor and to use his military campaigns as a prelude to evangelism. Using these mission villages as a new base, and developing their college and residences, the society again sought to become the primary political broker between the indigenous population and the Portuguese colonists. This would lead to disillusionment later, however, as the Society proved unable to stop the spread of Indian slavery or the increasingly violent interactions between the Portuguese colony and the Indians of the wilderness frontier in the 1570s.

Jesuits as Political Go-betweens

Beginning in 1558 and continuing into the 1570s, the Jesuits worked with the governors of Brazil, often performing roles as political brokers, believing that this would construct a more solid foundation for a successful mission. By the middle of the 1570s, however, the situation began to change. In two famous examples from 1575, Jesuit go-betweens were deliberately overruled or ignored by governors who preferred to use force or their own secular go-betweens to benefit the growing colony at the expense of the Tupi living in the adjacent *sertão*—the wilderness frontier. This led to profound disillusionment among the men of the Society of Jesus as they realized the colonists, the secular clergy, and the governor did not support their vision for Brazil. Jesuits in Brazil did not abandon their quest to become the primary arbitrators between the colony and the Indian *sertão*, but they continued to redirect their mission towards institutions over which they had more control. In the 1570s, these institutions were the *colegios*, or colleges.

As we have seen, Nóbrega supported Mem de Sá's military campaign in Bahia in 1558. Five years later, he aided another military campaign in Rio de Janeiro. This time, however, his role was much more complicated, for it was

⁷² Antônio Blázquez to Diego Mirón (in Lisbon), Bahia 31 May 1564, MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, IV, 59-63 and Antônio Blázquez to Diego Mirón (in Lisbon), Bahia 13 September 1564, MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, IV, 72-84.

prefaced by a time when he and José de Anchieta inserted themselves into the very visible and highly dangerous roles of hostages. In 1563, Anchieta and Nóbrega agreed to serve as hostages while a peace was negotiated between the Tupinambá and the Portuguese colony at São Vicente. Placing themselves within hostile villages, and using only words to defend themselves, Nóbrega and Anchieta clearly were go-betweens, but they were hardly neutral mediators. Their allegiance clearly lay on the side of the Portuguese, and therefore they more nearly resemble Simmel's arbitrators.

After Mem de Sá's violent campaigns were over in Bahia, Nóbrega was ordered by his superiors in Lisbon and Rome to turn over the leadership of the Brazilian Province to Luís da Grã⁷³ and to retire to São Vicente to improve his health. Nóbrega arrived in São Vicente sometime before 1 June 1560 and quickly perceived the danger posed to São Vicente by the French and their Tupinambá allies in Rio de Janeiro and the Guanabara Bay. The Tupinambá were the mortal enemies of the Tupinikin, who had allied themselves with the Portuguese in São Vicente. According to Anchieta, who resided in São Vicente, the Tupinambá came by land and by sea, undaunted by rugged mountains or terrible storms and incessantly captured the "slaves, women, and children of the Christian" settlers of São Vicente, "killing them and eating them."⁷⁴ Nóbrega wrote from São Vicente to Cardinal Prince Henry, then regent of Portugal, explaining that it was very necessary to settle Rio de Janeiro and to create another city like Salvador there to protect São Vicente to the south and Espírito Santo to the north.⁷⁵ Nóbrega began to envision a peaceful overture to the Tupinambá sometime in early 1561.⁷⁶

⁷³ *1523 Lisbon; SJ 20.vi.1543 Coimbra; †26.xi.1609 Olinda (Brazil) (MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, I, 63*-64*).

⁷⁴ José de Anchieta to Diego Laínez (in Rome), São Vicente 8 January 1565, MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, IV, 123; see also Anchieta's letter to Laínez (in Rome), São Vicente 16 April 1563, MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, III, 563.

⁷⁵ Nóbrega had sailed from Bahia with Mem de Sá, who was leading an armada to expel the French from Rio de Janeiro. Sá attacked and took possession of the French fort in March of 1560, but he retired to São Vicente to repair his ships and regroup. Manoel da Nóbrega to Cardinal Prince Henry [Cardeal Infante D. Henrique], São Vicente 1 June 1560, MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, III, 245. After the death of King João III in 1557, his grandson, Sebastião became the direct heir to the throne. But only three years old at the time, his grandmother Catherine (a Spaniard) and his great uncle, Cardinal Prince Henry, fought over who should serve as regent. At the time when Nóbrega wrote his letter, Cardinal Prince Henry (or Dom Henrique) was regent. See Jacqueline Hermann, *No reino do desejado: A construção do sebastianismo em Portugal séculos XVI e XVII* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1998) pp. 73-85.

⁷⁶ José de Anchieta to Diego Laínez (in Rome), São Vicente 16 April 1563, MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, III, 563-564, and 564, n. 29.

Anchieta's long letter to Diego Laínez recounts how he and Nóbrega served as hostages so that a peace deal with the Tupinambá could be negotiated.⁷⁷ The two men departed from the fort of Bertioga, which protected the northern frontier of São Vicente, in April of 1563. They were left ashore at Iperoig, in present day Ubatuba, which marked the southern frontier of the Tupinambá. Canoes of Tupinambá had met the two Portuguese ships from São Vicente, and after various verbal exchanges, as well as the taking of hostages on each side, the Jesuits were invited to visit two villages. Anchieta describes himself as "speaking in a loud voice from house to house" telling the Tupinambá that "they should be happy with our arrival and friendship" and that "we wished to stay among them and teach them the things of God so that God would give them abundant food, health, and victory over their enemies." Twelve youths of the villages boarded one of the ships and returned to São Vicente to serve as surety for the lives of Nóbrega and Anchieta while the second ship continued north for the Guanabara Bay where a peace overture was also planned.⁷⁸

The two Jesuits were received well, but knowing that they had arrived during a time when a large war party was away, Nóbrega and Anchieta feared they might be killed when the warriors returned. Two canoes arrived before the main war party, carrying the "great chief" Pindobuçu. According to Anchieta, Pindobuçu did desire peace and made no move to expel the Jesuits from the village. Anchieta describes this chief as very interested in talk, and he quickly fell into conversation with the Jesuits about heaven, hell, and how the Jesuits controlled their desire for women. A few days later, ten more canoes arrived, led by another chief known to be a great enemy of the Portuguese and a loyal ally of the French. This chief had a French son-in-law and a French-Tupinambá *métisse* (mixed-race) granddaughter; his French son-in-law was following with more canoes of warriors. The chief, according to Anchieta, had learned of the presence of the Jesuits in the villages and had resolved to kill them. But his French son-in-law sent a message to his father-in-law, counseling him to accept the peace. Still, the chief mistrusted the Portuguese. Anchieta describes him as sitting in a hammock, dressed in a shirt, with a bow and arrows in his hand, stubbornly reminding Anchieta and Nóbrega of the many evils he had suffered at the hands of the Portuguese. Anchieta introduces a third chief, Cunhambebe, who had a small church built so that Nóbrega could say mass and ordered that no one harm or speak ill of the Jesuits.

⁷⁷ José de Anchieta to Diego Laínez (in Rome), São Vicente 8 January 1565, MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, IV, 122-81. Other examples of Jesuits acting as peacekeepers can be seen in Bahia. See letter of Leonardo do Vale, commissioned by Luís da Grã to fathers and brothers of São Roque [Lisbon], Bahia 26 June 1562, MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, III, 478-79.

⁷⁸ Anchieta to Laínez, São Vicente 8 January 1565, MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, IV, 120-21, 126.

Despite their vulnerable position in the village, Anchieta describes how he and Nóbrega were able to continually avoid what seemed to be certain death. Although Anchieta attributes their safety to Divine Providence, it is clear that the Jesuit's ability to speak the Tupi-Guarani language, their focus on persuasion, and the protection offered by powerful men in the villages saved them from others who wished to put them to death. When Nóbrega decided to return to São Vicente in June of 1563, he left Anchieta in Iperoig with another Portuguese man in his place. Anchieta remained a hostage until September 1563, when Cunhambebe and twenty others brought Anchieta by canoe to the fortress of Bertioiga in São Vicente.⁷⁹

Nóbrega's and Anchieta's role as hostages among the Tupinambá was intended to be a symbol of the good-will of the Portuguese as they lobbied for peace, but when the peace failed, both accepted the necessity for a military solution. Anchieta does not express disillusionment at this turn of events; rather he sees the failure of the peace to be a fault of the Tupinambá. As he begins to conclude his story about his captivity, Anchieta writes that the whole experience of living among the Tupinambá during the peace negotiations was more of a case of "an end of peace and the beginning of a new war," remarking that the breaking of the peace is what one expects from "a people so bestial and bloodthirsty."⁸⁰ As the Portuguese made their move into the Guanabara Bay, Anchieta and Nóbrega sailed back up the coast, reaching the Guanabara Bay in March of 1564. In the Guanabara Bay, an armada led by Mem de Sá's nephew, Estácio de Sá, had attempted to take possession of the island where Nicolas Durand de Villegagnon had built a French colony in 1555. Anchieta and Nóbrega found clear signs that the Tupinambá resisted the disembarkation of the Portuguese fleet: they found houses burned and corpses exhumed. Despite this unsettling beginning, Anchieta nevertheless views a settlement in Rio de Janeiro as highly desirable. Not only would it extinguish the influence of the French Calvinists, but he believes that it would serve as a "great door" for the conversion of the Tupinambá.⁸¹

Anchieta and Nóbrega clearly used their position as go-betweens to strengthen the presence of the Portuguese in Brazil. Their actions illustrate that they desired the colony to expand and for the Tupinambá to surrender to Portuguese rule. As in Bahia a few years before, they backed the use of military

⁷⁹ Anchieta to Laínez, São Vicente 8 January 1565, MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, IV, 169-71. The chief referenced here, Cunhambebe, is likely the same chief whose wife left him, according to Anchieta, see above.

⁸⁰ Anchieta to Laínez, São Vicente 8 January 1565, MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, IV, 171.

⁸¹ Anchieta to Laínez, São Vicente 8 January 1565, MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, IV, 176-77.

might to force resistant Indian groups into submission. And as in Bahia, the Jesuits intended to return to a strategy of persuasion once the situation had been changed, i.e., after the Tupinambá had been defeated. Then they would work to develop a new “door” of evangelism in Rio de Janeiro. This strategy of supporting the use of force by the governors of Brazil began to backfire, however, in the next decade. Then, in cases when the Jesuits worked with the governors and their military companies, they found themselves overruled and pushed to the sidelines. In some cases, they seem to have been deliberately used by governors.

It is difficult to reconstruct fully the decade of the 1570s in Brazil, for many fewer letters have survived, and those that do have never been collected or published.⁸² It is certain, however, that the loss of Inácio de Azevedo and fifty-two Jesuits headed for Brazil in 1570 and 1571 was devastating and deeply discouraging for the Jesuit mission in Brazil. Azevedo had served as the Jesuit visitor to Brazil in 1566-1568 and traveled throughout Brazil during his stay. After returning to Rome, Azevedo was named as the new Provincial for the Brazilian province in 1569, and he set out to recruit 73 men to join him. On the voyage to Brazil, however, Huguenot pirates attacked near the Canary Islands, killing Azevedo and 39 companions. One ship escaped, only to be attacked near the Azores by other pirates, and twelve more Jesuits lost their lives.⁸³

Good news arrived, however, when the Jesuits learned of King Sebastião's Law of 1570, which outlawed Indian slavery in Brazil.⁸⁴ After 1570, Indians could become slaves legally only through what were known as Just Wars or through *resgate* (ransoming). The principle of the Just War derived from the writings of early Christian theologians such as St. Augustine and St. Thomas Aquinas and established conditions under which Christians could go to war. At the conclusion of Just Wars, custom held that the war captives could become slaves.⁸⁵ Ransoming was a familiar custom from the Iberian Reconquest,

⁸² The last letter in the *Monumenta Brasiliae* series is dated 1568 and the surviving letters from the 1570s have never been collected and published. On this decade, see my “Jesuits in Brazil: Defining the Vision,” in Thomas M. McCoog, SJ, ed., *The Mercurian Project: Forming Jesuit Culture, 1573-1580* (Rome/St. Louis: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu/The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 2004) pp. 787-814.

⁸³ Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise*, pp. 74-75; Leite, *História*, II, 242-66.

⁸⁴ Alden writes that there is no certainty that King Sebastião responded to his Jesuit advisors when proclaiming the 1570 law, see *The Making of an Enterprise*, p. 480.

⁸⁵ Augustine argued that war was permitted when undertaken by proper authorities for a just cause, such as to establish peace and order. See *The City of God against the Pagans*, edited and translated by R.W. Dyson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) pp. 942-943. Thomas Aquinas established three conditions for war to be just and therefore not a sin: the authority of the ruler

wherein prisoners of war were “ransomed” by their kin through the payment of an agreed upon sum. In Brazil *resgate* took on an added meaning because it was associated with the cannibalistic ceremonies, wherein captives held for a cannibalism ceremony were purchased, i.e., ransomed, from an Indian group. Since Tupi groups obtained such captives from their intertribal wars and raids, such captives were seen as prisoners of war and therefore already slaves; thus ransomed captives could then be legally owned as slaves.⁸⁶ In principle, the Jesuits agreed with the declaration of Just Wars and with *resgate*. In 1562 Mem de Sá had declared a Just War against all Caeté Indians as punishment for their role in the death of the first bishop of Brazil, Pedro Fernandes Sardinha. Nóbrega and other Jesuits supported this war, believing that the cannibalism of the bishop had to be punished.⁸⁷ Similarly, Jesuits believed that captives in cannibalism ceremonies could be ransomed and held as slaves; however, they recognized that colonists widely abused this concept.⁸⁸ In the 1570s, the Jesuits began to reconsider their support of the Just War. In the region along the Rio Real, to the north of Bahia, Jesuits observed how the declaration of a Just War could be used solely to obtain slaves even if it undermined their spiritual mission. Their relations with governors were becoming more complex, and it was becoming ever more difficult for Jesuits to maintain their desired roles as the principal spiritual and political go-betweens between the Indian and Portuguese worlds.

According to a Jesuit history written ten years after the events, the mission to Rio Real began after the unexpected arrival in the city of Salvador in 1574 of

must be obtained; those who are attacked should deserve it; and the advancement of good is the result. See *The Summa Theologica*, trans. Fathers of the English Dominican Province (New York: Benziger Brothers, 1947), *Secunda Secundae Partis*, (Second Part of the Second Part), Question 40, II: 1359-1360. On the custom of keeping prisoners of Just Wars as slaves, see Joseph F. O’Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003) p. 13.

⁸⁶ See Metcalf, *Go-betweens and the Colonization of Brazil*, pp. 177-79.

⁸⁷ Nóbrega was outraged by what happened, writing that the Caeté cannibalized “clergy and laymen, the married and the single, women and children,” Nóbrega to Tomé de Sousa (in Lisbon), Bahia 5 July 1559, MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, III, 82. Yet later Jesuit histories recognized that this Just War declared against the Caeté was devastating for the Jesuit mission because Portuguese colonists indiscriminately seized Indians, calling them Caeté, or kidnaped Caeté Indians who lived in the Jesuit aldeias and turned them into slaves. As a result, Jesuits estimated that 12,000 Indians fled the mission villages, “Informação dos primeiros aldeamentos na Baía,” inANCHIETA, *Cartas: Informações, fragmentos históricos e sermões* (Belo Horizonte/São Paulo: Editora Itatiaia/Editora da Universidade de São Paulo, 1988) pp. 363-64. Note that this text was written in 1583 and is traditionally attributed to Anchieta; however, the new edition of Anchieta’s works suggests that Luis da Fonseca is the probable author. See José de Anchieta, *Textos históricos* (São Paulo: Edições Loyola, 1989) p. 153.

⁸⁸ Nóbrega to Simão Rodrigues (in Lisbon), Bahia 6 January 1550, MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, I, 166.

the chiefs of Rio Real, who came to the Jesuits and asked for a mission to their homelands. The Jesuit provincial sent Father Gaspar Lourenço⁸⁹ with a companion back with the chiefs to Rio Real.⁹⁰ Lourenço had lived in Brazil since childhood and had been taught in the Jesuit school of São Paulo. He was a gifted linguist, noted for his great eloquence in Tupi.⁹¹ According to the Jesuits, the next year the governor of northern Brazil, Luís do Brito, decided to take advantage of the changing political situation.⁹² Rio Real lay between Bahia and Pernambuco, and the presence of hostile Indians there had always impeded overland travel. French captains openly traded there for Brazilwood. With the seeming "pacification" of the Indians of Rio Real by the Jesuits, Governor Brito sent a captain with some men to Rio Real to see if a settlement could be made in the region.⁹³ While Lourenço went with the chiefs six leagues into the backlands to visit the villages, the Portuguese captain set up camp on the coast. Lourenço built four churches in Rio Real, including one in the village of Surubí, an enemy chief greatly feared by the Portuguese. Lourenço opened a school for Indian boys and began evangelism.⁹⁴

Up until this point, we see Lourenço in the traditional role first favored by the Jesuits, as spiritual go-between working through persuasion. Succeeding in this role, however, did not close Lourenço's eyes to the danger that lurked around him. He stepped into a political role, hoping to use his position and influence to deter the Portuguese from creating a settlement in Rio Real.

⁸⁹ *1539 Vila Real, Trás-os-Montes (Portugal); SJ 1553 São Vicente (Brazil); †1581 Bahia (Brazil) (José de Anchieta, *Cartas: Correspondência ativa e passiva*, ed. Hêlio Abranches Viotti (São Paulo: Edições Loyola, 1984) p. 323, n. 5.

⁹⁰ "Informação dos primeiros aldeamentos na Bahia," in Anchieta, *Cartas: Informações, fragmentos históricos e sermões*, pp. 379-80.

⁹¹ "Informação dos primeiros aldeamentos na Bahia," in Anchieta, *Cartas, informações, fragmentos históricos, e sermões*, p. 379; Leite, *História*, I, 446, n. 4. Gaspar Lourenço died in 1581. In the annual letter of 1582, José de Anchieta describes him as not only a rare example of virtue, but a brilliant linguist who suffered more than any other for the conversion of Indians, undertaking many missions, facing grave dangers, and gaining great fame among the Indians. See "Carta ânua da província do Brasil de 1581," Bahia 1 January 1582, in Anchieta, *Cartas: Correspondência ativa e passiva*, p. 305.

⁹² "Informação dos primeiros aldeamentos na Bahia," in Anchieta, *Cartas, informações, fragmentos históricos, e sermões*, p. 381. For a brief time, there were two governors of Brazil, one for the north and one for the south.

⁹³ In *Tratado descritivo do Brasil em 1587*, 4th ed. (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1971), the sugar planter Gabriel Soares de Sousa states that Garcia d'Ávila was the captain selected by the governor, see p. 68. Serafim Leite, however, suggests that Garcia d'Ávila was sent by the governor after the events described here, *História*, I, 440, n. 2.

⁹⁴ Leite, *História*, I, 441-42.

Lourenço wrote to the governor that the location on the coast was not suitable for a Portuguese settlement, as the land was too sandy. However, the governor received alternate views from the Portuguese camp; members of which wrote him that it was a favorable site. From the capital, Governor Brito then declared a Just War against another enemy chief in this region, Aperipê. The governor collected a company of men in Bahia and marched to Rio Real. Although Lourenço attempted to persuade the governor that the beginning of the conversion process was a delicate time and that the presence of soldiers would frighten the converts, his appeal failed.⁹⁵

In the governor's company were mixed race *mamelucos* who went directly to the villages where Lourenço had built the new churches and became rival go-betweens. Whereas Lourenço had been the principal political broker between the chief Surubí and the governor, now the *mamelucos* presented themselves as new bearers of information. According to the Jesuits, one *mameluco* said that Lourenço was there to trick them, that Lourenço had joined them together to make it easier to take them as slaves, and that the Portuguese were already on the coast ready to enslave them. Two more *mamelucos* argued that Lourenço was worthless because he was unarmed and unaccompanied by men who could defend them and that the governor was on his way from Bahia to take them all as slaves.⁹⁶

The Jesuits believed that this talk by the *mamelucos* undermined the work that Lourenço had done in Rio Real. In their view of the events that transpired, the Indians felt threatened by the presence of the Portuguese and wanted to retreat deeper into the wilderness (*sertão*). The actions of a third *mameluco* completely unsettled the Indians. This *mameluco* arrived at the village of the chief Surubí and kidnapped a woman, saying that she was a slave. The village, distraught by the brazen way that the *mameluco* seized the woman, abandoned the village and moved to a fortified position deeper in the wilderness. At this point, the governor, seeing that Surubí had withdrawn from the village where Lourenço had built a church, chose to interpret this as a hostile act and expanded his campaign to include Surubí. When the soldiers arrived, Surubí fought back and was killed by a bullet. Some of his people surrendered to a Portuguese captain, who promised to take them to the Jesuits and not to enslave them. But when they arrived at the coastal camp, the governor did order them enslaved. When the governor left, he ordered the other Indians, whom Lourenço had converted to Christianity, to march to Bahia. On the long march back, some of these

⁹⁵ Leite, *História*, I, 441-42.

⁹⁶ "Informação dos primeiros aldeamentos na Bahia," in Anchieta, *Cartas, informações, fragmentos históricos, e sermões*, p. 383.

Indians were enslaved by the Portuguese. Lourenço arrived in Bahia with 1,200 Indians, who were divided between two aldeias administered by the Jesuits.⁹⁷

This episode in Rio Real caused great alarm among the Jesuits, and they sought to have the Rio Real war declared unjust, which would mean that Indians taken there as slaves would be legally freed.⁹⁸ In hindsight the Jesuits believed that the ulterior motive for the presence of the Portuguese settlement in Rio Real was to acquire slaves because many runaway slaves lived along the Rio Real, and because many more Indians lived there who might become new slaves.⁹⁹

In the same year, in the wilderness north of Rio de Janeiro, near present day Cabo Frio, the Jesuits believed that one of theirs playing the role of political go-between inadvertently facilitated then witnessed a massacre and the violent enslavement of several thousand Tamoio Indians.¹⁰⁰ This conflict, as recounted in the annual letter from Brazil, began when the Tamoio, who had been the allies of the French and therefore perceived as enemies by Portuguese colonists and governors, captured seven Indians, including a chief, from a mission village founded by the Jesuits on the Guanabara Bay. This deed gave the governor of the south, Antonio Salema, a pretext to wage war.¹⁰¹ He recruited men from Rio de Janeiro and São Vicente to serve as soldiers, and acquired Indian allies. A Jesuit priest, Baltazar Álvares,¹⁰² and a brother, Gonçalo Luis,¹⁰³ accompanied his party. After a month-long journey overland and sea, the governor and his force arrived at a fortified Tamoio village. The governor immediately blockaded the village. In the Jesuit account of what happened, Álvares, who was an interpreter, served as a negotiator who moved between the ranks of the

⁹⁷ "Informação dos primeiros aldeamentos na Bahia," in Anchieta, *Cartas, informações, fragmentos históricos, e sermões*, pp. 382-85; "Ânua de Tolosa, 1576," ARSI, Bras, 15/II, ff. 284'-286'; see also Leite, *História*, I, 445.

⁹⁸ In the Jesuit response to Gabriel Soares de Sousa's secret critique of their mission, they noted that the war against Rio Real "was judged to be unjust in the kingdom [of Portugal] and that the slaves should be freed," see Serafim Leite, S.J., "Os Capítulos de Gabriel Soares de Sousa," *Ethnos* 2 (1942) 245.

⁹⁹ "Informação dos primeiros aldeamentos na Bahia," in Anchieta, *Cartas, informações, fragmentos históricos, e sermões*, p. 381.

¹⁰⁰ "Ânua de Tolosa, 1576," ARSI, Bras. 15/II, ff. 284'-286'. See also Serafim Leite, S.J. *História*, I, 426-31.

¹⁰¹ On these events, see Paulo Pereira dos Reis, *O indígena do vale do Paraíba* (São Paulo: Governo do Estado de São Paulo, 1979) and Hemming, *Red Gold*, pp. 119-36.

¹⁰² *? Astorga (Spain); SJ 1559; †31.x.1586 Rio de Janeiro (Leite, *História*, I, 432, n. 1).

¹⁰³ *? Faria (Portugal); SJ 1572; dis. post 1576 (Leite, *História*, I, 432, n. 1).

governor and the Tamoio stronghold, estimated at 1,000 archers. He convinced the Tamoio chief Ião Guaçú to surrender to the governor.¹⁰⁴

Once Álvares obtained the surrender, he appears to have had little control over the events that ensued. Ião Guaçú had to hand over five hundred Indian allies to Salema, who allowed his Tupi soldiers, enemies of the Tamoio, to slaughter them. The Jesuit annual letter states that "it caused great pain to the father [Álvares] to see so many killed with such great cruelty, without being able to aid their souls, because even though he tried to teach them something so that he could baptize them, the fury and the speed with which they were killed was such that they did not give him time to do that which he wished."¹⁰⁵ The rest of the Indians, the governor having exempted the chief and his family, became slaves. The remaining Indians fled into the wilderness, but the governor pursued them, killing some and capturing others. When it was all over and done, the Jesuit provincial claimed that one thousand Tamoio had died, not counting those killed in the forest who could not be counted, and that 4,000 captives become slaves. After these slaves were divided among the Portuguese, Álvares saw that there were many sick and starving children in the forests. He asked the governor to let it be known that any man who had a sick child should bring the child to be baptized. On St. Catherine's Day, fifty children were baptized; not long afterwards, all "went to be with their Creator, not counting many others who were baptized on the brink of death."¹⁰⁶

Whereas Nóbrega and Anchieta had supported the military campaigns in order to pursue their spiritual mission, Álvares had hardly been able to fulfill his role as spiritual guide. The Jesuit provincial introduces his recounting of these events saying only that "I will not omit to give you an account of a mission that Fr. Baltazar Álvares and Br. Gonçalo Luis undertook in Rio de Janeiro in company of the governor of that state, Antonio Salema, to make war in the year [15]75 against the Tamoio."¹⁰⁷ This introduction would seem to say that the provincial approved of the expedition, and even saw it as a "mission." But the way in which he describes Álvares as "distressed to see so many killed with such great cruelty without being able to care for their souls" clearly conveys his reservations. He also wrote that Álvares was "greatly sad to see the women and children of the dead divided up among the Portuguese, the mothers separated from their children, some going to São Vicente and others to Rio de Janeiro."

¹⁰⁴ The events were more complex than I have presented here. See Leite, *História*, I, 426-31 and "Ânua de Tolosa, 1576," ARSI, Bras. 15/II, ff. 284'-286'.

¹⁰⁵ Leite, *História*, I, 426-31.

¹⁰⁶ Leite, *História*, I, 426-31.

¹⁰⁷ "Ânua de Tolosa, 1576," ARSI, Bras. 15/II, ff. 284'-286'.

The lamentations that were heard, he wrote “were so great that it broke the hearts of those who heard them.” The provincial makes no comment about the successful baptism of fifty starving and sick children who later died, but it hardly seems to be an uplifting thought on which he would end his letter. But on such a note the letter ends, with his account of yet another baptism *in extremis*.¹⁰⁸ When this letter was received and read in Rome, it apparently caused such concern that Everard Mercurian¹⁰⁹ asked his new provincial in Brazil, José de Anchieta, to henceforth limit his annual letters to more uplifting topics. The annual letters were to be shorter, less offensive, and should avoid criticizing the soldiers and the greed of the Portuguese colonists.¹¹⁰

In these two cases in 1575, the Jesuits sought to be political brokers, but were unable to use this role to achieve their more important objective: to be spiritual guides. Governor Salema used Álvares as a wedge to open up a breach in the Tamoio defenses, and the war did not enable Álvares to open up a new door for evangelism; he was unable even to preach to the Tamoio men before the governor gave the order to kill them. In Rio Real, Lourenço’s mission was sabotaged by the governor and his labor was lost.¹¹¹ At that same time that the Jesuits faced such discouraging news about their missions in the frontier regions, in the capital of Salvador they began to build the second fundamental institution of their mission in Brazil: the *Colegio de Bahia*. Of course the Jesuits had been educating since their first months in Bahia, and in 1554 they had received news that the king of Portugal wanted to support the building of a *colégio* in Bahia similar to that in Lisbon.¹¹² But it was not until 1575, the year that the first bachelors degrees were awarded, that construction on a stone structure began. King Sebastião earmarked funds and ordered his officials in Brazil to provide the stone, lime, and wood necessary and to facilitate workmen needed for the construction. The college founded in Rio de Janeiro in 1566 was expanded in the 1570s with the addition of advanced classes in 1573, while a *colégio* was initiated in Pernambuco in the same year. In 1574, fifty-six percent of the fathers and brothers of the Society lived in Bahia and were associated with the *colégio* of Bahia, while fifteen percent lived at the *colégio* in Rio de

¹⁰⁸ “Ânuua de Tolosa, 1576,” ARSI, Bras. 15/II, ff. 284^v-286^v.

¹⁰⁹ *1514 Marcour, Liège; SJ 8.ix.1547; †1.viii.1580 Rome (DHCJ, II, 1611).

¹¹⁰ Mercurian to José de Anchieta, Rome 15 January 1579, ARSI, Bras 2, f. 46^v.

¹¹¹ The Jesuits responding to the criticisms leveled against them by Gabriel Soares de Sousa in 1592 return to this theme, blaming the governor for the loss of Lourenço’s mission. See Leite, “Os Capítulos de Gabriel Soares de Sousa,” 245.

¹¹² The order to begin a college in Bahia, similar to that in Lisbon, arrived in December 1554, Luís da Grã to Ignatius de Loyola (in Rome), Bahia 27 December 1554, MHSI, *Mon. Bras.*, II, 138.

Janeiro. These seventy-six men, of whom a few were teachers, more were students and linguists, and others provided the work necessary to run the colleges, were therefore the great majority of the Jesuits in Brazil in 1574 (76 of 110 or 71%).¹¹³ The growth of this institution can also be seen as a reaction to the disillusionment experienced by Jesuits in Brazil. As with the *aldeias* a decade before, the importance accorded to the colegios in the 1570s reflects a desire to create a more controlled platform on which Jesuits could develop their mission.

The arrival of the Jesuit Visitor Cristovão de Gouveia¹¹⁴ in 1583 marks, according to historian Charlotte de Castelnau-L'Estoile, a recognition on the part Father General Claudio Acquaviva,¹¹⁵ of the disillusionment experienced by Jesuits in Brazil. Cristovão de Gouveia had been charged by Acquaviva to provide the "consolation of ours who labor on this sterile, laborious, and dangerous vine."¹¹⁶ Gouveia's visit, as that of Alessandro Valignano¹¹⁷ to Asia, was part of Acquaviva's desire to recover the initial fervor of the early years of the Society, and to unite the 5,000 Jesuits dispersed throughout the world.¹¹⁸ Gouveia's visit to Brazil was accompanied by a renewed sense of the mission, sparked in large measure by the reports, histories, and narratives that Gouveia asked to be written. These texts mark an important administrative moment in the Jesuit mission, Castelnau-L'Estoile maintains, for they inspired a historical reflection on and crystallization of the knowledge about the mission.¹¹⁹ They also mark yet another shift in the Jesuit strategy in Brazil. The letters, reports, histories, and narratives written in the 1580s mark a turning of attention away from evangelism itself to the writing of texts that were meant to inspire those who read them or to educate the future missionaries of Brazil. Writing, as Castelnau-L'Estoile notes, was "another form of action for the Jesuits."¹²⁰ The Jesuit texts from the 1580s moved beyond the traditional letters that had always

¹¹³ Leite, *História*, I, 52-55; Metcalf, "Jesuits in Brazil," pp. 795-96; "Catálogo de los Padres y Hermanos de la Provincia del Brasil en el año de 1574," ARSI, Bras. 5/I, ff. 10^r-15^r.

¹¹⁴ *3.i.1537 Porto; SJ 10.i.1556; †13.ii.1622 Lisbon (Leite, *História*, II, 489-93).

¹¹⁵ *14.ix.1543 Atri; SJ 22.vii.1567 Rome; †31.i.1615 Rome (*DHCJ*, II, 1614).

¹¹⁶ *Les ouvriers d'une vigne stérile*, p. 41.

¹¹⁷ *7.ii.1539 Chieti; SJ 29.v.1566 Rome; †20.i.1606 Macau (*DHCJ*, IV, 3877).

¹¹⁸ *Les ouvriers d'une vigne stérile*, p. 288.

¹¹⁹ *Les ouvriers d'une vigne stérile*, p. 74.

¹²⁰ Castelnau-L'Estoile argues that this literature falls into two groups: administrative texts and those designed for a wider readership. Among the latter she describes as especially important the literature of consolation, which emphasized intense emotions, exterior sensations, scenery, tastes, and music, all of which glorifies the grace of the Creator. The classic example of this is Fernão Cardim's "Narrativa epistolar." See *Les ouvriers d'une vigne stérile*, pp. 353-58.

been sent from Brazil to longer and more complex documents that reflect the Jesuit desire to shape the representation of Brazil not only for the Society but for other powerful men in Europe. The texts proclaim the Jesuit vision of Brazil where the colonial settlements would replicate the best of the European Catholic tradition while the *aldeias* would implement an idealized Christian community for indigenous converts. Jesuits present themselves as the necessary spiritual and political go-betweens of Brazil, especially on the wilderness frontiers, where Jesuits should lead the first contacts with Tupi, Guarani, and Gê groups that had not yet met Christians. The texts envision an end to Indian slavery.

The texts frequently dwell on the Jesuit struggle to eliminate illegal Indian slavery, and collectively they can be seen as a campaign to inspire laws and policies on the part of the crown to eliminate illegal slavery. Jesuits had a long history of opposing indigenous slavery in Brazil, and their letters from 1549 on are filled with accounts of the abuses of colonists.¹²¹ When Cristovão de Gouveia found wide and bitter resentment of the Society on the part of the colonial elite during his visit to Brazil, he attributed it to two major factors: the hard position the Jesuits had adopted on Indian slavery and the perception that Jesuits harbored runaway Indian slaves in the mission villages. When Gouveia left Salvador to review the entire mission field, he found Jesuits everywhere unwilling to hear the confessions of colonists because they refused to renounce illegal Indian slavery. In some regions, the situation had deteriorated to the point where the colonists were openly hostile to the Jesuits, such as in Porto Seguro, where the colonists and the town council rose up against the Jesuits over the issue of Indian slavery.¹²²

As the Jesuits took their campaign against illegal slavery from refusing to absolve colonists to their writings, they focus on abuses in the declarations of Just Wars and in *resgate*. They are particularly concerned about a booming new slave trade—one that descended thousands of Indians from the interior—and seek to reserve for themselves the role of go-between in wilderness contact situations. They no longer trust the governor to work to end illegal slavery, and their writings show their desire to take the battle over Indian slavery beyond Brazil.

The degree to which the Jesuits now distrusted the colonial governor are

¹²¹ See Metcalf, *Go-betweens and the Colonization of Brazil*, pp. 175-83; Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise*, pp. 479-501.

¹²² Gouveia to Claudio Aquaviva, Bahia, 25 July 1583, ARSI, Lus 68, f. 337^r. The uprising in Porto Seguro, which led to conflict in the town council and which involved the bishop, occurred before 1579. See Mercurian to Anchieta, Rome 15 January 1579, ARSI, Bras. 2, ff. 45^r-46^r.

visible during Gouveia's visit, even though Gouveia took great pains to cultivate the governor and to win him over to the Jesuit side. Gouveia described excellent relations with Brazil's new governor, Manoel Teles Barreto, with whom he made the trans-Atlantic crossing. The "amor y benevolencia" (love and benevolence) that the governor showed Gouveia on the voyage began to wane once they arrived in Brazil and the governor became friends with the bishop. The Jesuits hoped that he would take steps to end the illegal slave trade, but they were disappointed. At first Barreto accepted the Jesuit position that colonists used deception to bring Indians from the wilderness frontier known as the *sertão*. Soon after he arrived in Bahia, for example, Barreto wrote to the Spanish King Philip II, now King of Portugal as well, that the Indians brought down from the wilderness had been deceived. Although promised that "they will live in freedom and in their own villages" in fact the colonists "divide them among themselves, separating the men from their wives, the parents from their children, the brothers from their sisters."¹²³ The relationship between the Jesuits and the governor deteriorated rapidly, however, as the governor began to favor the colonists. Luis da Fonseca¹²⁴ describes Governor Barreto as already averse to the Jesuits in Portugal, becoming even more so once he arrived in Brazil, when "he had the knife in the cheese."¹²⁵

Fernão Cardim,¹²⁶ who arrived in Brazil in 1581 as Gouveia's secretary, wrote about the concept of the Just War, noting that the King's rules and regulations were not often followed. Declarations of Just Wars were made, he wrote without "such examination as the cause requires." According to Cardim, the governor was to have taken the advice of the Bishop, the Jesuits, and experienced persons of the country "of good consciences" who were to determine whether or not a war against a specific Indian group was just. But, Cardim writes "either the Fathers of the company were not called, or if they were it was simply as observers," for those who decided that the war would be just had "more regard to the hope of the profit that is offered them, of getting of slaves in the said war, than unto the Justice of it."¹²⁷

¹²³ Manoel Teles Barreto to King Philip, Bahia 25 February 1584, Lisbon, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo [=ANTT], Corpo Cronológico, maço 20, doc. 54.

¹²⁴ *? Alvalade, Lisbon; SJ 1569; †vi.1594 Madrid (Leite, *História*, I, 66-68).

¹²⁵ Fonseca to Acquaviva Bahia 28 August 1584, ARSI, Lus. 68 ff. 398'-399'.

¹²⁶ *1548-1549 Vianna de Alvito, Alentejo (Portugal); SJ 1556; †1625 Abrantes, Bahia (Introdução," in Fernão Cardim, *Tratados da terra e gente do Brasil*, ed. Ana Maria de Azevedo [Lisbon: Comissão Nacional as Commemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 1997] p. 11).

¹²⁷ "Articles touching the dutie of the Kings Majestie our Lord, and to the common good of all the estate of Brazill," in Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas his Pilgrims*, 20 vols. (Glasgow: James Maclehose and Sons, 1906) XVI, 505-06. This text is attributed to Fernão Cardim.

By the 1580s a new means had emerged to enslave Indians through a slave trade into the interior that derived from ransoming (*resgate*). By the 1580s, slave trading companies were regularly leaving coastal Bahia and Pernambuco ostensibly to “ransom” captives but in reality to obtain slaves, by any means possible, deep in the interior. Cardim wrote a description of these expeditions into the wilderness frontier, known as *entradas*, characterizing them as slave trading companies, backed by investors, and headed by a local citizen, who took the title of captain. The captain obtained permission from the governor for the *entrada*; permission was given on the condition that the traders bring the Indians without force or deceit. Then the captain recruited men for the expedition, especially *mameluco* interpreters. The companies included fifty or sixty Portuguese and *mameluco* men, each carrying his own arms, and many Indian archers. The Indians served as porters, hauling the food and the trading goods for the expedition. On the *entrada*’s return, the leaders of the expeditions divided up the Indians who had been brought back, according to the amount initially invested in the expedition. The men on the expedition also received a share of the Indians.¹²⁸

Jesuit descriptions of these *entradas* include descriptions of the *mamelucos* who used their power to undermine the Jesuits and to deter the Indians from descending to the Jesuit *aldeias*.¹²⁹ According to the Jesuit annual letter written for the year 1581, there was a conflict between Jesuit missionary priests and *mamelucos* in the *sertão* of Arari (Chapada do Araripe, Pernambuco) in 1580 and 1581. The Jesuit provincial José de Ancieta describes how João Vicente¹³⁰ undertook a mission there in November of 1580 after Indians sent emissaries to the Jesuits. Two Jesuits left Bahia and, according to the Jesuit provincial, “passed through lands and nations very strange and barbaric.” When Vicente arrived, he preached to the Indians of Arari and, according to the Jesuit annual letter, motivated several thousand to descend to the *aldeias* of the coast. But then an *entrada* arrived and the *mamelucos* “began to use their cunning to preach a

See Ana Maria de Azevedo’s introduction to Fernão Cardim, *Tratados da terra e gente do Brasil* (Lisboa: Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 1997) pp. 12-14, 21-22, as well as Rodolfo Garcia, “Introdução Geral,” to *Fernão Cardim Tratados da terra e gente do Brasil*, 2nd ed., (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1939) pp. 7-28.

¹²⁸ On this inter-continental slave trade in Indians, see my “The Entradas of Bahia in the Sixteenth Century,” *The Americas* 61 (2005) 373-400.

¹²⁹ *Mameluco línguas* (interpreters) became convincing speakers in the *sertão*, not only because they spoke Indian languages, but because of their ability to imitate the discourse of Indian chiefs and the status of powerful men, see Metcalf, *Go-betweens and the Colonization of Brazil*, pp. 248-67.

¹³⁰ *1552 diocese of Salisbury; SJ 4.xii.1574 Rome; dis. 1601? (MHSI, *Mon. Ang.*, II, 544).

thousand deceptions.”¹³¹ One of the *mamelucos* later admitted that he “preached” and “advised” the Indians, telling them not to descend with the priests to the coast, because the Jesuits would “prohibit them from having many wives.” He further told the Indians that the Jesuits had “stocks in which they would lock them” and whips to punish them. The Jesuits would not allow them “to have their dances and customs of their ancestors” or “to live in their Indian ways.”¹³² The effect was that of the thousands that Vicente had roused with his preaching, only five hundred and eighty remained with him. But worse was to come: of the five hundred, the Portuguese and *mamelucos* “robbed” some two hundred. After a long and difficult journey back, two hundred and fifty Indians arrived at the Jesuit *aldeias* of Bahia. Vicente later wrote to a Jesuit colleague that he would have descended 1,000 Indians to the Jesuit *aldeias* of Bahia if the men in the wilderness had not “hindered him with their lies, thirsting more for the bondage of the people than their salvation.”¹³³ Vicente denounced five *mamelucos* who preached against him in the *sertão* to the visiting inquisitor in Brazil; three were subsequently tried in 1591 and 1592.¹³⁴

The huge influx of slaves, combined with the fear of enslavement, was having an alarming impact on the Jesuit mission. Cardim believed, for example, that conversions were becoming less common and that Indians were fleeing from Bahia due to their fear of enslavement. In 1583, he estimated that there were few free Indians within 200 or 300 leagues of Salvador, which augured poorly for their salvation and the increase of Christianity.¹³⁵

Out talked by the *mamelucos* in the *sertão*, unable to persuade colonists to

¹³¹ “Carta ânua da provincia do Brasil de 1581,” Bahia 1 January 1582, in Anchieta, *Cartas: Correspondência ativa e passiva*, pp. 302-22.

¹³² First interrogation [*primeira sessão*] of Francisco Pires, 25 August 1592, in his trial, Lisbon, ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa [=IL] 17,809. Another *mameluco* accused of preaching against João Vicente was Lázaro da Cunha, who revealed that he counseled Chief Jagasu, the most powerful chief in Arari, that he should not descend with his people with João Vicente. First interrogation [*primeira sessão*] of Lázaro da Cunha, 29 October 1592, in trial of Lázaro da Cunha Libson, ANTT, IL 11,068.

¹³³ John [João] [Yates] Vicente to Richard Gibbon (in Madrid), 1592, summarized in Robert Lemon and Mary Anne Everett Green, eds., *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series of the Reigns of Edward VI, Mary, Elizabeth, 1547-1625*, 12 vols. (London: Public Records Office, 1856-72) III, 353-355.

¹³⁴ Denunciation of João Vicente, SJ, 11 February 1592, in trial of Domingos Fernandes Nobre, Lisbon, ANTT, IL 10,776.

¹³⁵ Cardim, “Enformacion de la provincia del Brasil,” in Frédéric Mauro, *Le Brésil au XV^e siècle: Documents inédits relatifs à l’Atlantique portugais* (Coimbra: NP, 1961) p. 164; “Memoriale Visitationis Brasiliae,” 1584, ARSI, Lus 68, ff. 414^v-418^v.

refrain from the slave trade, and finding the governor unwilling to help them, the Jesuits had turned their attention to officials in Portugal, Spain, and Rome. By arguing that the colonists were impeding their mission to the as yet unevangelized groups in the wilderness frontier, they hoped to secure new laws to close the loopholes left in the 1570 law. In the words of Cardim, "there is no remedy until the law, which we ask for from the King, arrives, stating that they may not be slaves."¹³⁶

This law, signed by King Philip in 1587, explicitly recognized that King Sebastian's law had been compromised by the "excesses" of colonists in Brazil. The law clearly states that "no one, no matter their social status, may enter the *sertão* with arms to look for Indians without the license of my governor." The governor could still appoint men to lead expeditions into the wilderness as long as two or three Jesuits accompanied them "because of the good faith that they have among the Indians," and because the Jesuits "can persuade them more easily to come and serve my vassals on their mills and plantations without force or deceit." When an expedition returned, the law specifies that the Indians "would not be divided among the colonists" unless the governor, the crown magistrate and the Jesuits who had gone on such expeditions were present. The division of the Indians, moreover, would be more for the benefit of the Indians than for the colonists, and no Indian would be forced to work against his will. The law mandated a record keeping system in which the names and ages of all Indians would be written down, and required the crown magistrate to verify the accuracy of the list twice per year.¹³⁷ However, under the new law, the enslavement of Indians could continue through the declaration of Just Wars or through traditional ransoming. Given these loopholes, it is not surprising that illegal enslavement of Indians continued.¹³⁸

Eight years later, in November, 1595, the king reiterated that all Indians of Brazil were free and that no one might go into the *sertão* to enslave them. In the new law of 1595, the king explicitly recognized that the colonists of Brazil had

¹³⁶ Cardim, "Enformacion de la provincia del Brasil," in Frédéric Mauro, *Le Brésil au XVII^e siècle: Documents inédits relatifs à l'Atlantique portugaise* (Coimbra: NP, 1961) p. 164; "Memoriale Visitationis Brasiliae," 1584, ARSI, Lus 68, ff. 414'-418".

¹³⁷ "Lei que S. M. passou sobre os Índios do Brasil que não podem ser captivos e declara o que o podem ser," in Georg Thomas, *Política indigenista dos Portugueses no Brasil, 1540-1640*, trans. Jesus Hortal (São Paulo: Edições Loyola, 1992) pp. 222-24.

¹³⁸ Inquisition documents related to the visit of the Inquisitor to Brazil reveal that in 1591, two expeditions of approximately one hundred men each were trading for Indian slaves in the *sertão*. See confession of Gonçalo Álvares in trial of Francisco Pires, Lisbon, ANTT, IL 17,809; confession of Sebastião Madeira in trial of Sebastião Madeira, Lisbon, ANTT, IL 11,212; and the denunciations of Marçal de Aragão, Baltazar Camelo, Adão Vaz, and Simão Dias in the trial of Domingos Fernandes Nobre, Lisbon, ANTT, IL 10,776.

manipulated the “words” and “meaning” of Just War doctrine to enslave Indians. The king took the authority to declare a Just War away from his governors; hereafter only the king could declare such a war. All Indians enslaved through other means were to live in freedom, and if colonists wished to take advantage of Indian labor, they must pay the Indians for their work.¹³⁹ In 1597, a document arrived in Salvador clarifying the 1595 law on Indian liberty. This clarification, dated 26 July 1596, addressed the practice of descending Indians from the *sertão*. This July 1596 document clearly reserves for the Society of Jesus the sole right to descend the Indians from the *sertão*. The governor and the Jesuits would determine where villages of Indians might be created, and the Jesuits would declare to the Indians in the *sertão* that they were free, and that they would live as free persons in the newly created villages, and “would be masters of their property, just as in the *sertão*.” “The Indians will not be able to say,” the king’s document reads “that they were descended against their will or through deceit.”¹⁴⁰ These laws confirmed the Jesuits in the roles they so desired: spiritual and political go-betweens between Indians and God and between the Indian world and the colony. But in fact, they had no such power. Crown officials did little to enforce the king’s laws, and other third parties, such as the *mamelucos*, continued to compete with the Jesuits in the wilderness frontiers.¹⁴¹

Castelnau-L’Estoile argues that after a discouraging first thirty years of mission in Brazil, Jesuits began to change their mission beginning with Gouveia’s visit in 1583. Gouveia began to build a more bureaucratic mission as Jesuits began to pay more attention to their own institutions, such as the *colegios* and residences. They received permission to grow sugar cane, and in time they too became slave-owning sugar planters. After the 1580s, while the missionary impulse still existed within the Jesuit mission, Castelnau-L’Estoile argues that it was marginalized, and no longer the central focus.¹⁴² While this characterization is not inaccurate, as we have seen, disillusionment predates the visit of Gouveia, and it had already shaped changes in the Jesuit mission. Gouveia’s visit did mark a shift in strategy, that like previous adjustments, was characterized by a desire for greater control over the context and setting where the Jesuits pursued their spiritual mission. In the stronger and better established

¹³⁹ “Lei sobre se não poderem captivar os gentios das partes do Brasil, e viverem em sua liberdade, salvo no caso declarado na dita lei,” 11 November 1595, in Thomas, *Política indigenista*, pp. 224-25.

¹⁴⁰ “Lei de 26 de Julho de 1596 sobre a liberdade dos Índios,” 26 July 1596 in Thomas, *Política indigenista*, pp. 225-26.

¹⁴¹ See my analysis of the power of go-betweens in *Go-betweens and the Colonization of Brazil*, pp. 235-74.

¹⁴² *Les ouvriers d'une vigne stérile*, pp. 43-75, 199-252.

colegios, Jesuits could return to persuasion—this time through writing as well as teaching. Their writing campaign did result in the promulgation of laws (1587, 1595, and 1596) in their favor. These laws confirmed their role as supreme go-between in principle, even though the reality on the ground was quite different.

The men of the Society of Jesus who first disembarked in Brazil in the 1549 set themselves the impossible goal of converting all of the native peoples of Brazil to Christianity. To begin their mission, they saw the need to turn themselves into spiritual intermediaries. But spiritual intermediacy was not enough, and Jesuits began to suffer from disillusionment as early as 1557. As they moved away from their initial missionary approach based on persuasion, the Jesuits allied themselves with the governor to create a more controlled mission environment. The outcome of these campaigns allowed them to regain their optimism in the 1560s as they created the institution of the mission village, or *aldeia*. The entrenchment of Indian slavery, even after the declaration of Indian liberty in 1570, led them to become disillusioned with governors and colonists and to focus on the building of their *colegios*. By 1583, Brazil was frequently characterized as a sterile vine, yet paradoxically, Jesuits continued to build and successfully maintain their institutions, especially the colleges and residences, and to lobby for new laws to outlaw Indian slavery. As time passed and as Jesuit institutions grew in the core regions, many Jesuits—laboring as teachers, writers, scholars, as managers of large residences and colleges, or later as supervisors of plantations worked by African slaves that produced sugar to support their order—found fulfilling and rewarding work in the service of God. In the peripheries, however, where Jesuit missionary priests and brothers sought the roles of spiritual guides and political brokers, many of the same problems that had characterized their first years in Brazil would reappear: Indian slavery, a corrupt secular clergy, backsliding colonists, and officials who refused to allow Jesuits to arbitrate the relationship between Portuguese settlement and Indian *sertão*. There remained within the Society of Jesus until 1759 men who embodied the missionary zeal that characterized the first Jesuits in Brazil. Just as the politics of mediation exposed Jesuits to disillusionment in the first years, so too would the wilderness frontiers of seventeenth and eighteenth-century Brazil.

Sumario

Los sacerdotes y hermanos misioneros de la Compañía de Jesús en el Brasil del siglo XVI buscaron activamente el papel de intermediarios en dos situaciones fundamentalmente diferentes. En primer lugar, buscaron ser guías espirituales que condujeran a los pueblos de habla tupí y guaraní al cristianismo, y en segundo término buscaron negociar los encuentros entre las colonias portuguesas y los mundos tupí y guaraní. Este artículo se centra en la desilusión que experimentaron los jesuitas en estos dos papeles, y los consiguientes cambios en la estrategia misionera de la misión inicial de los jesuitas en Brasil.



*“La Compagnia di Gesù sotto altro Nome”: Niccolò Paccanari
e la Compagnia della Fede di Gesù (1797-1814)*

Eva Fontana Castelli

La Compagnia della fede di Gesù, i cui membri erano comunemente chiamati Padri della fede, o “paccanaristi” dal nome del loro carismatico fondatore, costituì un importante tentativo di ‘rinascita’ della Compagnia di Gesù sorto nell’“Europa in Rivoluzione,” e la sua vicenda si intrecciò con i problemi canonici e diplomatici connessi alla restaurazione dell’ordine gesuitico.

Fondato a Roma, nel 1797, da Niccolò Paccanari, questo istituto, dopo l’unione con la Società del S. Cuore formata da sacerdoti francesi “emigrati,” si disperse in seguito alla condanna del fondatore da parte del S. Uffizio, avvenuta nel 1808, dopo un lungo processo.

Non si trattò semplicemente di una “Compagnia di Gesù sotto altro nome,” al contrario, la Compagnia della fede di Gesù, appoggiata da importanti personaggi della Curia romana, si presentò come una “riforma” dell’ordine gesuitico, entrando in conflitto con quella parte della Compagnia di Gesù che sopravviveva nell’Impero russo.

Questo volume ricostruisce, attraverso un approfondito scavo documentario, la breve e poco studiata vicenda dei Padri della fede, portando alla luce gli elementi peculiari e più interessanti del loro istituto, che fu caratterizzato anche da un “ramo” femminile—le Dilette di Gesù—e dalla presenza, accanto al fondatore, di Marianna d’Asburgo, sorella dell’imperatore Francesco II, che svolse un ruolo di governo in questa “riformata” Compagnia di Gesù.

Bibliotheca Instituti Historici Societatis Iesu 62. € 50,00 (€ 40,00 to subscribers).

¿ESCRITURA DE POLANCO O DE S. IGNACIO?

Manuel Ruiz Jurado S.I.*

Introducción

En la edición de las *Cartas* de san Ignacio, cuidada por los Padres del Instituto Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús, en la serie ignaciana de Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu, una gran parte aparece bajo el título “Polancus ex commissione” (Polanco por comisión). Lo mismo se diga de las *Constituciones S.I.*: una gran parte del texto la conocemos con la letra de Juan de Polanco.¹ Los estudiosos del pensamiento de san Ignacio han encontrado, de ordinario, dificultad para distinguir en qué grado las tales cartas o escritos son de san Ignacio o de Polanco.

Algunos han tratado de responder a esa dificultad considerando las reglas del secretario de la Compañía; ya que el mismo secretario, Polanco, había escrito “Suma de las cosas que son propias del oficio de secretario que nuestro Padre ha dado a Polanco.”² La primera norma, que ahí se contiene, reza así: “Es necesario vestirse de la persona del superior y tomar su cuidado... cuando fuere algo notado y ordenado por el superior, es menester seguirlo . . .” El conocía y seguía estas normas, dada su fidelidad y modo peculiar de ser. Y sabemos la responsabilidad del P. Ignacio a propósito de lo que se escribía. El mismo reconocía que Dios le había concedido la gracia de “que pudiese escribir las *Constituciones*,”³ y nos consta que dijo “nihil esse in Constitutionibus quod sit Polanci, quantum ad rerum substantiam, nisi in re collegiorum aliquid et

* Profesor emérito de Historia de la espiritualidad y de Espiritualidad ignaciana en la Pontificia Universidad Gregoriana de Roma, Manuel Ruiz Jurado, S.I., ha editado y escrito muchos libros y artículos sobre el Instituto de la Compañía de Jesús y la espiritualidad ignaciana.

¹ *24.xii.1517 Burgos (España); SJ 1541 Roma; †20.xii.1576 Roma. Fue secretario de la Compañía en tiempo de san Ignacio y durante los dos siguientes generalatos (*DHCJ*, IV, 3168-169).

² MHSI, *Pol. Compl.*, I, 87-88.

³ Según Nadal en su “prólogo” a la *Autobiografía* del santo, MHSI, *Font. Narr.*, I, 354-55.

universitatum” (Nada hay en las *Constituciones* que sea de Polanco en cuanto se refiere a la substancia de las cosas, sino algo que toca el tema de los colegios y de las universidades).⁴ El análisis grafológico de sus textos ha llevado a la conclusión de que la mente de Polanco es más lógica, penetrante, organizadora y práctica que original, imaginativa, intuitiva, o creativa en sus ideas. Su rigor intelectual y moral cubre una sensibilidad que se manifiesta más bien en la fidelidad, dignidad y nobleza de sus actitudes. Por ello se considera que su personalidad se puso al servicio constante de la gran personalidad de san Ignacio, de sus intuiciones místicas, espirituales y apostólicas. En consecuencia, lo que Polanco escribe “ex commissione” es lo que el P. Ignacio le encomendaba, lo que su superior pensaba y quería.⁵

Otros han tratado de estudiar la mayor o menor presencia del vascuence en sus escritos,⁶ sea en su modo de construir, o en el uso de determinadas formas verbales, o en su mentalidad; o más bien deduciéndolo de la historia y los documentos. Ya en 1956 Guillermo Díaz Plaja, muy conocido en España por sus libros de lengua y literatura española, publicó su obra *El estilo de san Ignacio*.⁷ Algunos otros lingüistas, o psicólogos, se han interesado por estudiar el peculiar estilo literario de los *Ejercicios espirituales*.⁸ Más recientemente, con motivo del quinto centenario de su nacimiento, César Hernández Alonso, catedrático de lengua española en la Universidad de Valladolid, centró su atención “en la sintaxis y en lo específico del léxico de la lengua escrita de Iñigo de Loyola.”⁹

⁴ Y añade: “Quod tamen est de eius mente,” MHSI, *Constitutiones*, II, CLXIV-CLXV (“Lo cual, sin embargo, es según su mente,” se entiende: la mente de san Ignacio).

⁵ Cf. Antonio María de Aldama S.I., *Imagen ignaciana del jesuita en los escritos de Polanco* (Roma: CIS, 1975) pp. 15-18; y acerca de su mentalidad sobre el oficio de secretario. Cf. pp. 154 ss., especialmente 154-57.

⁶ Plácido Mújica, “Reminiscencias de la lengua vasca en el Diario de san Ignacio,” *Revista Internacional de Estudios Vascos* 27 (1936) 53-61; León Lopetegui, S.I., “La lengua nativa de san Ignacio de Loyola,” *Boletín de la Sociedad Vasca de Amigos del País* 17 (1961) 51-94; Sabino Sola, S.I., “En torno al castellano de san Ignacio,” *Razón y fe* 153 (1956) 243-74; Robert Ricard, “La place de saint Ignace dans la spiritualité espagnole,” *Revue d'ascétique et de mystique* 33 (1957) 135-40; Jorge Aguirre, “San Ignacio de Loyola y el idioma vasco,” en *Gran Enciclopedia Vasca*, I (Bilbao: Edit. Moderna, 1966) 179-83; Giuseppe De Gennaro S.I., “Roland Barthes: l'interpretazione dello stile e della lingua di S. Ignazio di Loyola,” *AHST* 50 (1981) 237-40.

⁷ *El estilo de san Ignacio y otras páginas* (Barcelona: Noguer, 1956) las pag. 9-51 trata. nuestro tema. Ese año publicó Sabino Sola, “En torno al castellano de san Ignacio,” *Razón y fe* 153 (1956) 243-74.

⁸ Cf. De Gennaro, “Roland Barthes,” 237-40; Mark Rotsaert, S.I., “Description de l'emploi du verbe dans les ‘Ejercicios espirituales’ de saint Ignace de Loyola,” Memoria para obtener el grado, presentada en la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras de Lovaina (1970).

⁹ “Calas en la expresión escrita de Iñigo de Loyola,” en *Ignacio de Loyola, Magister Artium en París (1528-1535)*, preparado por J. Caro Baroja y A. Beristain (San Sebastián: Kutxa, 1991) p. 329.

Este último trabajo se basó sobre la edición *Obras completas de san Ignacio de Loyola* (Madrid: BAC, 1952), preparada por el P. Ignacio Iparraguirre.¹⁰ Tomó en cuenta especialmente los *Ejercicios espirituales*, los *Directorios de ejercicios*, la *Deliberación sobre la pobreza*, el *Diario espiritual* y las *Cartas*.¹¹ Consideró Hernández Alonso que en ellas se plasmaban la mano o la palabra del autor. El profesor Hernández Alonso afirmaba que “en el léxico, en la organización y construcción de períodos y oraciones, es donde mejor se puede percibir el estilo y orden mental de un autor.”¹² Siguiendo ese pensamiento, en su estudio, llegó a las conclusiones de que no hay que acudir a presuntos vasquismos para explicar algún fenómeno de la expresión ignaciana, como tampoco hay en ella apenas rasgos de galicismos. En cambio, abundan los latinismos y cultismos léxicos y sintácticos, así como múltiples citas en latín, y presenta también algún que otro italianismo. Sobre todo, en los años de sus estudios en París y poco posteriores; aunque se reducen en los últimos diez o quince años de su vida.

En resumen, encontró en san Ignacio de Loyola una prosa sólida, no rebuscada y eficaz, una expresión reposada, a veces monótona, en el estilo castellano culto y funcional de la época. Advirtió correspondencia entre ese estilo y su vida, su formación, su vida interior intensa y su proyecto.

Ya Díaz Plaja había notado, con acierto, que la prosa ignaciana se construye con un hilo mental férreo, a la vez que sutil. Observación semejante a la que destacó Pío XII ante la federación de Ejercicios de Italia, a propósito del “Principio y fundamento”¹³ de los *Ejercicios*. Ello es fundamental para mantener en vilo al lector, porque encuentra un discurso lógico sin fárrago, sin peso muerto. Todo al servicio de su finalidad dialéctica.¹⁴ Esto no impide que, como ya otros habían notado, en la prosa ignaciana se evidencia el empleo de la cierta retórica ordenada a su finalidad, que yo llamo apostólica.¹⁵ En el conjunto, todos suelen reconocer una sobriedad y elegancia de estilo, con una vena de ternura subyacente, o más o menos expresa, signo de un humanismo que brota de su posición anímica, en particular hacia el corresponsal de sus cartas.¹⁶

¹⁰ *30.viii.1911 Bilbao; SJ 31.viii.1926 Loyola; †6.x.1973 Roma (*DHCJ*, III, 2062).

¹¹ Hernández Alonso, “Calas en la expresión,” p. 329.

¹² Hernández Alonso, “Calas en la expresión,” p. 346.

¹³ MHSI, *Exerc. Spir.*, pp. 164-67.

¹⁴ Díaz Plaja, *El estilo*, p. 51.

¹⁵ Aunque parezca novedosa la calificación, indica una característica evidente para el que examine a fondo hacia dónde dirige el énfasis o el cambio de la expresión, la colocación de las palabras, o términos más significativos, en los ápices o detención de la lectura. El tono afectivo y personal del lenguaje, etc. Pero de esto hablaremos más adelante en el texto.

¹⁶ Díaz Plaja, *El estilo*, p. 51. La palabra “ternura” no es muy usada por Ignacio, pero nos referimos al tono de la expresión. Sus amigos más íntimos la han apreciado.

En el trabajo que presento aquí he tenido en cuenta, en vez de las ediciones, -que siempre han presentado lo que encontraron en las fuentes utilizadas, no siempre autógrafas, y que, por otra parte, incluían normalmente palabras o frases de otros- aunque supervisadas por el santo-, sólo los textos autógrafos, sea de Ignacio que de Polanco. He utilizado los escritos autógrafos de san Ignacio de Loyola directamente, aun en casos en los que consistan en correcciones de su mano, introducidas en cartas, *Ejercicios* o *Constituciones*, o en *Reglas* u otros documentos.¹⁷ Alguna vez apógrafos, pero nunca me he servido directamente de cartas escritas por comisión, para estudiar el estilo de san Ignacio. Mi interés es el estilo peculiar de san Ignacio, pero se centrará particularmente en la comparación entre el estilo de las dos escrituras autógrafas, la de san Ignacio y la de Polanco, para encontrar sus diferencias. Entre los autógrafos de Polanco he escogido los que, por su fecha, por su materia u origen, puedan ser menos sospechosos de estar escritos o dictados por san Ignacio. No tenemos otros escritos legislativos autógrafos de san Ignacio, que algunos párrafos de las “Constituciones” y las primitivas reglas del sacristán, y éstos los tenemos en cuenta. Espero que este trabajo nos pueda revelar algunas propiedades más de la personalidad de san Ignacio y que, por otra parte, su estilo llegue a ser más fácil de distinguir que hasta ahora, cuando se trate de examinar cartas u otros escritos no autógrafos.

El léxico

Nuestras observaciones en los textos autógrafos confirman la observación, hecha por el profesor Hernández Alonso sobre la abundancia de “latinismos y cultismos.” También sobre la frecuencia de citas en latín. Es verdad que el profesor Hernández advierte que, a partir de 1549, aparece menor la abundancia de latinismos y de citas; pero habría que advertir también que, en esos años, la redacción depende más de Polanco, probablemente, en el uso de las palabras o citas. Y además, hay que tener en cuenta que el editor de las *Obras* de san Ignacio en la BAC ha traducido al español las citas latinas, o los textos en latín poco usados en nuestro tiempo. Con todo, si comparamos la “Carta de la perfección” (7 mayo de 1547) con la “Carta de la obediencia” (26 de marzo de 1553), aunque ninguna de las dos se conserva autógrafa, las citas son más abundantes en la primera que en la segunda.¹⁸

Y todavía me parece más poderosa, como prueba de nuestro aserto, la

¹⁷ Las principales cartas autógrafas que he utilizado son las dirigidas: a Juan Pedro Carafa (en 1536), a los Señores de Loyola (2 febrero 1539), al Francisco de Borja, duque de Gandía (julio 1549 y 20 septiembre 1548), y a Leonor Osorio (11 agosto 1548), MHSI, *Epp. Ign.*, I, 114-18, 145-47; II, 233-37; XII, 632-54.

¹⁸ Cf. aun en la última edición cuidada por él, la segunda (Madrid: BAC, 1963) pp. 679-89 y 806-16.

presencia de esos latinismos y citas tan abundantes en el *Diario espiritual*;¹⁹ pues en él Ignacio de Loyola demuestra que los conservaba en la memoria para pensar en ellos, o los recordaba, mientras oraba, y los escribía después, cuando redactaba sus recuerdos de la oración. No es muy pensable que, en esas ocasiones, andase a buscar citas en ninguna parte. Se trataba de algo que escribía para sí mismo y como recuerdo, no como puntos de meditación sobre un asunto. Allí encontramos citas, como: “libenter suffertis insipientes,” (2 Cor 11,1 9) (donde suprime “enim”),²⁰ “Dominus scit,” (2 Cor.12, 2); “confiteor tibi,” (Mt. 11, 21); “similis ero vobis mendax” (Jn. 8, 55);²¹ o expresiones como “Te, id est, Pater” (6 marzo 1544);²² “Beata [en vez de “benedicta”] sit sancta Trinitas” (Misa de la Trinidad);²³ “ad utramque partem” (10 marzo 1544); y latinismos, como: “interloquendo muchas cosas” (18 febrero 1544); “don de la loquela divinitus conçeso” (11 mayo 1544); “consequente al pensamiento y claridad” (15 octubre 1544); “mucho superabundancia dellas” (23 oct. 1544) y tantos otros.

También se puede observar esa presencia de latinismos, o citas, en las cartas a personas cultas, como a Carafa,²⁴ a Jaime Cazador,²⁵ a san Francisco de Borja,²⁶ antes (fines de 1545)²⁷ o después de la llegada a Roma de Polanco (29 de julio de 1547)²⁸; y a san Pedro Canisio,²⁹ o a los compañeros de Coimbra.³⁰

¹⁹ MHSI, *Constitutiones*, I, 86-158.

²⁰ MHSI, *Constitutiones*, I, 97.

²¹ Para los últimos textos citados antes, cf. MHSI, *Constitutiones*, I, 102, 107 y 131.

²² En adelante, indicamos con la fecha entre paréntesis, la señalada en la edición del “Diario” en MHSI, *Constitutiones*, I con paréntesis cuadrados.

²³ MHSI, *Constitutiones*, I, 119.

²⁴ El futuro Paulo IV. Cf. MHSI, *Epp. Ign.*, I, 114-18: allí encontramos muchas citas implícitas con referencias a Lc.9, 48; Sant. 1, 17; 1 Cor 6, 12; la expresión “victus et vestitus”; también “via ad perfectionem”; “de mayor momento”; “opósitas,” “sepelir” etc.

²⁵ MHSI, *Epp. Ign.*, I, 93-99: “iuxta illud: si vis perfectus esse”; “Dios tiene puesto orden, peso y mesura en todas las cosas,” cf. Sab.11, 20. Jaime Cazador, arcediano de Barcelona, fue nombrado obispo de esa diócesis en 1546.

²⁶ *28.xi.1510 Gandía; SJ 2.vi.1546 Gandía; elegido general 2.vii.1564; †30.ix.1572 Roma (*DHCJ*, II, 1605, 1608).

²⁷ MHSI, *Epp. Ign.*, I, 339-42.

²⁸ MHSI, *Epp. Ign.*, XII, 331-38.

²⁹ *8.v.1521 Nímega; SI 8.v.1543; †21.xii.1597 Friburgo (*DHCJ*, I, 633). Cf. MHSI, *Epp. Ign.*, I, 390-94 (2.vi.1546); VII, 398-404 (13.viii.1554).

³⁰ MHSI, *Epp. Ign.*, I, 390-94 a 2 de junio de 1546; 495-497, a 8 de agosto.

¿Podríamos afirmar que no se encuentran tan abundantes las citas latinas y los latinismos en Polanco?

Los cultismos se encuentran abundantes en Ignacio y Polanco. No pueden servir mucho como instrumento de distinción entre las dos escrituras autógrafas. Pero he observado que resultan más abundantes las citas latinas en las cartas o escritos de san Ignacio que en cartas en las que se “podría esperar que fuera Polanco el autor de las citas latinas.” Véanse p.e. las cartas de Polanco antes de su llegada al cargo de secretario del P. Ignacio.³¹

En cambio, es más fácil encontrar en Polanco algunos italianismos, como “polideza” o “graveza,” que no se encontrarán en la escritura de Ignacio; aunque alguno se introdujera con el tiempo.

Morfología sintáctica

Partículas

Característico del lenguaje ignaciano me parece el uso de las preposiciones, adverbios y conjunciones, intercambiando a veces: “en” con “a,” “de” con “por”; o bien uel uso de “en” por “con” o por “a.” Algunos ejemplos: “sin elecciones, en ofrecer o en rogar a Dios...” (11 febrero 1544, en vez de “al ofrecer o al rogar”);³² “representándoseme...en veer...” (19 febrero, en vez de “al veer”); “las gracias de tantos dones y gracias recibidas” (17 febrero, en vez de “las gracias por tantos dones”); “después, a la oración para vestirme” (5 marzo, en vez de “en la oración...”); “quando en nuestra Señora, quando en los santos” (7 marzo, en vez de “quando con nuestra Señora, quando con,” o bien “quando a...”).

Se pueden observar otros usos de preposiciones inactuales hoy: “esforzándome *a* doler” (en lugar de “esforzándome *por* sentir dolor”³³), “se despierta más a ayudar”³⁴ (en vez de “se despierta más para ayudar”); y el uso de “mas,” como partícula adversativa, equivalente a “sino”: “no querer levantar, mas estar allí en...” (16 febr. 1544³⁵); el uso de “cerca,” en vez de “a propósito de”; de “tandem” por “finalmente”; o “haced como nos veamos presto,”³⁶ en

³¹ MHSI, *Pol. Compl.*, I, 1-29.

³² Ya hemos avisado que estas fechas entre paréntesis reenvían al “Diario espiritual” de san Ignacio de Loyola.

³³ MHSI, *Exerc. Spir.*, p. 282, n. 195.

³⁴ MHSI, *Constitutiones*, I, 80, n. 8.

³⁵ MHSI, *Constitutiones*, I, 97.

³⁶ MHSI, *Epp. Ign.*, I, 122.

vez de “haced que nos veamos presto.” Otras veces usará “como,” en vez de “que,” o “de manera que”; o en vez del consecutivo “ya que.”

Nos resulta significativa la frecuencia de la expresión “ultra de” en Polanco;³⁷ mientras Ignacio emplea más bien en esa ocasión y en otras, con gran frecuencia, como elemento de ligazón, la expresión “y con esto,” o bien “con esto,”³⁸ que a veces equivale a “no obstante.” O se usa en otras ocasiones en vez de “además.”

El artículo

La falta de artículo, cuando ordinariamente se requeriría, es más fácil encontrarla en la prosa ignaciana que en la de Polanco. Ya el profesor César Hernández notaba que en el *Diario* no es tan fácil identificar ejemplos de lo que significaría una ausencia no requerida; porque muchas veces es normal que quien escribe en esas circunstancias, para sí mismo y para su propio recuerdo o insinuación, no necesite poner artículo al sustantivo o al verbo sustantivado, p.e.: “parecerme... seer confusión” (6 febrero 1544); “mayor moción de voluntad” (8 febrero); “entrando en mí mayor devoción y quitarme toda gana...” (11 febrero), etc.

Pero lo que me resulta más llamativo por su frecuencia y más característicamente ignaciano es el uso del artículo precediendo al adjetivo posesivo antes del sustantivo, p.e. “la su divina Magestad,”³⁹ “la su divina bondad,”⁴⁰ “la su infinita y summa bondad,” “la mi primera missa”⁴¹ etc., etc. y esto mucho más frecuente en las cartas autógrafas, con lenguaje normal, que en el *Diario*. Este modo de escribir el artículo seguido del posesivo no sólo es muy característico de san Ignacio, sino difícil de encontrar en Polanco. No lo he encontrado.

Adjetivación

En el empleo del adjetivo, hay algo típico que indica el predominio de la intención del santo para producir algún efecto peculiar en su corresponsal.

³⁷ Cf. MHSI, *Pol. Compl.*, I, 22, 109 n. 181; II, 53 n. 43, 105 nn. 9-10 etc.

³⁸ Cf. “Examen,” c. IV, 86, en MHSI, *Constituciones*, II, 71; también allí: “y con esto, si os pareciere mudar alguna cosa, hazeldo.”

³⁹ MHSI, *Epp. Ign.*, I, 117 y 152; “Diario espiritual” [miércoles, 27 febrero], en MHSI, *Constituciones*, I, 109.

⁴⁰ MHSI, *Epp. Ign.*, I, 83.

⁴¹ Las dos últimas frases: MHSI, *Epp. Ign.*, I, 115, 144, 146, 147, 167 ... ; en otras ocasiones, como: “del su divino acatamiento,” “con la su preciosísima sangre,” “a la nuestra casa,” “la su acostumbrada piedad y gracia,” etc., etc.

Refiérase a lo que hemos llamado “retórica apostólica.” Aparte de algunos adjetivos en sintagmas estereotipados, p.e.: santísima Trinidad, divina Majestad, vida eterna, muerte temporal, preciosísima Sangre, suma Bondad, natura humana, etc., los adjetivos calificativos no se introducen superflualmente en la escritura ignaciana, quieren indicar algo intencionadamente. Tampoco es desatendida la colocación de antepuestos o pospuestos. La anteposición sirve para destacar la cualidad que se subraya: “infinita y suma bondad,”⁴² “sumo capitán general de los buenos” y “el sumo y verdadero capitán,”⁴³ “eterna bienaventuranza,” “íntimo y verdadero amor de Dios,”⁴⁴ etc.

La duplicación del adjetivo no es sólo para dar énfasis, muchas veces sirve para determinar el segundo adjetivo con el primero, o al revés. Veamos p.e.: “íntimo y verdadero amor de Dios,”⁴⁵ “infinita y summa Bondad”⁴⁶ (ninguno de los dos adjetivos solo dice exactamente lo mismo que los dos juntos). Digamos lo mismo de la expresión “entera y estrecha cuenta de su vida” (en la lectura, la acentuación, y el subrayado consecuente, recae en el segundo adjetivo, más claramente aún que en el ejemplo precedente). Si atendemos a la expresión “amor tanto lúcido y dulce,”⁴⁷ en estos dos adjetivos pospuestos, el santo completa y determina más la cualidad de lúcido, con la de dulce; como en “ocasión directa o indirecta,”⁴⁸ etc.

Por la colocación en la frase, a veces recibe más relieve el adjetivo pospuesto, si el acento cae sobre él, p.e.: “sentirle en claridad espesa o color de llama ígnea,”⁴⁹ “amor sincero...miseria crecida,”⁵⁰ “bondad infinita,” “gracia cumplida,” “conversaciones espirituales,” “trabajos corporales,”⁵¹ “días pasados,” “disposición oportuna,” “gozo y reposo espiritual,” “Otras...no por mí sentidas ni imaginadas,”⁵² etc.

⁴² Citamos ejemplos de usos de adjetivos repetidamente empleados por san Ignacio en sus escritos, por tanto basta abrir cualquier escrito suyo un poco desarrollado para encontrar uno u otro de los ejemplos aquí ofrecidos. Los autógrafos están indicados así en la edición hecha en MHSI.

⁴³ MHSI, *Exerc. Spir.*, p. 244, nn. 138 y 139.

⁴⁴ MHSI, *Epp. Ign.*, I, 114-15.

⁴⁵ MHSI, *Epp. Ign.*, I, 114.

⁴⁶ MHSI, *Epp. Ign.*, I, 115.

⁴⁷ En el “Diario” (4 marzo 1544), MHSI, *Constitutiones*, I, 113.

⁴⁸ MHSI, *Epp. Ign.*, I, 116.

⁴⁹ MHSI, *Constitutiones*, I, 90.

⁵⁰ MHSI, *Epp. Ign.*, I, 115.

⁵¹ MHSI, *Epp. Ign.*, I, 94.

⁵² MHSI, *Epp. Ign.*, I, 118.

Y esta misma observación podemos hacer con el uso de dos sustantivos o dos verbos, p.e.: “según las ocurrencias y suceso” (el segundo sustantivo determina al primero), “nuestro Criador y Señor,”⁵³ “por amor y reverencia de Cristo,” “mayor servicio y mayor alabanza,” “simplicidad y amor,”⁵⁴ “obediencia y vida irrepreensible,” “amor y voluntad cerca esta mínima Compañía,” “modo y orden,”⁵⁵ o los verbos: “nos liga y nos obliga,” “inestar o mover pudiere,” “veerle o sentirle en claridad espesa,”⁵⁶ “quietándome y regocijándome en gran manera,” “advertir y mover,” etc.

En algunas ocasiones es evidente el complemento de sentido que el segundo morfema ofrece al primero para determinar el significado de la expresión. En otras ocasiones parece más difícil captar el matiz que ofrece el morfema añadido, pero no nos parece mera equivalencia o enfatización del primero, p.e.: “La gracia y amor de Cristo”⁵⁷ (no es lo mismo que decir “la gracia de Cristo,” o escuetamente “el amor de Cristo”); y así: “en nuestro favor y en nuestra ayuda,” “con la su ayuda y gracia,” “buen olor y ejemplo,” “a honor y honra de todos parientes,” “mucho deseo y os pido,” “lanzando dignidades y otras honras temporales,” etc.

Lo que nos resulta evidente en la prosa ignaciana es la tendencia a duplicar o triplicar, mucho más duplicar que triplicar los morfemas (a pesar de lo que algunos han dicho, sin tener en cuenta sólo los autógrafos), para precisar o matizar o dar énfasis (esto menos) a su expresión escrita.

Las binas de conceptos son mucho más frecuentes en la escritura ignaciana que las ternas, y se encuentran muchas más en el lenguaje ignaciano que en el lenguaje autógrafo de Polanco. Más adelante trataremos de explicar el significado o intención de esta tendencia y en qué se puede distinguir de las binas o tripletas que a veces se encuentran también en la escritura de Polanco.

El uso verbal

Para todos es evidente el abundante empleo del gerundio como forma verbal en la escritura ignaciana. Más discutido es su origen, y su utilidad para distinguir su escritura de otras del tiempo. El profesor Hernández mostró en su trabajo que el gerundio y el infinitivo, las formas más aptas para expresar hechos o procesos en curso, son las más propias para ser empleadas en un *Diario* de las

⁵³ MHSI, *Epp. Ign.*, I, 115.

⁵⁴ MHSI, *Epp. Ign.*, I, 115.

⁵⁵ MHSI, *Exerc. Spir.*, p. 142, n. 2.

⁵⁶ En el “Diario” (11 febrero 1544), MHSI, *Constitutiones*, I, 90.

⁵⁷ MHSI, *Epp. Ign.*, I, 145.

características del de san Ignacio. Ese *Diario*, en cambio, no es el lugar más apto para encontrar periodos, o formas de expresión normal, en sus escritos. En cambio, si tomamos principalmente en consideración las cartas u otros escritos, veremos que esos gerundios no aparecen mucho más frecuentemente en algunas cartas ignacianas que en las de Polanco; pero encontraremos en ellas más abundancia de infinitivos (señales de acción), y la de participios adjetivados en expresiones equivalentes a los ablativos absolutos latinos., p.e.: “Leída una de vuestra mano,” “dejadas aparte todas cosas...,” etc.

A este respecto, es impresionante el ejemplar autógrafo de la carta de san Ignacio a Juan III de Portugal (8 marzo 1543),⁵⁸ que nos ofrece en un solo párrafo ocho veces el uso del gerundio, precedido de otro párrafo de tres líneas con dos gerundios. Y, poco después, hallamos otro párrafo con ocho infinitivos, precedido de otro de cinco infinitivos, en menos de 5 líneas.

Es digno de ser tenido en cuenta el uso del verbo sin complemento directo objeto, o pronombre que lo substituya, p.e.: “conservando y aumentando en su mayor servicio y gloria”;⁵⁹ “sepelir,” “encomendar,”⁶⁰ pero más frecuente, en el *Diario*: “al revestir,” “no hallando,” en los *Ejercicios*: “rodeando,” “distribuir,”⁶¹ o en la “Deliberación sobre la pobreza”:⁶² “ayuda más a humillar” (cómodo 4), “tiempo de demandar o buscar” (incómodo 5).

Igualmente significativo de la escritura ignaciana nos parece el frecuente uso del auxiliar “ser” en vez del actual “haber” con verbos intransitivos: “es venido,” “ser nacido,”⁶³ acabado es,” etc. Pero quizás lo que más advertimos hoy, como diferente del uso actual, y nos parece más frecuente en san Ignacio que en Polanco, es el empleo del futuro imperfecto de subjuntivo en la forma finalizada en “are” o “ere”: “quando me despertare,”⁶⁴ “quanto más hombre quitare...”,⁶⁵ “en la cofradía que se hiciere”,⁶⁶ “hacer cuanto me fuere ordenado

⁵⁸ MHSI, *Epp Ign*, I, 243-46.

⁵⁹ MHSI, *Epp Ign*, I, 243-46.

⁶⁰ En algún modo podrían sobreentenderse en MHSI, *Epp Ign*, I, 117-18.

⁶¹ MHSI, *Exerc. Spir.*, pp. 386 y 396, nn.327 y 339 referiremos en adelante al n. de los *Ejercicios*, que se encuentra en cualquier edición reciente.

⁶² MHSI, *Institutiones*, I, 78-81.

⁶³ MHSI, *Exerc. Spir.*, p. 230, n. 114.

⁶⁴ MHSI, *Exerc. Spir.*, p. 204, n. 74.

⁶⁵ MHSI, *Exerc. Spir.*, p. 296, n. 213.

⁶⁶ MHSI, *Epp Ign.*, I, 163.

en el Señor de todos, y su divina Majestad me diere fuerzas”;⁶⁷; “si a vuestra señoría pareciere que importa” (julio 1549),⁶⁸ etc.; las metátesis como “terná” (por “tendrá”), “verná” (por “vendrá”) etc.; y el empleo del futuro por el subjuntivo nuestro: “los que más se querrán afectar...harán...”⁶⁹ (en vez de “los que más se quieran afectar”).

Es bastante típico de san Ignacio colocar el verbo al final o en la cumbre de la prótasis: “por vía que a su servicio convenía”; “sin yo lo merecer”; “en esta vida y en la otra me lo quiera dar”; “en su mayor servicio y alabanza se ordenar,” etc.⁷⁰ Y colocar con frecuencia el complemento, aun cuando sea una circunstancia, delante del verbo: “como en la vuestra me escribís”; “decís que con la acostumbrada porción no faltaréis”; “por pagarle este poco de servicio, permitiese...”; “como en la tal persona el bien no habitase con el mal.” Estos fenómenos de prolepsis son abundantísimos, como veremos también en el párrafo siguiente con los pronombres. En Polanco el discurso es más seguido y ordenado según la lógica natural del discurso.

Los pronombres

En los mismos ejemplos últimamente aducidos se puede observar la frecuencia con que la escritura ignaciana coloca, los pronombres complementos, antes del verbo correspondiente: “lo merecer,” “lo quiera dar,” “se ordenar,” y tantos otros ejemplos en la misma carta: “porque mejor se pueda conservar,” “si para ello no hubiese facultad,” “no las encomendar a letra.”

Acabamos de ver que la prolepsis se realiza, aunque el pronombre no sea objeto directo o indirecto: “en mí causaron efectos diversos,” “no solamente lo que en mí hacéis”; “por lo que en ella así obra.” Podemos afirmar que este fenómeno es típico de la escritura ignaciana.

Los anacolutos

Véase alguno: “Porque mientras yo allá estuve, veía que Losada se reposaba, y con el ejemplo de los dos mayores, y mayormente del Jacobo, yo espero en Dios N.S. que ellos harán lo que deben; a quien plega por la su entera y summa bondad, de su mano los quiera siempre guiar.”⁷¹ O el siguiente: “Porque los días pasados con Rojas y con Magdalena ... os escribí, seré en ésta breve; el cual,

⁶⁷ A san Juan de Avila, el 24 de marzo 1549, MHSI, *Epp. Ign.*, II, 316.

⁶⁸ MHSI, *Epp. Ign.*, XII, 652.

⁶⁹ MHSI, *Exerc. Spir.*, p. 220 n. 97.

⁷⁰ MHSI, *Epp. Ign.*, I, 115-16.

⁷¹ MHSI, *Epp. Ign.*, I, 94, la carta es a Jaime Cazador el 12 de febrero de 1536.

como iba con mucho cuidado de nosotros, y se había de detener mucho por los caminos, pensé que por ventura ésta llegaría en vuestra casa para cuando ellos llegasen allá.”⁷² Pero no será tan fácil encontrarlos en las cartas a personas de autoridad, sino más bien en las dirigidas a personas de confianza.

Ejemplo sintético

Considero un ejemplo sintético de las observaciones hechas anteriormente sobre el estilo de la escritura ignaciana y, a la vez, especialmente útil para nuestro fin, la carta dirigida a Gandía en junio de 1549,⁷³ por tratarse en ella de un asunto grave y haber sido escrita por orden del P. Ignacio, y por ofrecernos en ella párrafos, a veces largos, en las muchas y cuidadas correcciones autógrafas introducidas por él. Me referiré solamente a las correcciones autógrafas, introducidas por san Ignacio en la carta. Veámoslas:

a) Encontramos su típico uso del artículo delante del posesivo, ya en las primeras correcciones: “a mayor gloria de la su divina magestad”; repetido más tarde, al escribir: “muestra ser del su adversario y nuestro” (p. 642); “visiones del nuestro adverario” (p. 644); y de nuevo: “la su divina magestad” y “la su divina bondad” (p. 648).

b) La tendencia a perfeccionar, o precisar, el sentido del primer adjetivo usado con el segundo, p.e.: “muy conveniente y mucho necessario”⁷⁴ (p. 633); “parece y es mucho más conveniente y razonable que tengan, por don especial de Jesucristo” (p. 638);⁷⁵ “del su adversario y nuestro” (p. 642); “contrario, o proprio, a lo que se muestra” (p. 645); “cosa es posible y muy fácil al Señor de todos” (p. 648); “que no todos, mas los menos y aun pocos” (p. 652). Es una tendencia a decir lo que se quiere y no más ni menos, que se muestra en esta carta de varios modos, y hasta en escritos íntimos, como es su *Diario espiritual*. Lo ilustramos con varios ejemplos: en los comienzos de la carta que estudiamos, el P. Ignacio encontró una fórmula impersonal “será bien,” y la corrigió con la frase: “nos ha parecido en el Señor de todos.” Vió la palabra “liviandad” (p.

⁷² MHSI, *Epp. Ign.*, I, 145-46: carta a sus hermanos Martín, Beltrán, etc.

⁷³ MHSII, *Epp. Ign.*, XII, 642 ss. A continuación señalaremos con números entre paréntesis las páginas de la edición citada, correspondientes a las frases escogidas en este estudio. En esta carta el editor tiene buen cuidado de reproducir con cursiva los párrafos, frases o palabras introducidas por Ignacio con su propia mano. Lo hemos controlado con el manuscrito.

⁷⁴ Notamos que escribió esta corrección donde primero había encontrado escrito “menester.”

⁷⁵ Aquí la corrección recaía sobre la frase escrita primero: “tienen por don de Jesucristo.”

633) y la corrigió con “ligereza”,⁷⁶ y asimismo el adverbio “livianamente” lo corrigió con “ligeramente” (p. 646). Encontró “razón” (p. 638) y añadió “mucha”; la frase: “tememos, antes tenemos por cierto nosotros, que sea aquel,” la substituyó por ésta: “antes es de temer se lo haya dictado aquel spiritu” (p. 649); y en la p. 645: “no se ha puesto límite a los de la Compañía, ni a los escolares della (en el tiempo de oración),” etc.

c) El uso del gerundio se muestra en diversas ocasiones, cuando corrige la frase anterior que no lo tenía, p.e.: “teniendo mucha compasión” (p. 635); “siendo adversario padre de mentira y enemigo de todo bien” (p. 643); “a remirar, encomendando a Dios N.S. el todo” y “no siendo cosa alguna determinada” (p. 645); “dexando hazer el todo a la su divina bondad” (p. 648); “baxando su entendimiento a un páxaro que tenía en las manos” (p. 649).⁷⁷

d) El futuro imperfecto: “si a V. Sría pareciere que importa” (p. 652), que substituye a “pareciéndole importa.”

e) Los latinismos, cultismos, o citas latinas, se ven varias veces. Recordamos la alusión a san Pablo y a las revelaciones “que le hizo Dios en el rapto usque ad tertium celum” (p. 648); y a san Juan, en las *Colaciones* de Casiano, recordando que remitía, a ratos, sus contemplaciones, “baxando su entendimiento a un pájaro..” (p. 649); o en “puntos de perfecta obediencia” (p. 647); y en “adversario, padre de mentira y enemigo de todo bien” (p. 643), alusión a Jn. 8, 44. Aunque debemos reconocer que el carácter de la carta es tal que, ya en su redacción original, está llena de alusiones cultas, frases de la Escritura o de otros autores en latín, o en su traducción castellana. Y es muy posible que en ese texto base intervinieran varias mentes y no sólo la de Polanco, o la de Ignacio; pero nos hemos atendido, como anunciamos, a las correcciones autógrafas de san Ignacio.

El ritmo binario

Pero, en la tendencia a la corrección, los adjetivos acumulados (dos, con mucha más frecuencia que tres) ordinariamente no son lo único a destacar. Se advierte también, en los substantivos y en otras formas de expresión, el empleo de binarios que se complementan, por el matiz o significado añadido, o por

⁷⁶ El término “livianidad” se puede usar también para significar “ligereza,” acción inconstante, de poco peso, etc. Se podía entender por el contexto, pero es ambiguo, pues también puede significar “acción lasciva.”

⁷⁷ Se puede comparar cada una de estas frases con gerundio a las que tenía el texto, antes de ser corregido por el P. Ignacio, en el aparato crítico de cada página. Una sola vez encontramos que haya suprimido el gerundio, que estaba en el texto, para escribir otra frase sin gerundio: ha escrito, “si a V. Sría. pareciere que importa,” quitando la frase “si querrá hazer en ello diligencia, pareciendo que importa” (p. 652).

contraposición, y no sólo para dar más énfasis a la expresión: “con la su ayuda y gracia,” p.e.;⁷⁸ “nuestro Criador y Señor,”⁷⁹ “con mucha devoción y no sin lágrimas”; “dignidades y otras honrras temporales”;⁸⁰ “obras y palabras de su maior y principal,”⁸¹ “no por mí sentidas ni ymaginadas”;⁸² “no podría laudar, ... antes sería en buscar...”;⁸³ “yo laudé mucho y dello me gocé”;⁸⁴ y así otros muchísimos ejempls.

En este caso, he podido comprobar que, en san Ignacio, el empleo de la bina de conceptos o de expresiones es mucho más frecuente que la terna, contra la preferencia ternaria, atribuida por François Roustang⁸⁵ a san Ignacio, para distinguir su estilo del de Polanco, en unas reflexiones sobre las *Constituciones* de san Ignacio, en las que se han podido mezclar textos redactados por Ignacio y textos redactados por Polanco; pues Roustang no se basa sobre los manuscritos autógrafos.⁸⁶

En Polanco he encontrado también abundancia de expresiones binarias, pero menos abundantes que en la escritura ignaciana;⁸⁷ y se observa en ellas menos

⁷⁸ MHSI, *Epp. Ign.*, I, 147; y “acatamiento y reverencia”: “Diario espiritual” [viernes 16 de marzo 1544], MHSI, *Constituciones*, I, 127.

⁷⁹ MHSI, *Epp. Ign.*, I, 115 y 117: “...servir y alabar a su verdadero Criador y Señor.”

⁸⁰ MHSI, *Epp. Ign.*, I, 115.

⁸¹ MHSI, *Epp. Ign.*, I, 116.

⁸² MHSI, *Epp. Ign.*, I, 118.

⁸³ MHSI, *Epp. Ign.*, II, 225.

⁸⁴ MHSI, *Epp. Ign.*, II, 225.

⁸⁵ *23.iv.1923; SJ 1954; dis. 1967-68.

⁸⁶ Cf. *Saint Ignace, Constitutions de la Compagnie de Jesus*, II. *Introduction à une lecture*, ed. par François Roustang, (Paris: Desclée, 1967) pp. 57-58. La preponderancia del ritmo binario la he observado en los autógrafos; pero en el llamado “autógrafo” de los *Ejercicios* se puede también observar, a pesar de las apariencias. En el n. 2 encontramos claras 11 binas de conceptos (“modo y orden,” “meditar o contemplar,” “contemplación o meditación,” “breve o sumaria,” “discurriendo y raciocinando,” “declarar o sentir,” “quier por la raciocinación propia, quier sea en cuanto...es ilucidado,” “más gusto y fruto espiritual,” “declarado y ampliado,” “harta y satisface,” “el sentir y gustar”); y en el n. 1 hay, al menos 5 expresiones binarias bien claras (“para tomar inteligencia...y para ayudarse,” “el que los ha de dar como el que los ha de recibir,” “orar vocal y mental,” “preparar y disponer el alma,” “buscar y hallar la voluntad divina”) y sólo una clara ternaria (“pasear, caminar y correr”).

⁸⁷ Mis observaciones fijan más la atención sobre el ritmo binario en los morfemas o expresiones, que en el que pueden presentar los libros enteros o partes del libro; pues éstos dependen más del tema que se desarrolla en ellos que del ritmo de la persona. En los *Ejercicios* las macrodivisiones son muy diversas: 4 son las semanas (división más general), 20 las “Anotaciones,” 10 las “Adiciones,” los diversos tipos de “Reglas” no caen bajo una misma numeración: las del discernimiento están

que en el caso de san Ignacio, el interés del autor por el efecto que han de producir en el lector. La atención de san Ignacio al efecto de la frase parece bien clara, si observamos cómo emplea las reglas de la retórica, y, consciente o inconscientemente, va enderezando todo a que destaque en cada frase la palabra o expresión que le interesa, y a que en ella repose el acento de quien lee. En la carta, en la que comunica su primera misa a sus parientes, escribe: "...con la su ayuda y gracia dixé la mi primera missa," se pretende que caiga el acento de la lectura en "gracia" y "missa"; "donde está el pesebre, donde el niño Jesús fue puesto," destaca "pesebre," "donde," "Jesús," "fue puesto"; "cada uno haziendo cuenta que está al cabo y punto de sus días, para dar entera y estrecha cuenta de su vida": aquí es "cuenta" la palabra que se repite y que, con diverso sentido, subraya la atención que cada uno ha de poner "al cabo...de sus días" a la cuenta, que será 'entera' y estrecha" de su vida.⁸⁸

Pienso que lo que podemos afirmar, a este respecto, es que la flexibilidad del estilo de san Ignacio es grande; porque depende de la persona a quien se dirige su escrito. No es lo mismo dirigirse a los miembros de su familia o a personas conocidas, que a personas de autoridad o especialmente cultas, si no gozan todavía de su intimidad. Es norma que debiera seguir cualquiera de nosotros; pero que en san Ignacio se advierte especialmente, porque se puede observar que su intención predominante es siempre apostólica.⁸⁹ Como consecuencia, no se podrán obtener todas las reglas de su estilo propio, si no se tiene en cuenta

agrupadas en 2 tipos (para la primera, y para la segunda semana); dos son los tipos más conocidos de examen: particular y general; dos son los tipos de ejercitantes que hacen ejercicios: los que hacen elección y los que hacen reforma de vida; en cambio, en las divisiones interiores a cada una de estas secciones del libro encontramos una gran diversidad: la primera semana tiene cinco ejercicios; la segunda muchos más, divididos en dos secciones por el tiempo y normas de la elección o reforma de vida; tres tiempos de elección; dos banderas; tres tipos de hombres; tres maneras de humildad. En la tercera semana los ejercicios son muy variados, según que se quiera alargar o acortar la duración, y aun los puntos de cada meditación son normalmente cinco; cuatro en la cuarta semana. Pero es verdad que en los ejercicios optativos, que se proponen para los misterios de la vida de Cristo, se ofrecen normalmente tres puntos para la contemplación. En la primera semana, algunas meditaciones aparecen presentadas en tres puntos, otras en cinco, y los ejercicios fundamentales son cinco.

En las *Constituciones* encontramos 10 partes, y sólo la parte III tiene dos capítulos, todas las demás tienen o cuatro capítulos (partes I, II, V y VII), diecisiete (la parte IV), cinco (la VI), siete (la VIII), seis (la IX), y la X no tiene división de capítulos; ninguna parte tiene tres.

⁸⁸ MHSI, *Epp. Ign.*, I, 145-47.

⁸⁹ Es una observación que no voy a probar aduciendo más ejemplos aquí, pues sería interminable. Es resultado de mi estudio atento y prolongado sobre los escritos del santo a quien me refiero. Pero que se puede observar, si se atiende a los que en este trabajo cito. Coincide además con alguna observación ya insinuada en algún autor de los ya citados en mi trabajo, que puso atención y sensibilidad para destacar este aspecto.

esta diversidad y flexibilidad del santo, aun dentro de algunas constantes propias de su personalidad. Esta diversidad es perceptible claramente, si se compara la carta antes citada a su familia (febrero 1539) con la escrita a Juan Pedro Carafa (1536): la familiaridad de la primera, no es como la cuidadosa atención y respeto hacia la personalidad a quien se dirigía en la segunda. Y eso, aun cuando su libertad de espíritu aparezca también en las observaciones que hace a Carafa; pero ¡con cuánta circunlocución, presupuestos y referencias a su intención del servicio divino!

Diríamos que se parece más a la primera, la dirigida a su amigo Jaime Cazador (12 de febrero 1536), a pesar de que en este caso escribía al arcediano de Barcelona, que será nombrado obispo en 1546; pero era un gran amigo y bienhechor suyo.

Organización y estructura interna de la expresión

Podemos afirmar que su estilo se aprecia más en las características propias, si se tiene en cuenta la diversidad exigida por el lector, a quien se dirige el escrito ignaciano que examinemos. Hay un cierto ritmo en su expresión, más binario que ternario; pero que se rompe, cuando es necesario para el efecto pretendido apostólicamente. Puede expresarse con períodos largos o con frases cortas; pero se vuelve incisivo, con expresiones cortadas, o repetidas, cuidadas en los adjetivos, sustantivos o verbos, cuando lo requiere el correspondiente de su escrito. El pensamiento es siempre sólido, sobrio, de una base sistemática, fruto de una experiencia interior intensa, que procura suscitar en los demás. Su estilo es culto, y usa la retórica en función del lector a quien se dirige.

Roustang⁹⁰ ha creído observar en su expresión propia una estructura genética, relacional y dialéctica. Estaríamos de acuerdo en estas características, si se entiende como “genética” no sólo por el orden vital, de antes y después de la realización práctica de las cosas, como sucede en el orden dado a las *Constituciones* (orden de la ejecución y no de la invención). Para san Ignacio no interesa sólo la ejecución, sino que interesa más aún la motivación, el fundamento íntimo y finalizado de la acción humana. Por tanto, un estilo es para san Ignacio el de la ley, otro el de la carta; uno es el orden de lo imperfecto a lo perfecto, y otro es el orden de la exposición que requiere la formación interior de las personas, que ha de ir de los principios y fundamentos a la acción que se desea, del ideal a la encarnación en la realidad con sus limitaciones. Véase p.e. el orden de los *Ejercicios espirituales*, cómo va del pensamiento a la acción, del ideal del “principio y fundamento” a la necesidad concreta de cada coloquio, o del examen.

⁹⁰ Roustang, *Saint Ignace, Constitutions*, p. 122 ss.

Pero, aun en el libro del “Examen,” la parte de las *Constituciones* más completada por san Ignacio antes de la llegada de Polanco a la secretaría, procede del Instituto (en su realidad esencial y legítima: cap. I), a los procedimientos para admitir en cada caso. Lo mismo se diga del documento “Fundación de colegio” (1541): allí se procede de la clara identificación del fin, para llegar a establecer, en consecuencia, los medios para lograrlo.⁹¹ Ni se puede afirmar que en el texto B no aparezca claramente el intento y declaración expresa de la necesidad del conocimiento mutuo entre el candidato y la Compañía, pretendido por el “Examen,” como afirma Roustang.⁹² Claramente captaron ese fin y esa necesidad, sea Borja⁹³ que Jerónimo Nadal.⁹⁴ En el n. 18 del “Examen” (texto B) se dice expresamente: “Y porque de una parte y de otra se proceda con mayor claridad y conocimiento en el Señor nuestro...” Y el capítulo IV del mismo “Examen,” el más largo de todos, está dedicado a declarar ampliamente “Algunas cosas que más conviene saber a los que entran, de lo que han de observar en la Compañía.”⁹⁵

La diferencia mayor, a mi entender, entre Polanco e Ignacio de Loyola se advierte sobre todo en el calor íntimo que respira la escritura de cada uno, en el hontanar de donde proceden, la carga afectiva, vida íntima y celo evangélico que transmite Ignacio en cada expresión. Hay en él, dentro de la serenidad profunda, una premura que se impone por llegar a lo que quiere comunicar al que leerá su carta, mira más al efecto que a conservar el ritmo, o el orden del párrafo comenzado. La de Polanco avanza con corrección y perseverancia literaria, aun cuando se trate de expresar sólo lo que desea. Su construcción se mantiene normalmente en los límites del clasicismo culto de su tiempo. Si agrada esta comparación, hay en él más Cicerón que Tácito.

Pero creo que se podrán apreciar mejor las diferencias señaladas hasta ahora, si dejamos ver en paralelo dos escritos autógrafos de ambos. Ambos proceden

⁹¹ MHSI, *Constitutiones*, I, 49-60.

⁹² Roustang, *Saint Ignace, Constitutions*, pp. 50-52.

⁹³ Cf. Francisco de Borja, “Los fundamentos evangélicos del Instituto S.I.,” consideración 21, en Manuel Ruiz Jurado, S.I., “San Francisco de Borja y el Instituto de la Compañía de Jesús,” *AHSI* 41 (1972) 193-94; MHSI, *Nadal*, V, 76.

⁹⁴ MHSI, *Nadal*, V, 76. Nadal: *1.viii.1507 Palma de Mallorca (Balears); SJ 29.xi.1545 Roma; †3.iv.1580 Rome (DHCJ, III, 2793).

⁹⁵ Se advierte que en el ms. ha sido añadido ese título entre las líneas que había escrito el copista del texto, y así quedó en el texto B.

de su madurez. El de san Ignacio, del año 1536.⁹⁶ El de Polanco, de 1547.⁹⁷ Ignacio tenía entonces 45 años, Polanco unos 40. Ambos escriben a personajes importantes, a los que han de mostrar respeto; pero ambos quieren avisarles sobre su conducta y responsabilidad para ayudarles espiritualmente. Ignacio escribe esta carta para Juan Pedro Carafa, obispo y cofundador de los Teatinos; Polanco, la suya, a Leonor de Toledo, duquesa de Florencia.

He aquí el de Polanco:

Ihs. Illma. Excma. Señora. Con aver en todos estados ocasiones de hacer mal y bien, en ninguno lo son mayores que en el de los príncipes; porque como ninguno ay más peligroso y dañoso, si mal se usa dél, así no le ay más excelente y divino, si bien es usado. En manera que diligentísimamente deben procurar los que puso Dios en tal estado, de conocer sus peligros para evitarlos, y las ayudas de bien hazer, para no dejarlas pasar; y así para mucha gloria de Dios y utilidad propia y de sus súbditos, se servirían de su grandeza y poder.

Como vemos, la introducción es clásica, perfectamente contruídos los párrafos. Los paralelismos perfectamente guardados y el orden lógico conservado sin interrupción; sin forzarlo para nada notable al servicio de un golpe más eficaz en el lector. Sus pensamientos son serios y apoyados en razonamientos de filosofía a la vez humana y sobrenatural.

Comparemos con la introducción del de san Ignacio:

+ Ihus. Considerando ser, firmar y consistir nuestra tan deseada vida y eterna bienaventuranza en un íntimo y verdadero amor de Dios, nuestro Criador y Señor, la qual a todos cuantos somos nos liga y nos obliga a un amor sincero, no ficto, mas verdadero en el mismo Señor que nos espera ha de salvar, si no queda por nuestra flaqueza, culpa y miseria crecida, pensé escribir ésta, no con aquel fausto por muchos acostumbrado (lo que no daño, si en el Señor es ordenado); que de quien del mundo sale lançando dignidades y otras honrras temporales, facilmente se puede creer no querer seer honrrado ni estimado por ningunas exteriores palabras, como aquel será mayor que en esta vida se hace menor.

La diferencia salta fácilmente a los ojos. El respeto es evidente y la consideración del lenguaje que usa; pero el orden del párrafo se pierde

⁹⁶ La escribió para hacerla llegar a Juan Pedro Carafa, obispo cofundador de los teatinos, que después será Paulo IV (1555-1559). No se sabe si finalmente la hizo llegar o no a su destinatario, MHSII, *Epp. Ign.*, I, 114-118.

⁹⁷ Escrita a comienzos de 1547; sabemos que realmente llegó a su destinataria, MHSI, *Pol. Compl.*, I, 20-29.

fácilmente, para que la atención del lector quede absorbida por el contenido elevado: el reclamo al amor de Dios, como principio y último fin que ha de ordenar nuestro amor y nuestras acciones. Todas las palabras están llenas de profundidad teológica y ascética, nacidas de una convicción profunda, despojadas de toda distracción innecesaria, y con relación a la radicalidad evangélica: el que se hace el menor será el mayor en el Reino de los Cielos (cf. Mt 11, 11; Lc 9, 48).

El lenguaje escrito ignaciano resulta algo forzado: en la lengua, con algún que otro anacoluton, empleo algo exagerado de gerundios e infinitivos, y con más expresiones binarias que ternarias, destinadas no sólo a ponderar, sino a declarar y reforzar lo que desea expresar; y en todo guiado por el deseo de llegar más profundamente al alma del interlocutor y hacer más eficaz su comunicación.

Siguiendo el análisis de ambas cartas, advertimos que ambos pasan a una especie de “*captatio benevolentiae*,” para excusar la intervención en la vida ajena que suponen estas misivas. En Polanco se muestra así:

De esto era mi intención hablar a V.E., porque aunque otras pláticas sean más apacibles, de que otros harto hablan, ningunas sé yo que le fuesen más provechosas que éstas, de que creo hablen pocos; pero en escrito se podrá hazer quasi lo mesmo que de palabra. Puede creerme V.E. que para dezir ni para escribir, no me mueve proprio interese alguno, porque no espero, ni quiero otro, sino la honrra de Dios y maior bien de V.E. y los suyos, moviéndome de una parte la conscientia propia, y de otra la necessidad que tienen los que en tal grado están de quien les diga la verdad desnuda, y el mucho deseo que tengo del mayor bien de vuestras excelencias, del qual Dios me es testigo en el sacrificio de la Missa que cada día le ofrezco, y mis pobres oraciones; y esto aun no lo digo para que me sea agrededida mi voluntad, que bástame que Dios, por cuyo servicio lo hago, lo acepte; pero porque V.E. crea más en las cosas que le cumplen, al que ama y otro fin no pretende sino el dicho.

De nuevo, la consecuencia lógica de las expresiones y los párrafos se mantiene constante, aun intercalando, o prologando a veces alguna, dando un rodeo, obligado por la excusa y respeto que desea expresar. Ni abundancia de gerundios, ni anacolutos llamativos. Las razones expresadas son comprensibles y al nivel ordinario de una expresión cristiana y respetuosa por parte de un sacerdote bueno y celoso.

Comparémosla con la de san Ignacio a Carafa:

Así, dexadas aparte todas cosas, que incitar o mover pudieran a remover de la verdadera paz interna y eterna, por amor y reverencia de Christo nuestro criador, redentor y señor pido ésta sea leyda con el mismo amor y voluntad que es escripta, la qual es tan sana y tan sinçera, que sin poner alguna

diferencia, con todas las fuerças que me da dado, sin yo lo mereçer, ruego y pido a la su infinita y summa bondad tanto bien en esta vida y en la otra me quiera dar, quanto para vuestra persona, así en el ánima y en el cuerpo, como en todo lo que resta para su sanctíssimo y debido servicio yo le deseo y se lo pido y se lo suplico.

Así con esta voluntad prompta y aparejada para servir a todos los que siento seer servidores de mi Señor, hablaré çerca tres cosas... .

En seguida se aprecia la diferencia de calor y participación afectiva y sobrenatural del santo en sus expresiones. Los valores más íntimos de su persona entran en juego: la verdadera paz, “interna y eterna,” el “amor y reverencia de Cristo,” “Criador, Redentor y Señor,” la voluntad “sana y sincera”; ruega y pide tanto bien “en esta vida y en la otra,” “en el ánima y en el cuerpo.” Y quiere para su corresponsal el bien que desea para él mismo, “desea pide y suplica,” sólo por el servicio divino, con voluntad pronta y aparejada, para servir a los servidores del Señor, al comunicar las tres cosas de que hablará. Las binas y ternas de conceptos, y adjetivos o verbos, se multiplican, aun unas dentro de otras, para procurar el efecto que pretende: comunicar su intención verdadera y pura del mayor servicio divino y de estima a su interlocutor, aunque va a avisarle de tres cosas. Se observa que el lenguaje es lógico, pero obliga a pensar para ver el sentido de todo lo que dice, el autor atrae la atención al tono de la expresión y valor sobrenatural de lo que desea comunicar más que a la corrección o perfección del párrafo. El lenguaje, por otra parte, presenta más formas antiguas que el de Polanco.⁹⁸

Los temas de que va a hablar Polanco son cuatro, los de san Ignacio tres. Ambos comienzan por anunciarlo a sus corresponsales, para seguir esa enumeración prometida. No voy a copiar aquí todos, sino sólo alguno de los temas, para atender más bien a la comparación de ambas escrituras en el desarrollo de un tema. Ambos siguen un orden: avisar primero sobre el peligro, o situación, más general, para pasar después a los particulares. La extensión de cada parte es diversa. En Polanco va disminuyendo la extensión del desarrollo: la primera y la segunda son semejantes, la tercera es más breve y la cuarta brevísima. En san Ignacio van creciendo en extensión: menos diferencia entre la primera y la segunda, pero mucho más larga la tercera. En Polanco se ve que está atendiendo más al desarrollo lógico del discurso y a la necesidad o no de alargar la explicación del tema. San Ignacio parece que atiende más a la disposición del lector para acoger los avisos que le está dando, a fin de que puedan producir más efecto.

He aquí el desarrollo de Polanco:

⁹⁸ Notemos la abundancia de c con cedilla, “dexadas,” “leyda,” “prompta,” “seer.”

Quanto a la primera, cierto es que (como la escritura nos avisa) es una continua guerra la vida del hombre sobre la tierra. Pues si corren peligro en ella los que viven fuera del bullicio del mundo, como son los relligiosos verdaderos en sus encerramientos, donde tantas ocasiones de pecado se cortan, tantas ayudas se hallan para defenderse dellos, y siendo hombre herido, para sanarse, y de otra parte tantas espuelas que los inciten y tantas ayudas para bien hazer, ¿qué creeremos del peligro que corren en esta guerra los potentes, sobre los cuales cargan todas las escuadras de nuestros enemigos, mundo, demonio, carne, con tantas ocasiones como tienen de apartarse de la virtud? ¿Cómo no peligrará la humildad (sin la qual no se puede entrar en el reino del cielo) en medio de tantas honras y acatamientos más divinos que humanos? ¿Cómo estará segura la justicia entre tantas ocasiones que combidan y dan el modo de satisfacer a su codicia; o el amor de Dios y de las cosas eternas entre tantos solazes, onras, juegos, y por abreviar, todas las cosas que inclinan nuestra affición a la tierra? Ciertó, gran fuego de caridad les es necesario para que no se les amate en medio del mar de las cosas mundanas. Pues si se dexan soiuзgar a los vicios, sus pecados son gravísimos... Ultra del peligro dicho de caer, y del gran daño de la cayda, hay otro de la penitencia, difícil, si... .

Comienza con una alusión a la Sagrada Escritura (A.T.) y sigue con una serie de razones ascéticas, y una alusión al Reino de los Cielos (N.T.) entreverada; pero las razones se comprenden casi desde un plano meramente filosófico, siempre en el ámbito de la fe cristiana.

La argumentación iganciana es así:

La primera [cosa], pienso tener asaz argumentos con razones probables y coniecturas suficientes de temer o pensar, en verdadera paz, amor y caridad hablando, que no se esparziese en alguna manera la compañía que Dios N.S. os ha dado, donde, quedando más acompañado, sería mejor en mayor servicio y alabanza del Señor; y cierto tanto no me declaro quanto entiendo en esta parte. De lo qual maravillado de donde pueda proçeder, después de diversas vezes y mucho a Dios N.S. encomendado, me pareció escribir lo que se sigue, como los menores a los maiores acostumbran hazer, si en algo en servicio de Dios N.S. los pueden avisar o servir, por ventura no tomasen alguna ocasión directa o indirecta dello.

El santo va directamente al primer aviso, referido al peligro que ve para la Congregación fundada (los teatinos), de no poderse extender mucho, insistiendo antes en la verdadera paz de su alma y caridad de donde proviene su aviso; para poner todo, a continuación, en el ámbito de la luz y gracia de la oración y del deseo que le mueve del mayor servicio de Dios N.S.. Después pasará a los avisos particulares, referidos al comportamiento más evangélico que, las vidas de los santos que nos han precedido en la historia de la Iglesia, le sugieren, con su ejemplo de humildad y celo apostólico.

De nuevo advertimos en Ignacio un lenguaje más anticuado y sinuoso que en Polanco. El discurso siempre es lógico; pero predomina su implicación personal y afectiva en la relación con el futuro lector de la carta, hasta no tener inconveniente en cortar la frase empezada, interrumpirla con otra idea que le viene, para poder perfeccionar o precisar lo que ha dicho, y así conseguir un impacto más eficaz en el lector sobre lo que desea lograr de él. Se nota el empleo de varios gerundios e infinitivos, o formas verbales, que reclaman a la acción. El lenguaje ignaciano sigue presentando formas y expresiones más antiguas que el de Polanco: las cedillas, “coniecturas,” “provables,” el uso particular de “donde,” etc.

Los desarrollos de los otros avisos no ofrecen especial novedad que hayamos de agregar a las ya notadas hasta ahora. Podemos observar en Polanco la contraposición que hace en la primera parte, entre los peligros que corren los señores que viven en el mundo y las ayudas que tienen para obrar el bien, “si se vuelven a bien hazer.” En la segunda parte, expone los ocho “universales enemigos” de los que se ha de guardar la duquesa. En la tercera, los siete remedios que ha de actuar. Y en la cuarta, hace sólo una simple enumeración de las seis ventajas que puede tener en su posición. El tono de la exposición de Polanco se mantiene.

Por su parte, san Ignacio trata de comunicar su segundo aviso cristiano a Carafa, procurando evitar que aquél pueda atribuir a escándalo personal suyo, la conveniencia de que los superiores, y, sobre todo, el co-fundador dé ejemplo de mayor humildad en su vestido y tratamiento personal, “trayendo a la memoria los sanctos bienaventurados, así como sant Francisco, sancto Domingo, y otros muchos pasados, cómo se avían con los suyos en el tiempo que instituyeron y dieron orden y exemplo a sus compañías... que muchas cosas son lícitas a honbre, que no son expedientes, como sant Pablo dize de sí mismo.” Y en el tercero, le explica con detenimiento, por qué piensa que sería mejor para la perseverancia de su Instituto, pedir lo necesario, predicar, y ejercitar más las obras de misericordia con el pueblo: “...que sant Francisco y los otros bienaventurados se cree tanto esperar y confiar en Dios N.S., mas por eso no dexaban de poner los medios más convenientes para que sus casas se conservasen y se aumentasen para mayor servicio y mayor alabanza de la su divina magestad; que de otra manera pareciera más tentar al Señor a quien servían, que proçeder por vía que a su servicio convenía.”

Lo que podemos llamar “retórica apostólica” en san Ignacio es el uso de la retórica puesto en función de la finalidad apostólica del escrito. Su aspecto místico lo advertimos en el calor experiencial de un lenguaje, basado más en un cierto modo pasivo del ejercicio especial de las virtudes y don de la sabiduría evangélica, que en la estructura lógica de sus razonamientos. Pretende llegar al fondo de la vida interior más hondamente religiosa y afectiva de la persona, no

quedarse sólo en la convicción del entendimiento de quien lea su escrito.

Lo que llamo más filosófico y ascético en Polanco, es el predominio de la lógica intelectual, del raciocinio, y el acento en la atención al esfuerzo y ejercicio del hombre (según la etimología del término “ascesis”), por llegar al dominio y convicción personal, más que en el posible influjo recibido pasivamente, directamente, de las virtudes y dones sobrenaturales, del fondo afectivo religioso de la persona tocada por la gracia.

Conclusiones

Hemos confirmado, con el examen de los escritos autógrafos, muchas de las características antes observadas por quienes nos han precedido en el estudio de la escritura ignaciana. Pero afirmamos ahora como las señales más características las siguientes:

1. Uso de latinismos y citas latinas, de parte de san Ignacio, a veces más abundante que en Polanco.

2. Son, en cambio, más fáciles en Polanco que en san Ignacio los italianismos.

3. En Polanco encontramos con facilidad el uso de “ultra de”; mientras en san Ignacio: “con esto.”

4. La ausencia de artículo, cuando se requiere, es uso más ignaciano que de Polanco.

5. Lo que más distingue a san Ignacio es el uso del artículo seguido de adjetivo posesivo: “la su ...,” “la nuestra...,” etc.

6. Es también ignaciano: Duplicar o triplicar el adjetivo, el sustantivo o el verbo, y eso, aun cuando la diferencia de significado entre las formas empleadas no sea muy grande, pero con la finalidad de precisar, corregir, o producir el efecto que desea en el lector. Menos frecuente es el triplicar que el duplicar, y menos frecuente todavía el multiplicar más veces aún los morfemas con esa intención.

7. El uso frecuente de gerundios e infinitivos, cuando se podría esperar una forma más personal de esos verbos, no llama la atención especialmente en Polanco; pero sí la llama en muchos de los escritos ignacianos.

8. También llama la atención en la escritura ignaciana: el uso del verbo sin algún complemento directo, o pronombre, que lo sustituya.

9. El uso del auxiliar “ser” en vez de “haber” en algunas ocasiones.

10. La facilidad con que emplea el futuro imperfecto de subjuntivo en “are” o “ere.”

11. La frecuencia de la “prolepsis” con el fin de llamar la atención sobre el elemento que se ha anticipado.

12. Es usual además en la escritura ignaciana colocar el verbo de acción, o la palabra sobre la que se quiere llamar la atención, en la cima de la prótasis, o en el lugar estratégico donde va a caer el acento en la lectura de la frase, para ayudar al efecto espiritual que pretende el santo con su escrito.

13. En el escrito ignaciano, en la expresión y en el contenido, se implica la afectividad, la vida interior de virtudes teologales mucho más explícitamente que en la escritura de Polanco.

14. Ello influye grandemente en la flexibilidad y variedad que se advierte en la composición de sus frases y de sus escritos en conjunto. Ignacio fuerza la expresión y la hace a veces complicada con tal de ayudar al efecto espiritual que pretende lograr en el lector. Su estructura no es constante.

15. El pensamiento que se encuentra en los escritos ignacianos es muy sólido, sobrio, de base sistemática, patentiza el fruto de una intensa vida interior evangélica. El estilo es culto y usa la retórica en función de su finalidad espiritual.

16. El pensamiento de Polanco es también muy sólido, sistemático, más ascético que místico. Su argumentación es teológica, pero no se expresa con el mismo calor íntimo, ni con tanta implicación afectiva personal y espiritual, como san Ignacio. La construcción de sus párrafos es más clásica, ordinariamente constante en su lógica y más actualizada en las formas lexicales y ortográficas que la de san Ignacio.

Soy consciente que con estas observaciones no voy a resolver definitivamente y en su totalidad la dificultad de saber en algunos escritos (sobre todo en las cartas “ex commissione” y en las *Constituciones*) qué parte corresponde a san Ignacio y qué otra a Polanco. Pero creo que he contribuido a dar más facilidades para encontrar las huellas de las diversas procedencias, y el grado mayor o menor de los influjos de ambos.

En cualquier carta importante, y en las *Constituciones*, nos encontraremos generalmente con el resultado de una simbiosis (más en la expresión que en el contenido del pensamiento) entre el santo fundador y su secretario. Pero espero que ahora tendremos más claves para sopesar el influjo mayor o menor que el santo ha tenido en aquel escrito, o parte, a la que nos refiramos. El Padre Ignacio no era autor sólo de la minuta entregada al secretario, sino que ha cuidado generalmente también de la expresión, si el asunto es importante, como hemos podido constatar en las correcciones autógrafas de algunos escritos que nos han llegado.

Summary

The author, building on the research of earlier scholars, re-addresses the question of how to distinguish letters actually written by Ignatius Loyola from those written by his secretary Juan de Polanco. Previous studies concentrated totally on Ignatius's autograph writings, excluding from consideration any work possibly not written by him. Instead in this study, the author assesses the characteristics of Polanco's style. The article is lexical and analytic as the author looks at the different components of syntactic morphology, characteristic preferences, binary or ternary rhythm, and the organization and internal structure of expressions. It concludes with criteria whereby scholars may more clearly recognise Ignatius's involvement in the composition of some letters written by Polanco *ex commissione* of Ignatius. The hand that wrote these letters may not be Ignatius's but the mentality behind them is.

MONUMENTA HISTORICA SOCIETATIS IESU

NOVA SERIES

Vol. I

A mis manos han llegado. Cartas de los PP. Generales a la Antigua Provincia del Paraguay (1608-1639)

Martín M. Morales, S.J.

A través de la edición crítica de 855 cartas de los superiores generales de la Compañía de Jesús, Claudio Acquaviva y Muzio Vitelleschi, pueden seguirse los acontecimientos de la antigua provincia del Paraguay entre los años 1608 y 1639. Son los hilos de una trama en la que se advierte un esfuerzo misionero que aún hoy sigue despertando asombro e interrogantes. La vida cotidiana, el heroísmo, las contradicciones, llegan a manos del lector y lo convierten en el último destinatario de esta correspondencia. Esta documentación obra original en el Archivo Romano de la Compañía de Jesús de Roma (ARSI) en el fondo Paraquaria. El volumen se abre con una introducción en la que se explica el plan de la obra y se da al lector una serie de elementos para poner en el debido contexto la documentación. Las cartas están acompañadas de un doble aparato crítico, paleográfico e histórico. El volumen se cierra con dos índices uno temático y otro onomástico.

Copublicado con Universidad Pontificia Comillas, Madrid

Rome/Madrid, 2005

€ 50,00 (€ 40,00 a los subscriptores)

BIBLIOGRAPHY ON THE HISTORY OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS (2008)

Paul Begheyn, S.J.

I am grateful to the following persons who have helped me in putting together this bibliography: Nicoletta Basilotta (Roma), Géza Bikfalvi SJ (Budapest), Bernard Deprez (Louvain), Juan Francisco Domínguez Domínguez (León), Ad Dudink (Leuven), Jean-Pascal Gay (Strasbourg), Robert Godding SJ (Brussels), Luis González-Quevedo SJ (Brazil), Bernd Hagenkord SJ (Hamburg), Miroslav Herold SJ (Rome), Geoffrey Holt SJ (London), Charles Libois SJ (Cairo), Matteo Nicolini-Zani (Magnano), Fergus O'Donoghue SJ (Dublin), Nicolas Standaert SJ (Louvain), Gábor Tüskés (Budapest), Gabriel Maria Verd SJ (Granada) and Guus Ziggelaar SJ (Copenhagen).

In the bibliography of 2007 two persons were erroneously included who were not Jesuits: Balmes (nr. 769) and Perez Embid (nr. 1146).

In *AHSI* 77 (2008) 213-19, titles omitted from the latest edition of the Bibliography for 2007, were provided.

For a more detailed bibliography on spirituality, please turn to the annual bibliography in the Spanish Jesuit journal *Manresa*.

You are invited to send new titles, corrections and suggestions to:

Paul Begheyn, S.J.
Netherlands Institute of Jesuit Studies
Singel 448
1017 AV Amsterdam
The Netherlands
pbegheyn@xs4all.nl

GENERAL INDEX

I. THE ENTIRE SOCIETY

- | | | |
|----|-----------------------------|---------|
| A. | General History | |
| | 1. Auxiliary sciences | 1-6 |
| | 2. Historical works | 7-35 |
| B. | Special History | |
| | 1. Saint Ignatius of Loyola | 36-72 |
| | 2. Institute | 73-88 |
| | 3. Spiritual Exercises | 89-103 |
| | 4. Spirituality | 104-129 |
| | 5. Pastoral Activities | 130-144 |
| | 6. Cultural Activities | 145-213 |
| | 7. Polemical Writings | 214-224 |

II. COUNTRIES

- | | | |
|----|---------|---------|
| A. | Africa | 225-236 |
| B. | America | 237-393 |
| C. | Asia | 394-453 |
| D. | Europe | 454-723 |

III. PERSONS

- | | |
|-------------------------------|------------|
| Persons in alphabetical order | 724-1491 |
| Complementary list of persons | pp. 447-48 |
| Index of authors | pp. 448-67 |

I. THE ENTIRE SOCIETY

A. GENERAL HISTORY

1. Auxiliary Sciences

1. J. Fejér & J. De Cock, *Defuncti tertii saeculi Societatis Iesu 1740-1773 (1774-1815)*, 2 v., Roma, Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, 2001, [no page numbers].

2. A. Dudink, 'The Japonica-Sinica collections I-IV in the Roman archives of the Society of Jesus', *Sino-Western Cultural Relations Journal* 24 (2002), 38-50.
3. N. Standaert & A. Dudink (eds.), *Chinese Christian texts from the Roman archives of the Society of Jesus*, Taipei, Ricci Institute, 2002, 12 vols.
4. E. Lamalle, 'L'Archivio Romano della Compagnia di Gesù', in M. Mozzati a.o. (eds.), *Archivi di Roma*, Roma, Herder, 2004, 239-244.
5. P. Begheyn, 'Bibliography on the history of the Society of Jesus', *AHSI* 76 (2007), 361-484.
6. 'Bibliografia Ignaciana 2006', *Manresa* 79 (2007), 273-313.

2. Historical Works

7. B. Plongeron, 'Die Unterdrückung der Jesuiten', in his *Die Geschichte des Christentums. 10. Aufklärung, Revolution, Restauration (1750-1830)*, Freiburg i.Br. [etc.], Herder, 2000, 165-173.
8. J.J. Lozano-Navarro, 'La Compañía de Jesús y el poder en la época de Carlos V', in F. Sánchez-Montes Gonzáles & J. L. Castellano Castellano (eds.), *Carlos V, europeísmo y universalidad*, Vol. 5, Madrid, Sociedad Estatal par la Conmemoración de los Centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V, 2001, 417-428.
9. J.C. Olin, *Erasmus, utopia and the Jesuits: essays on the outreach of humanism*, New York, Fordham University Press, 2002, 105 p.
10. F. Rurale, 'Una identità forte? A proposito di tre studi recenti sulla Compagnia di Gesù', in F. Motta (ed.), *Anatomia di un corpo religioso: l'identità dei gesuiti in età moderna*, Bologna, Dehoniane, 2002, 357-367.
11. B. Thelliez, 'Des coupables tout désignés: les Jésuites', in her *L'homme qui poignarda Louis XV: Robert-François Damien (1715-1757)*, Paris, Tallandier, 2002, 105-110.
12. J. Andrés-Gallego, 'Por qué los jesuitas. La expulsión de los jesuitas', in his *El motín de Esquilache, América y Europa*, Madrid, Fundación Mapfre Tavera, 2003, 491-528, 569-594.
13. P. Millefiorini, 'Una "nuova" storia dei gesuiti', *La Civiltà cattolica* (2003/3), 145-154.
14. P. Foresta, 'I primi gesuiti e la corte. Alcune considerazioni a proposito di un luogo comune storiografico', *Schifanoia* 26/27 (2004), 169-177.
15. G. Petracchi, 'I Gesuiti e il comunismo tra le due guerre', in V. Ferrone (ed.), *La Chiesa cattolica e il totalitarismo*, Firenze, Leo S. Olschki, 2004, 123-152.
16. A. Ravier, *Dieci compagni*, Roma, Apostolato della Preghiera, 2004, 101 p.

17. H. Didier, 'Acheter, vendre et produire, dans la Compagnie de Jésus, aux 16^e-18^e siècles', in J. Pirotte (ed.), *Les conditions matérielles de la mission. Contraintes, dépassements et imaginaires XVIIe-XXe siècles*, Paris, Karthala, 2005, 305-317.
18. D. van den Akker, 'Naam en faam', in M. Lindeijer (red.), *De weg van de pelgrim. Jezüieten en hun spiritualiteit*, Kampen, Ten Have, 2006, 135-154.
19. J. Bots, 'Geschiedenis van de jezuïeten 1540-1965', in M. Lindeijer (red.), *De weg van de pelgrim. Jezüieten en hun spiritualiteit*, Kampen, Ten Have, 2006, 34-51.
20. M.C. Durkin, "Ours". *Jesuit portraits*, Strasbourg, Éditions du Signe, 2006, 120 p.
21. E. Echániz, *Paixão e glória. História da Companhia de Jesus em corpo e alma*, São Paulo, Edições Loyola, 2006, 215 p.
22. J. García de Castro, 'Los primeros de París: amistad, carisma y pauta', *Manresa* 78 (2006), 253-275.
23. H. Imberechts, 'Geschiedenis van de jezuïeten vanaf 1965', in M. Lindeijer (red.), *De weg van de pelgrim. Jezüieten en hun spiritualiteit*, Kampen, Ten Have, 2006, 52-60.
24. M. Lindeijer (red.), *De weg van de pelgrim. Jezüieten en hun spiritualiteit*, Kampen, Ten Have, 2006, 224 p.
25. C.M. Martini, 'El servicio de la Compañía de Jesús a la Iglesia actual', *Razón y Fe* 254 (2006), 179-184.
26. J. O'Malley, 'The Society of Jesus', in R. Po-chia Hsia (ed.), *A companion to the Reformation World*, Malden MA / Melbourne, Blackwell Publishing, 2006, 223-236.
27. J.L. Orella Unzué, 'Liderazgo jesuítico en el nacimiento y ocaso de la Contrarreforma', *Anuario del Instituto Ignacio de Loyola* 13 (2006), 27-56.
28. J. Plazaola (ed.), *Jesuitas exploradores, pioneros y geógrafos*, San Sebastián, Instituto Ignacio de Loyola / Bilbao, Ediciones Mensajero, 2006, 243 p.
29. M. Rastoin, 'Les chrétiens d'origine juive dans la Compagnie naissante', *Christus* 53 (2006), 357-362.
30. M. Revuelta González, *Once calas en la historia de la Compañía de Jesús. "Servir a todos en el Señor"*, Madrid, Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 2006, 335 p.
31. J. Burrieza Sánchez, 'Los días de la Compañía de Jesús. Un retrato histórico de sus orígenes', *Estudios Eclesiásticos* 82 (2007), 201-234.
32. H. Didier, 'Entre l'Europe et les missions lointaines, les jésuites premiers

- mondialisateurs', in A. Molinié a.o., *Les jésuites en Espagne et en Amérique: jeux et enjeux du pouvoir (XVIe-XVIIIe siècles)*, Paris, Université Sorbonne, 2007, 355-367.
33. R. Haub, *Die Geschichte der Jesuiten*, Darmstadt, Primus Verlag, 2007, 144 p.
34. P.H. Kolvenbach, 'As origenes universais da Companhia de Jesus', in M.C. Luchetti Bingemer a.o. (eds.), *A globalização e os Jesuítas: origens, história e impactos*, I, São Paulo, 2007, 23-34.
35. P. Nelles, 'Du savant au missionnaire: La doctrine, les mœurs et l'écriture de l'histoire chez les Jésuites', *XVIIe siècle* 59 (2007), 669-689.

B. SPECIAL HISTORY

1. Saint Ignatius of Loyola

See also 787, 1473.

36. J. García de Castro, 'Semántica y mística: el Diario espiritual de Ignacio de Loyola', *Miscelánea Comillas* 59 (2001), 211-254.
37. L.A. Bonacci, *The Marian presence in the life and works of Saint Ignatius Loyola: from private revelation to spiritual exercises the cloth of Loyola's allegiance*, Dayton, University of Dayton, 2002, 419 p.
38. P. Emonet, 'Ignace sur le divan. Portrait psychanalytique d'une saint', *Choisir* (octobre 2002), 9-12.
39. J.E. González Magaña, *Ignacio López de Loyola, ¿Una historia de fracasos?*, Puebla, Pue., México, Universidad Iberoamericana, 2002, 690 p.
40. N. Saldanha, 'Árcades e jesuítas. Agostino Masucci e a *Vida de Santo Inácio* contributo para o estudo da génese do mecenato Joanino', *Cultura* 15 (2002), 103-130.
41. H. Rodríguez, 'Aportes de San Ignacio para una espiritualidad del conflicto', *Manresa* 75 (2003), 295-304.
42. D. Salin, 'D'Ignace de Loyola à Charles de Foucauld', *Christus* (2003), 472-483.
43. O. Steggink, 'Ignacio López de Loyola, de pelgrim van Montserrat uit het Baskenland, en de Moderne Devotie', *Ons Geestelijke Erf* 78 (2004), 184-193.
44. P. Knauer (ed.), *Ignatius von Loyola, Bericht des Pilgers*, Würzburg, Echter, ²2005, 220 p.
45. I. Cacho Nazabal, *Ignacio de Loyola el heterodoxo*, San Sebastian, Universidad de Deusto, 2006, 420 p.
46. S. Cariou-Charton, *Vrienden in de Heer met Ignatius van Loyola, Franciscus*

- Xaverius en Petrus Faber*, Namur, Fidélité / Antwerpen, Halewijn, 2006, 160 p.
47. E.N. Degrez, 'Ignace, Xavier et Pierre Favre: amis dans le Seigneur', *Vies Consacrées* 78 (2006), 89-100.
 48. P. Emonet, 'Amis dans le Seigneur. La correspondance entre Ignace, Pierre Favre et François Xavier', *Christus* 53 (2006), 100-109.
 49. P. Endean, 'Ignace, les premiers jésuites et les Turcs', *Christus* 53 (2006), 363-368.
 50. R. Ettel, 'Jesuitische Anfänge. Herausforderungen im dritten Jahrtausend. Drei Heilige am Anfang - und 500 Jahre später', in W. Drobesh & P.G. Tropper (eds.), *Die Jesuiten in Innerösterreich. Die kulturelle und geistige Prägung einer Region im 17. und 18. Jh.*, Wien [etc.], Verlag Hermağoras / Mohorjeva založba, 2006, 269-281.
 51. J.A. García, 'Ignacio de Loyola: La revolución del individuo', *Razón y Fe* 253 (2006), 281-295.
 52. R. García Mateo, 'El panenteísmo de Ignacio de Loyola: Omnipresencia e inhabitación', *Gregorianum* 87 (2006), 671-697.
 53. J.E. González Magaña, *Del triunfo del mundo a la alegría del servicio: itinerario de Ignacio de Loyola, Pedro Fabro y Francisco Javier hacia la santidad*, México, Obra nacional de la buena prensa, 2006, 284 p.
 54. I. Hesz, *Spiritualità sacerdotale di Ignazio di Loyola nella grazia della vocazione della Compagnia di Gesù*, Roma, PUG, 2006, 112 p.
 55. S. Kiechle, *Ignacio de Loyola: mística y acción*, Barcelona, Herder, 2006, 198 p.
 56. P. Lécivain, *Paris au temps d'Ignace de Loyola (1528-1535)*, Paris, Éditions Facultés jésuites, 2006, 181 p.
 57. J.M. Marín Sevilla, *Ignacio de Loyola: la enfermedad en su vida y en su espiritualidad*, Salamanca, Universidad Pontificia, 2006, 268 p.
 58. M. Palmer a.o. (eds.), *Ignatius of Loyola. Letters and instructions*, Saint Louis, Institute of Jesuit Sources, 2006, 732 p.
 59. M. Revuelta González, 'La vida de Ignacio, fundamento de la historia de la Compañía', in his *Once calas en la historia de la Compañía de Jesús. Servir a todos en el Señor*, Madrid, Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 2006, 26-39.
 60. H.P. Rodríguez O. a.o., 'Ignacio, Javier y Fabro: camino, misión, espíritu', *Theologica Xaveriana* 56 (2006), 577-664.

61. K. Vechtel, 'Das Priesterbild bei Ignatius von Loyola', in T. Gertler a.o. (eds.), *Zur grösseren Ehre Gottes: Ignatius von Loyola neu entdeckt für die Theologie der Gegenwart*, Freiburg, Herder, 2006, 199-217.
62. G. Wilkens, 'De jezuieten en Ignatius van Loyola', in M. Lindeijer (red.), *De weg van de pelgrim. Jezuieten en hun spiritualiteit*, Kampen, Ten Have, 2006, 16-33.
63. H. Zollner, 'Biografia e teologia. Il "Racconto del pellegrino" come fonte di ispirazione per una teologia della biografia', *La Civiltà Cattolica* 157 (2006), 447-460.
64. F. Courel, 'Saint Ignace et la plus grande gloire de Dieu', *Christus* 214 (2007), 248-267.
65. C. Dominguez Morano, 'Inácio de Loyola à luz da psicanálise', in M.C. Luchetti Bingemer a.o. (eds.), *A globalização e os Jesuítas: origens, história e impactos*, I, São Paulo, 2007, 85-126.
66. P.A. Fabre (ed.), *Ignace de Loyola, Journal des motions intérieures, suivi du "Papier des elections" et du "Feuillet de Madrid"*, Bruxelles, Lessius, 2007, 286 p.
67. R. García Mateo, 'Loyola y el lutheranismo. ¿Contrareformista o reformista?', *Estudios Eclesiásticos* 82 (2007), 309-338.
68. P. Gervais, 'Pénitence et liberté chrétienne. Luther et Ignace de Loyola', *Nouvelle Revue Théologique* 129 (2007), 545-568.
69. A. Molinié, 'Ignace de Loyola et Charles Quint', in A. Molinié a.o. (eds.), *Les Jésuites en Espagne et en Amérique. Jeux et enjeux du pouvoir (XVI^e-XVIII^e siècles)*, Paris PUPS, 2007, 21-44.
70. H. Rahner (ed.), *St. Ignatius Loyola: Letters to women*, New York, Crossroad Publishing, 2007, 608 p.
71. I. Tellechea Idígoras, *Inácio de Loyola : a aventura de um cristão*, Braga, Editorial A.O., 2007, 112 p.
72. E. Yunes, 'Barthes, leitor de Loyola', in M.C. Luchetti Bingemer a.o. (eds.), *A globalização e os Jesuítas: origens, história e impactos*, II, São Paulo, 2007, 91-99.

2. Institute

73. S. Pavone, 'Anatomia di un corpo religioso. Identità della Compagnia di Gesù e identità della Chiesa', in F. Motta (ed.), *Anatomia di un corpo religioso: l'identità dei gesuiti in età moderna*, Bologna, Dehoniane, 2002, 347-355.
74. C. Lowney, *Leader per vocazione. I principi della "leadership" secondo i gesuiti*, Milano, Il Sole, 2005, 307 p.

75. F. Motta, 'Il serpente e il fiore del frassino. L'identità della Compagnia del Gesù come processo di autolegittimazione', in M. Firpo (ed.), *Nunc alia tempora, alii mores. Storici e storia in età posttridentina*, Firenze, Leo S. Olschki Editore, 2005, 189-210.
76. P. van Breemen, 'Vorming, religieus leven en zending', in M. Lindeijer (red.), *De weg van de pelgrim. Jezuieten en hun spiritualiteit*, Kampen, Ten Have, 2006, 119-134.
77. J.Y. Calvez, 'Die Gesellschaft Jesu und die Päpste', *Stimmen der Zeit* 224 (2006), 8-19.
78. H. van Leeuwen, 'Bezieling en structuur', in M. Lindeijer (red.), *De weg van de pelgrim. Jezuieten en hun spiritualiteit*, Kampen, Ten Have, 2006, 100-118.
79. F. Meures, 'Unterscheidung der Geister in den Satzungen der Gesellschaft Jesu', *Geist und Leben* 79 (2006), 260-275.
80. L. Oviedo Torró, 'Un análisis socio-religioso de la Compañía de Jesús', *Razón y Fe* 254 (2006), 49-64.
81. J.W. Padberg, 'Las Congregaciones Generales de la Antigua Compañía y su entorno', *Revista de espiritualidad ignaciana* 37 (2006), 22-37.
82. G. Pattery, 'Hacer las cosas de forma diferente: Asia Meridional y la GC 35', *Revista de espiritualidad ignaciana* 37 (2006), 74-86.
83. S. dos Santos Gomes, 'Jesuíta presbítero: anomalia ou profecia? Em busca dos elementos teológicos do ministério ordenado na Companhia de Jesus', *Perspectiva Teológica* 38 (2006), 251-276.
84. D. van der Veldt, 'Dagelijks leven', in M. Lindeijer (red.), *De weg van de pelgrim. Jezuieten en hun spiritualiteit*, Kampen, Ten Have, 2006, 155-171.
85. D. Bertrand, 'La gestion religieuse de l'imprévisible humain dans la Compagnie de Jésus', in A. Molinié a.o., *Les jésuites en Espagne et en Amérique: jeux et enjeux du pouvoir (XVIe-XVIIIe siècles)*, Paris, Université Sorbonne, 2007, 571-581.
86. P. Bisson, 'The postconciliar Jesuit congregations. Social commitment constructing a new world of religious meaning', *Loneragan Workshop* 19 (2007), 1-35.
87. C. Lowney, 'Quem são nossos líderes? Características da liderança em uma organização: o caso da Companhia de Jesus', in M.C. Luchetti Bingemer a.o. (eds.), *A globalização e os Jesuítas: origens, história e impactos*, I, São Paulo, 2007, 147-173.
88. G. Pizzorusso, 'La Compagnia di Gesù, gli ordini regolari e il processo di affermazione della giurisdizione pontificia sulle missioni tra fine XVI e inizio

XVII secolo. Tracce di una ricerca', in P. Broggio a.o. (eds.), *I gesuiti ai tempi di Claudio Acquaviva. Strategie politiche, religiose e culturali tra Cinque e Seicento*, Brescia, Morcelliana, 2007, 55-85.

3. Spiritual Exercises

See also 773, 1084, 1143, 1214.

89. P. Knauer (ed.), *Ignatius von Loyola, Geistliche Übungen – Nach dem spanischen Autograph übersetzt*, Würzburg, Echter, ²2000, ³2003, ⁴2006, 156 p.
90. J.E. González Magaña, *Los Ejercicios: una oferta de Ignacio de Loyola para jóvenes*, Puebla, Pue., México, Universidad Iberoamericana, 2002, 780 p
91. D.L. Fleming, *Like the lightning. The dynamics of the Ignatian Exercises*, Saint Louis, The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 2004, 191 p.
92. H. Geißler, *Glaube und Gerechtigkeit. Ignatianische Impulse*, Würzburg, Echter, 2004, 64 p.
93. H. Rahner, *Come sono nati gli esercizi. Il cammino spirituale di sant'Ignazio di Loyola*, Roma, Edizioni ADP, 2004, 147 p.
94. S. Decloux, 'Les Exercices spirituels de saint Ignace de Loyola. Un don de Dieu pour les églises d'Afrique', *Telega* 31 (2005), 62-73.
95. J.I. González Faus, 'Las reglas para sentir "con" la Iglesia', *Revista Latinoamericana de teología* 23 (2006), 313-324.
96. T. Mardones A. a.o., 'Los Ejercicios Espirituales de San Ignacio y el proceso de individuación junguiano', *Miscelánea Comillas* 64 (2006), 569-595.
97. K. Rahner, *Ignatianischer Geist: Schriften zu den Exerzitien und zur Spiritualität des Ordensgründers*, ed. A.R. Batlogg a.o., Freiburg, Herder, 2006, 682 p.
98. A. Samy, 'Ignatianische Exerzitien und Zen-Meditation. Geistliche Ansprachen vor indischen Ordensleuten', *Geist und Leben* 79 (2006), 360-374.
99. A. Spadaro, 'Scrittura creativa ed "Esercizi spirituali"', *La Civiltà Cattolica* 157 (2006), 20-33.
100. J.L. Wakefield, *Sacred listening. Discovering the Spiritual Exercises of Ignatius Loyola*, Grand Rapids MI, Baker Books, 2006, 208 p.
101. M.L. Alvim, 'A mistagogia dos Exercícios Espirituais', in M.C. Luchetti Bingemer a.o. (eds.), *A globalização e os Jesuítas: origens, história e impactos*, II, São Paulo, 2007, 11-22.
102. A.P. Dominic, 'The finesse at the finish of the exercises', *Review for Religious* 66 (2007), 138-153.

103. J. Vieira Leite, 'O sentido do trabalho à luz dos Exercícios Espirituais de Santo Inácio de Loyola', in M.C. Luchetti Bingemer a.o. (eds.), *A globalização e os Jesuítas: origens, história e impactos*, II, São Paulo, 2007, 23-59.

4. Spirituality

104. M.W. Maher, *Devotion, the Society of Jesus, and the idea of St. Joseph*, Philadelphia, St. Joseph's University Press, 2000, 23 p.
105. A. Milhou, 'Hacer un mundo de nuevo. Mesianismo hispano, mesianismo jesuita', in F. Sánchez-Montes Gonzáles & J. L. Castellano Castellano (eds.), *Carlos V europeísmo y universalidad, Vol. 5, Madrid*, Sociedad Estatal par la Conmemoración de los Centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V, 2001, 461-474.
106. R. Deconinck, 'Chercher et trouver Dieu en toutes choses: méditation et contemplation florale jésuite', in P. Choné & B. Gaulard (eds.), *Flore au Paradis. Emblématique et vie religieuse aux xvi^e et xvii^e siècles*, Glasgow Emblem Studies, 9 (2004), 97-110.
107. F.J. Martínez Naranjo, 'Ad Iesum per Mariam. Devoción Mariana y espiritualidad en las Congregaciones Jesuíticas (ss. XVI-XVIII)', *Via Spiritus* 11 (2004), 199-220.
108. J. Martínez de la Escalera, 'Mujeres jesuíticas y mujeres jesuitas', in J.A. de Freitas Carvalho (ed.), *A Companhia de Jesus na Península Ibérica nos sécs. XVI e XVII. Espiritualidade e cultura*, Porto, Centro Inter-Universitário da História da Espiritualidade da Universidade do Porto, 2005, 369-383.
109. F.J. Martínez Naranjo, 'La búsqueda de la perfección cristiana en las congregaciones Jesuíticas (ss. XVI-XVII)', in J.A. de Freitas Carvalho (ed.), *A Companhia de Jesus na Península Ibérica nos sécs. XVI e XVII. Espiritualidade e cultura*, Porto, Centro Inter-Universitário da História da Espiritualidade da Universidade do Porto, 2005, 171-187.
110. A. Pego Puigbó, 'El ignacianismo de San José Maria Escrivá', *La Ciudad de Dios* 218 (2005), 713-734.
111. D. Bertrand, 'Peut-on parler d'une école de spiritualité à propos de la Compagnie de Jésus?', in Y. Krumenacker & L. Thirouin (eds.), *Les écoles de pensée religieuse à l'époque modern*, Lyon, Université Jean Moulin, 2006, 11-24.
112. A. Darmanin, 'Spiritualità ignaziana e "leadership" organizzativa', *La Civiltà Cattolica* 157 (2006), 123-135.
113. R. Dekoninck, 'Les Jésuites, iconophiles? L'image dans la méditation jésuite', *L'Erasmo. Trimestriale della civiltà Europea* 31 (2006), 28-36.
114. R. Dekoninck, 'L'image au cœur des trois puissances de l'âme dans la spiritualité jésuite du XVII^e siècle', in C. Belin (ed.), *La méditation au XVII^e*

- siècle. Rhétorique, art, spiritualité*, Paris, Champion, 2006, 67-87.
115. B. Heyberger & C. Verdeil, 'Spirituality and scholarship. The Holy Land in Jesuit eyes (seventeenth to nineteenth centuries)', in H. Murre-van den Berg (ed.), *New faith in ancient lands. Western missions in the Middle East in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries*, Leiden, Brill, 2006, 19-41.
 116. T. Johnson, 'Guardian angels and the Society of Jesus', in P. Marshal & A. Walsham (eds.), *Angels in the early modern world*, Cambridge, Cambridge UP, 2006, 191-213.
 117. S. Kiechle, 'Was ist "ignatianisch"?', *Geist und Leben* 79 (2006), 241-248.
 118. S. Kiechle, 'Offenheit, Bildung, Dialog. Ignatianischer Geist im kirchlichen Leben heute', *Herder-Korrespondenz* 60 (2006), 145-149.
 119. J. Kittel, 'Ignatianische Experimente: Grundgestalt ignatianischer Spiritualität in der Kinder- und Jugendarbeit', *Geist und Leben* 79 (2006), 279-291.
 120. C.M. Martini, 'Il servizio dei gesuiti nella Chiesa oggi', *La Civiltà Cattolica*, 157 (2006), 105-110.
 121. P. Mat'a, 'Zwischen Heiligkeit und Betrügerei. Arme-Seelen-Retter, Exorzisten, Visionäre und Propheten im Jesuiten- und Karmelitenorden', in A. Ohlidal & S. Samerski (eds.), *Jesuitische Frömmigkeitskulturen: konfessionelle Interaktion in Ostmitteleuropa 1570-1700*, Stuttgart, Steiner, 2006, 177-206.
 122. A. Schönfeld, 'Paradox der geistlichen Fruchtbarkeit. Ignatianisches Jahr 2006', *Geist und Leben* 79 (2006), 1-10.
 123. J. Veale, *Manifold gifts. Ignatian essays on spirituality*, Oxford, Way Books, 2006, 244 p.
 124. R. Zas Friz, 'Il carisma ignaziano del ministero ordinato', *Rassegna di teologia* 47 (2006), 389-423.
 125. D. Bertrand, 'O humanism desenganado e o nascimento da espiritualidade inaciana', in M.C. Luchetti Bingemer a.o. (eds.), *A globalização e os Jesuítas: origens, história e impactos*, I, São Paulo, 2007, 61-84.
 126. R. Dekoninck, 'Ars symbolica et ars meditandi. La pensée symbolique dans la spiritualité jésuite', *Littérature* 145 (2007), 124-137.
 127. R. Faesen, 'The great silence of Saint Joseph. Devotion to Saint Joseph and the 17th century crisis of mysticism in the Jesuit Order', in H. Laugerud & L.K. Skinnebach (eds.), *Instruments of devotion. The practices and objects of religious piety from the late Middle Ages to the 20th century*, Aarhus, Aarhus University Press, 2007, 73-92.

128. D.L. Fleming, "‘Here I am’. Ignatian ways of serving’, *Review for Religious* 66 (2007), 155-167.
129. L. Joos, "[‘magis’] - Das ignatianische Programm zum Weltjugendtag. Perspektiven experimenteller Spiritualität', *Geist und Leben* 79 (2007), 68-72.

5. Pastoral Activities

130. B. Majorana, "‘Schola affectus’. Persona e personaggio nell’oratoria dei missionari popolari gesuiti', in A. Pontremoli (ed.), *Il volto e gli affetti. Fisiognomica ed espressione nelle arti del Rinascimento*, Firenze, Olschki, 2003, 183-251.
131. M. Amaladoss, [*Mission today : reflections from an ignatian perspective*, text in Japanese], Nagoya, Shinseisha, 2004, 215 p.
132. J. López Gay, 'La inculturación en la historia misionera de la Compañía de Jesús', *Anuario del Instituto Ignacio de Loyola* (2005), 53-68.
133. L. Magriña, 'Aprendiendo de los refugiados. El trabajo del Servicio Jesuita a Refugiados', *Sal Terrae* 93 (2005), 357-367.
134. M. Ruiz Jurado, 'Espíritu misional de la Compañía de Jesús', in J.J. Hernández Palomo & R. Moreno Jeria (eds.), *La misión y los jesuitas en la América Española, 1566-1767: Cambios y permanencias*, Sevilla, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2005, 17-42.
135. H. Zollner, "‘Das Amt zu trösten’ (EB 224). Über eine Weise intensiver Seelsorge in der ignatianischen Tradition', in P. Scheuchenpflug (ed.), *Tröstende Seelsorge. Chancen und Herausforderungen für christliches Handeln in der pluralen Welt*, Würzburg, Echter, 2005, 235-244.
136. W. Biemans, "Toekomstperspectief", in M. Lindeijer (red.), *De weg van de pelgrim. Jezuiten en hun spiritualiteit*, Kampen, Ten Have, 2006, 203-212.
137. P. Lécivain, "‘Non sufficit orbis...’ Les missions jésuites aux XVIe et XVIIIe siècles', *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft* 90 (2006), 183-195.
138. S. Madrigal, 'Servir a Dios y ayudar a las ánimas: Misión, eclesiología ignaciana y misiones', *Zeitschrift für Missions- und Religionswissenschaft* 90 (2006), 165-182.
139. M. Revuelta González, 'De las Congregaciones Marianas a la Comunidad de Vida Cristiana', in his *Once calas en la historia de la Compañía de Jesús. ‘Servir a todos en el Señor’*, Madrid, Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 2006, 95-111.
140. K. Schatz, 'Jesuitenmission in der neuen Gesellschaft Jesu (19./20. Jh.)', *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft* 90 (2006), 226-248.

141. J. Stuyt, 'Apostolaat wereldwijd sinds 1975', in M. Lindeijer (red.), *De weg van de pelgrim. Jezuïeten en hun spiritualiteit*, Kampen, Ten Have, 2006, 172-183.
142. B. Majorana, 'Tra carità e cultura. Formazione e prassi missionaria nella Compagnia di Gesù', in P. Broggio a.o. (eds.), *I gesuiti ai tempi di Claudio Acquaviva. Strategie politiche, religiose e culturali tra Cinque e Seicento*, Brescia, Morcelliana, 2007, 219-260.
143. M.I. Rodriguez-Delafond, 'La prédication selon les premiers jésuites: le pouvoir de la parole "Ad Maiorem Dei Gloriam"', in A. Molinié a.o., *Les jésuites en Espagne et en Amérique: jeux et enjeux du pouvoir (XVIe-XVIIIe siècles)*, Paris, Université Sorbonne, 2007, 247-264.
144. F. Torres-Londoño, 'O diálogo da conversão dos gentios ou a reconstituição dos fins da missão', in M.C. Luchetti Bingemer a.o. (eds.), *A globalização e os Jesuítas: origens, história e impactos*, II, São Paulo, 2007, 149-160.

6. Cultural Activities

6.a. Pedagogy

145. J.Y. Calvez, 'Le "Ratio" charte de la pédagogie des jésuites', *Études* 395 (2001), 207-218.
146. M. Catto, 'Alcune riflessioni sui primi catechismi della Compagnia di Gesù', in F. Motta (ed.), *Anatomia di un corpo religioso: l'identità dei gesuiti in età moderna*, Bologna, Dehoniane, 2002, 407-416.
147. A. Romano, 'Les collèges jésuites dans le monde moderne', *Communications* 72 (2002), 129-140.
148. A. Romano, 'Les collèges jésuites dans le monde moderne (1540-1772)', in F. Flahault & J.M. Schaeffer (eds.), *L'Idéal éducatif*, Paris, Seuil, 2002, 129-140.
149. L. Giard, 'Die Auctoritas in der Endfassung der Ratio studiorum des Jesuitenordens von 1599', in J. Arnold a.o. (eds.), *Kirchenväter. Ekklesiales Denken von den Anfängen bis in die Neuzeit*, Paderborn [etc.], Ferdinand Schöningh, 2004, 993-1009.
150. S. Artiach Camacho, 'Encuesta sobre valores inculcados en colegios jesuitas (1960-1990)', *Anuario del Instituto Ignacio de Loyola* (2005), 225-261.
151. M. Revuelta González, 'Los colegios de la Compañía de Jesús: Tres momentos de su evolución histórica', in his *Once calas en la historia de la Compañía de Jesús. "Servir a todos en el Señor"*, Madrid, Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 2006, 78-93.
152. M. Revuelta González, 'Atención a los marginados en los colegios de jesuitas', *Razón y Fe* 1297 (2006), 213-230.

153. F. Vidal, 'El trabajo social en las universidades jesuitas', *Miscelánea Comillas* 64 (2006), 399-450.
154. W. Brückner, 'Konfessionalisierung über den Katechismusunterricht. Das "Aufbeten" der Kinder bei Jesuiten und Lutheranen', *Würzburger Diözesangeschichtsblätter* 69 (2007), 35-48.
155. P. Nelles, 'Libros de papel, libri bianchi, libri papyracei. Note-taking techniques and the role of student notebooks in the early Jesuit colleges', *AHSI* 76 (2007), 75-112.
156. C.I. Osowski, 'Relendo cartas de Inácio de Loyola: Inspiração para uma pedagogia inaciana?', in M.C. Luchetti Bingemer a.o. (eds.), *A globalização e os Jesuítas: origens, história e impactos*, II, São Paulo, 2007, 301-312.

6.b. Ecclesiastical Sciences

157. F. Buzzi, 'La "Scolastica barocca" come risposta alla Riforma e ai tempi nuovi', in M. Sangalli (ed.), *Per il Cinquecento religioso italiano: clero, cultura, società*, I, Roma, Edizioni dell' Ateneo, 2003, 65-96.
158. J.P. Gay, 'Laxisme et rigorisme: théologies ou cultures? Deux controverses au tournant du XVIIe siècle', *Revue des Sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 87 (2003), 525-548.
159. A. Knoll, 'Von "positiver" zur "kontroverstheologischer" Lehrweise. Die Kirchenväter im Werk der ersten Jesuiten', in J. Arnold a.o. (eds.), *Kirchenväter. Ekklesiales Denken von den Anfängen bis in die Neuzeit*, Paderborn [etc.], Ferdinand Schöningh, 2004, 923-943.
160. D. Molina, 'Die Zahl der allgemeinen Konzilien und ihr Kontext bei den ersten Schriftstellern der Gesellschaft Jesu', in J. Arnold a.o. (eds.), *Kirchenväter. Ekklesiales Denken von den Anfängen bis in die Neuzeit*, Paderborn [etc.], Ferdinand Schöningh, 2004, 945-965.
161. P.A. Fabre, 'Une sentence ignatienne. Malentendu et construction théologique dans la culture jésuite du XVIIe siècle', in *Écrire son histoire. Les communautés régulières face à leur passé*. Saint-Étienne, Publications de l'Université, 2005, 521-528.
162. I.A. Kelter, 'The refusal to accommodate: Jesuit exegetes and the Copernican system', in E. McMullin (ed.), *The Church and Galileo*, Notre Dame, University of Notre Dame Press, 2005, 38-53.
163. S.d.S. Gomes, 'Jesuítua presbitero: anomalia ou profecia? Em busca dos elementos teológicos do ministério ordenado na Companhia de Jesus', *Perspectiva Teológica* 38 (2006), 251-276.

164. M. Kehl, 'Was gibt Ignatius der Ekklesiologie nach dem 2. Vatikanischen Konzil zu denken?', in T. Gertler a.o. (eds.), *Zur grösseren Ehre Gottes: Ignatius von Loyola neu entdeckt für die Theologie der Gegenwart*, Freiburg, Herder, 2006, 126-140.
165. M. Maier, 'Los pobres nos hacen amigos de Cristo. Ensayo para una fundamentación cristológica de la misión de la Compañía de Jesús', *Revista Latinoamericana de teología* 23 (2006), 49-61.
166. K.H. Neufeld, 'Kirche und Jesuiten. Echtes Gespür und Kritik', *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie* 128 (2006), 183-204.
167. A. Pieris, *El reino de Dios para los pobres de Dios: retorno a la fórmula de Jesús: evaluación crítica de las reformulaciones contemporáneas del manifiesto de la misión en teología católica y en algunos documentos jesuitas recientes*, Bilbao, Mensajero, 2006, 111 p.
168. M. Sievernich, 'Theological trends. Jesuit theologies of mission', *The Way* 42 (2003), 44-58.
169. S. Madrigal, 'Servir a Dios y ayudar a las ánimas. Misión, ecclesiología ignaciana y misiones', *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft* 90 (2006), 165-182.
170. G. Carneiro Zachariades, 'CEAS: Jesuítas e o Marxismo', in M.C. Luchetti Bingemer a.o. (eds.), *A globalização e os Jesuítas: origens, história e impactos*, II, São Paulo, 2007, 101-114.
171. A.F. Feiler, 'Nietzsche e os Jesuítas', in M.C. Luchetti Bingemer a.o. (eds.), *A globalização e os Jesuítas: origens, história e impactos*, II, São Paulo, 2007, 61-75.
172. A. Knoll, "*Derselbe Geist*": eine Untersuchung zum Kirchenverständnis in der Theologie der ersten Jesuiten, Paderborn, Bonifatius, 2007, 842 p.
173. H.J. Sieben, 'Der Beitrag der Jesuiten zur Überwindung des extremen Augustinismus im 17. Jahrhundert', *Theologie und Philosophie* 82 (2007), 186-216.
174. J. Vercruysse, 'En todo amar y servir. Gesuiti e l'ecumenismo', in P. Sgroi & R. Giraldo (eds.), *Ecumenismo como conversione*, Venezia, ISE San Bernardino, 2007, 107-119.

6.c. Profane Sciences

175. A. Romano, 'Les jésuites dans la culture scientifique romaine au temps de Borromini', in C.L. Frommel (ed.), *Francesco Borromini e l'universo barocco*, Milano, Electa, 2000, 329-334.

176. M. Feingold, 'Jesuits: savants', in M. Feingold (ed.), *Jesuit science and the republic of letters*, Cambridge MA / London, The MIT Press, 2003, 1-45.
177. G. Schubring, "'Reformation" and "Counter-Reformation" in mathematics. The role of the Jesuits', *Lull* 26 (2003), 1069-1076.
178. M.A. Waddell, 'The perversion of nature: Johannes Baptista van Helmont, the Society of Jesus, and the magnetic cure of wounds', *Canadian Journal of History* 38 (2003), 179-197.
179. F.X. Dumortier & J.M. Mayeur, *Science et présence jésuites entre Orient et Occident*, Paris, Médiasèvres, 2004, 197 p.
180. A. Romano, 'Comment naît un champ disciplinaire? Les mathématiques dans l'institution jésuite à la Renaissance', *Historia Paedagogica* 40 (2004), 245-259.
181. A. Udías Vallina, 'Humanismo y ciencia: los Jesuitas y el magnetismo terrestre', *Perficit* 26 (2006), 219-228.
182. M.C. Luchetti Bingemer, 'Globalização: o que tem isso a ver com os jesuítas?', in M.C. Luchetti Bingemer a.o. (eds.), *A globalização e os Jesuítas: origens, história e impactos*, I, São Paulo, 2007, 9-11.
183. J.A.A.A. Mac Dowell, 'Os jesuítas e a globalização: uma alternative?', in M.C. Luchetti Bingemer a.o. (eds.), *A globalização e os Jesuítas: origens, história e impactos*, I, São Paulo, 2007, 13-19.
184. F. Marty, 'Corporeidade e sentido: a antropologia inaciana como proposta de integração da pessoa humana', in M.C. Luchetti Bingemer a.o. (eds.), *A globalização e os Jesuítas: origens, história e impactos*, I, São Paulo, 2007, 127-145.
185. A. de Oliveira Dinis, 'Contribuição da Companhia de Jesus para a renovação científica da Idade Moderna', in M.C. Luchetti Bingemer a.o. (eds.), *A globalização e os Jesuítas: origens, história e impactos*, I, São Paulo, 2007, 175-190.
186. R. Ricupero, 'Os jesuítas no processo de globalização do mundo moderno', in M.C. Luchetti Bingemer a.o. (eds.), *A globalização e os Jesuítas: origens, história e impactos*, I, São Paulo, 2007, 35-59.
187. A. Romano, 'Prime riflessioni sull'attività intellettuale dei Gesuiti ai tempi di Claudio Acquaviva. L'impossibile dialogo tra Roma, Spagna e Nuovo Mondo?', in P. Broggio a.o. (eds.), *I gesuiti ai tempi di Claudio Acquaviva. Strategie politiche, religiose e culturali tra Cinque e Seicento*, Brescia, Morcelliana, 2007, 261-285.

6.d. Literature

188. D. Breuer, 'Geschichtsdidaktik auf dem Theater der Jesuiten', *Morgen- Glantz. Zeitschrift der Christian Knorr von Rosenroth-Gesellschaft* 12 (2001), 231-247.
189. P. Hicks, 'The language of the tribes in Brian Moore's Black Robe', *Studies* 93 (2004), 415-425.
190. J. Róna, 'Joyce és a jezsuiták' [Joyce and the Jesuits], *Távlatok* 65 (2004), 386-393.
191. J.M. Valentin, 'Episches und Dramatisches im Jesuitendrama des 16.-17. Jahrhunderts in his *L'école, la ville, la cour. Pratiques sociales, enjeux poétologiques et répertoires du théâtre dans l'Empire au XVIIe siècle*, Paris, Klincksieck, 2004, 237-264.
192. J.M. Valentin, 'Drama und literarisches Schaffen im konfessionellen Rahmen. Zur Jesuitenliteratur', in his *L'école, la ville, la cour. Pratiques sociales, enjeux poétologiques et répertoires du théâtre dans l'Empire au XVIIe siècle*, Paris, Klincksieck, 2004, 117-154.
193. A. Catellani, 'Emblemi, imprese, "multi-emblematismo" nella letteratura illustrata gesuita tra '500 e '600', in A.M. Christin a.o. (eds.), *Immagini del testo. Per una semiotica dell'ideogramma (350-351-352/F)*, Urbino, Università di Urbino/Centro Internazionale di Semiotica e di Linguistica, 2006, 27-50.
194. G.R. Dimler & P.M. Daly, *Corpus Librorum Emblematum. The Jesuit series. Part Five (P-Z)*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2006, 360 p.
195. T. Erlach, *Unterhaltung und Belehrung im Jesuitentheater um 1700. Untersuchungen zu Musik, Text und Kontext ausgewählter Stücke*, Essen, Die Blaue Eule, 2006, 315 p.
196. C. Hachaimé, 'Les Jésuites et les lettres arabes et musulmanes. Biographies et oeuvres', *Al-Machriq* 80 (2006), 315-354.
197. R. Wimmer, 'Mission und Theater. Ein Forschungsprojekt zum Jesuitentheater', *Stimmen der Zeit* 224 (2006), 629-635.
198. G.R. Dimler, *Studies in the Jesuit Emblem*, New York, AMS Press, 2007, 440 p.
199. G.R. Dimler, 'Jesuit emblem books. A selective overview of research past and present', in his *Studies in the Jesuit emblem*, New York, AMS Press, 2007, 4-54.
200. G.R. Dimler, 'Humanism and the rise of the Jesuit emblem', in his *Studies in the Jesuit emblem*, New York, AMS Press, 2007, 55-72.

201. G.R. Dimler, 'Imitatio, innovatio, and Jesuit emblem theory', in his *Studies in the Jesuit emblem*, New York, AMS Press, 2007, 73-84.
202. G.R. Dimler & P.M. Daly, 'The adaptation of Ignatius's favourite prayer into emblem form by Jozef Andrzej Zaluski', in G.R. Dimler, *Studies in the Jesuit emblem*, New York, AMS Press, 2007, 343-352.
203. G.R. Dimler, 'The bee-topos in the Jesuit emblem book: themes and contrast', in his *Studies in the Jesuit emblem*, New York, AMS Press, 2007, 353-375.
204. G.R. Dimler, 'The Jesuit emblem in the eighteenth century: a taxonomical inquiry', in his *Studies in the Jesuit emblem*, New York, AMS Press, 2007, 376-387.
205. M. Friedrich, 'Beispielgeschichten in den *Litterae Annuae*. Überlegungen zur Gestaltung und Funktion einer vernachlässigten Literaturgattung', in N. Pethes a.o. (eds.), *Das Beispiel, Epistemologie des Exemplarischen*, Berlin 2007, 143-166.
206. F. Marquardt, 'Judentum und Jesuitenorden in Thomas Manns Zauberberg. Zur Funktion der 'Fehler' in der Darstellung des jüdischen Jesuiten Leib-Leo Naphta', *Deutsche Vierteljahresschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte* 81 (2007), 257-281.
207. I. Dalla Pietà, 'De quibusdam tragoediis Patrum Societatis Iesu e Christianus litteris depromptis', *Latinitas* 55 (2007), 177-189.

6.e. Arts

208. G. Morel, 'Le baroque jésuite, de la séduction à la dévotion', *L'œil: revue d'art* 550 (2003), 68-72.
209. J.W. Noldus, 'Jezuïeten en barok. Enkele gedachten naar aanleiding van een tentoonstelling', *Streven* 70 (2003), 651-657.
210. P. Nevímová, 'Poznámka k ikonografii Jezuitského řádu' [Reflection on the iconography of the Jesuit Order], in O. Fejtová a.o. (eds.), *Barokní Praha – barokní Čechie 1620-1740*, Praha, Scriptorium, 2004, 389-402.
211. J. Baumgarten, 'Bekehrung durch Kunst? Jesuitische "Überwältigungs-ästhetik" und das Problem der Konversion', in U. Lotz-Heumann a.o. (eds.), *Konversion und Konfession in der Frühen Neuzeit*, Gütersloh, Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2007, 463-490.
212. J. Koenot, 'De macht van de Jezuïeten en de onmacht van de beelden. Terugblik op Luc Tuymans' serie "Les Revenants"', *Streven* 74 (2007), 867-882.

213. I. Schmitz, 'O filme "A Missão": peripécias das missões jesuíticas', in M.C. Luchetti Bingemer a.o. (eds.), *A globalização e os Jesuítas: origens, história e impactos*, II, São Paulo, 2007, 259-265.

7. Polemical Writings

214. J.E. Franco, 'A construção do mito jesuítico e o seu papel no reforço de Estado Absolutista', *Revista Século 18* (2000), 255-282
215. M. Bunker, *Swarms of locusts. The Jesuit attack on the faith*, Lincoln, Writers Club Press, 2002, 320 p.
216. J.E. Franco & C. Vogel, *Monita secreta. Instruções Secretas dos Jesuítas. História de um manual conspiracionista*, Lisboa, Roma Editora, 2002, 189 p.
217. B. Hughes, *The secret terrorists*, Tangerine, Truth Triumphant, 2002, 151 p.
218. A. do Espírito Santo, 'Monita secreta: mistificação que resiste', *Brotéria* 156 (2003), 83-91.
219. S. Pavone, 'Antigesuitismo político e antiguesuitismo gesuita. Alcune testi a confronto', *Rivista di Storia e Letteratura Religiosa* 40 (2004), 255-281.
220. C. Vogel, 'Des stéréotypes religieux à la pensée conspirationniste - l'exemple des jésuites', in A.D. Barker (ed.), *The power and persistence of stereotyping. O poder e persistência dos estereótipos*, Aveiro, Universidade, 2004, 51-69.
221. M. Barrios, *El secreto de los jesuitas. La sinuosa historia de la Compañía de Jesús a través de sus documentos*, n.p., Almazura, 2006, 217 p.
222. J. Paniagua Pérez, 'Arias Montano y los ilustrados: dos ejemplares en México de sus supuestos escritos contra los jesuitas', *Silva* 5 (2006), 303-360.
223. C. Cuttica, 'A strong antidote against the Jesuitical disease: Le Tocsin', *Omslag. Bulletin van de Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden en het Scaliger Instituut* 2007/01, 10-11.
224. G. Mucci, 'Il diavolo inventato dai Gesuiti', *La Civiltà Cattolica* 158 (2007), 239-245.

II. COUNTRIES

A. AFRICA

See also 94.

225. L. Krizsán, 'Afrikai magyar missziók a XIX. század végén' [Hungarian missions in Africa at the end of 19th century], *Miscellanae ecclesiae Strigoniensis* 2001, 165-170.

Congo (Democratic Republic of)

226. R.E. Smith, "'Ici nous sommes en pleine bataille". Jésuites et Baptistes dans le Kwilu, Congo, 1912-1940', *Televa* 31 (2005), 114-142.
227. W. François, 'Het gerechtelijk onderzoek van H.G. Moth-Borglum op de jezuïetenmissie van Lemfu - Congo (1905). Een gerechtvaardigde aanklacht tegen onderdrukking ofwel een "comico-tragique aventure"?', *Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Nieuwste Geschiedenis* 36 (2006), 277-321.

Egypt

228. A. Hamilton, 'The first Jesuit mission', in *The Copts and the West, 1439-1822. The European discovery of the Egyptian Church*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2006, 58-73.
229. A. Hamilton, 'Jansenists and Jesuits', in *The Copts and the West, 1439-1822. The European discovery of the Egyptian Church*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2006, 152-167.

Ethiopia

230. H. Pennec & D. Toubkis, 'Représentation de l'espace du prêtre Jean (Éthiopie) dans les chroniques jésuites du XVII^e siècle', in *Écrire son histoire. Les communautés régulières face à leur passé*. Saint-Étienne, Publications de l'Université, 2005, 625-636.
231. B. LaVerle, 'Ethiopian and Jesuit monumental stone architecture in the Lake Tana Basin a preliminary assessment', in M.J. Ramos & I. Boavida (eds.), *The indigenous and the foreign in Christian Ethiopian art. On Portuguese-Ethiopian contacts in the 16th-17th centuries*, London, Ashgate, 2007, 16-29.

Mozambique

232. L. Krizsán, 'A Zambézi misszió' [The Zambezi mission], *Élet és Tudomány* 55 (2000) 14, 9-12.
233. Z. Pereira, 'Les Jésuites et la formation d'élites au Mozambique, 1961-1974', *Fait Missionnaire* 14 (2004), 75-116.
234. F.A. da Cruz Correia, 'Os jesuítas, a educação e o ensino em Moçambique', *Brotería* 165 (2007), 149-168.

Sudan

See 344.

Zimbabwe

235. R. M. da Costa Pinto, 'A miragem do Monomotapa (1640-1668)', *Brotería* 152-153 (2001), 901-919.

236. N.M. Creary, 'Jesuit perspectives on the formation of African clergy and religious institutes in Zimbabwe, c. 1922-1959', *Fait Missionnaire* 14 (2004), 117-146.

B. AMERICA

237. Void.
238. M.R. Matthei, 'Cartas e informes de misioneros jesuitas extranjeros en Hispanoamérica. Quinta parte (1751-1778)', *Anales de la Facultad de Teología* (Santiago, Chile) 52 (2001), 7-363.
239. J. Andrés-Gallego & J.M. García Añoberos, 'El problema de la Compañía de Jesús, y la solución de Molina', in their *La iglesia y la esclavitud de los negros*, Pamplona, EUNSA, 2002, 39-61.
240. E.M. St. Clair, "'Padrecito, los padres jesuitas vuelven". Revelaciones, profecías y otros hechos maravillosos en Nueva España tras la expulsión de la Compañía de Jesús (1767-1772)', *Revista de Historia Moderna* 21 (2003), 291-314.
241. D. Tuer, 'Old bones and beautiful words: The spiritual contestation between Shaman and Jesuit in the Guaraní mission', in A. Greer & J. Bilinkoff (eds.), *Colonial saints: Discovering the holy in the Americas, 1500-1800*, New York, Routledge, 2003, 77-97.
242. P. Chinchilla Pawling, *De la compositio loci a la República de las letras. Predicación jesuita en el siglo XVII novohispánico*, México, Universidad Iberoamericana, 2004, 372 p.
243. M.C. Drumond Mendes Barros, 'Anmerkungen zur jesuitische Sprachpolitik der Língua Geral in Amazonien (17./18. Jahrhundert)', M. Vollet & F. Castañeda (eds.), *Mission und Sprache. Interdisziplinäre Erkundungen zum Orden Colonial in Iberoamerika*, Frankfurt am Main [etc.], Lang, 2004, 191-202.
244. J.J. Schmid, 'A sense of mission - Das Erbe der Missionen. Christliche Kunst und Kirchenmusik als Parameter der Kulturgeschichte Lateinamerikas im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert', in R. Decot (ed.), *Expansion und Gefährdung. Amerikanische Mission und Europäische Krise der Jesuiten im 18. Jahrhundert*, Mainz, Philipp von Zabern, 2004, 85-122.
245. L.A. Alvero, 'Realidad social y pensamiento económico en el Río de la Plata colonial', in S. Negro & M.M. Marzal (eds.), *Esclavitud, economía y evangelización: las haciendas jesuitas en la América virreinal*, Lima, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú. Fondo editorial, 2005, 395-413.

246. C.A. Cacciavillani, *L'architettura della Compagnia di Gesù nelle colonie meridionali dell'America Latina: Reducciones ed estancias*, Roma, Gangemi Editore, 2005, 190 p.
247. M. M. Marzal, 'La evangelización de los negros americanos según el De instauranda aethiopum salute', in S. Negro & M.M. Marzal (eds.), *Esclavitud, economía y evangelización: la haciendas jesuitas en la América virreinal*, Lima, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú. Fondo editorial, 2005, 19-41.
248. F.d.B. Medina, 'El esclavo: ¿bien mueble o persona?: algunas observaciones sobre la evangelización del negro en las haciendas jesuíticas', in S. Negro & M.M. Marzal (eds.), *Esclavitud, economía y evangelización: la haciendas jesuitas en la América virreinal*, Lima, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú. Fondo editorial, 2005, 83-122.
249. J. Meier, "'...y que bien estos indios saben tocar el órgano, qué bien han aprendido a tocar el violín y a cantar". La importancia de la música en las misiones de los jesuitas', in J.J. Hernández Palomo & R. Moreno Jeria (eds.), *La misión y los jesuitas en la América Española, 1566-1767: Cambios y permanencias*, Sevilla, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2005, 69-86.
250. S. Negro & M.M. Marzal (eds.), *Esclavitud, economía y evangelización: las haciendas jesuitas en la América Virreinal*, Lima, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú. Fondo Editorial, 2005, 571 p.
251. L.F. Restrepo, 'Los límites de la razón occidental: La "natulaleza" musica y los proyectos intelectuales de los jesuitas en el Nuevo Reino de Granada, siglo XVII', in L. Millones Figuera & D. Ledezma (eds.), *El saber de los jesuitas, historia naturales y el Nuevo Mundo*, Madrid, Iberoamericana / Frankfurt am Main, Vervuert, 2005, 173-194.
252. M.C. Torales Pacheco, 'Los jesuitas novohispanos y la naturaleza en el siglo XVIII', in L. Millones Figuera & D. Ledezma (eds.), *El saber de los jesuitas, historia naturales y el Nuevo Mundo*, Madrid, Iberoamericana / Frankfurt am Main, Vervuert, 2005, 195- 224.
253. F.J. Gómez Díez, 'Notas para un estudio sobre el papel de la Compañía de Jesús en la construcción de América', *Mar Oceana* 20 (2006), 47-67.
254. A. González Acosta, 'Los Jesuitas de la Nueva España, mecenas involuntarios', in *La Biblioteca Nacional, triunfo de la república*, México, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2006, 97-109.
255. M. Alaperrine-Bouyer, 'Enseñanza y pedagogía de los jesuitas en los colegios para hijos de caciques (siglo XVII)', in M. Marzal & L. Bacigalupo (eds.), *Los jesuitas y la modernidad en Iberoamérica 1549-1773*, Lima, Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú [etc.], 2007, 270-298.

256. D. Brading, 'Entre el Renacimiento y la Ilustración: la Compañía de Jesús y la patria criolla', in M. Marzal & L. Bacigalupo (eds.), *Los jesuitas y la modernidad en Iberoamérica 1549-1773*, Lima, Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú [etc.], 2007, 131-157.
257. S.M. Bredemeier & M. Maia, 'América Latina numa universidade jesuítica: Contribuições do serviço social na docência', in M.C. Luchetti Bingemer a.o. (eds.), *A globalização e os Jesuítas: origens, história e impactos*, II, São Paulo, 2007, 457-467.
258. J. Burrieza Sánchez, *Jesuítas en Indias: entre la utopía y el conflicto: trabajos y misiones de la Compañía de Jesús en la América moderna*, Valladolid, Universidad de Valladolid, Secretariado de Publicaciones e Intercambio Editorial, 2007, 592 p.
259. V. Coronel, 'Santuarios y mercados coloniales: lecciones jesuíticas de contrato y subordinación para el colonialismo interno criollo', in M. Marzal & L. Bacigalupo (eds.), *Los jesuitas y la modernidad en Iberoamérica 1549-1773*, Lima, Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú [etc.], 2007, 187-225.
260. P. Gonzalo Aizpuru, 'La oculta modernidad jesuítica', in M. Marzal & L. Bacigalupo (eds.), *Los jesuitas y la modernidad en Iberoamérica 1549-1773*, Lima, Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú [etc.], 2007, 299-308.
261. M. Marzal & L. Bacigalupo (eds.), *Los jesuitas y la modernidad en Iberoamérica 1549-1773*, Lima, Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú [etc.], 2007, 533 p.
262. J. Meier, *"Totus mundus nostra fit habitatio". Jesuiten aus dem deutschem Sprachraum in Portugiesisch- und Spanisch-Amerika*, Mainz, Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur / Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag, 2007, 29 p.
263. M.M. Morales, 'Violencia en el paraíso', in M. Marzal & L. Bacigalupo (eds.), *Los jesuitas y la modernidad en Iberoamérica 1549-1773*, Lima, Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú [etc.], 2007, 387-420.
264. F. Moreno Rejón, 'El aporte teológico de la Compañía de Jesús y los problemas morales de las Indias. El caso de la esclavitud', in M. Marzal & L. Bacigalupo (eds.), *Los jesuitas y la modernidad en Iberoamérica 1549-1773*, Lima, Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú [etc.], 2007, 98-104.
265. A. Romano, 'Actividad científica y Nuevo Mundo: el papel de los jesuitas en el desarrollo de la modernidad en Iberoamérica', in M. Marzal & L.

Bacigalupo (eds.), *Los jesuitas y la modernidad en Iberoamérica 1549-1773*, Lima, Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú [etc.], 2007, 56-71.

266. M.C. Torales Pacheco, 'Los jesuitas novohispanos, la modernidad y el espacio público ilustrado', in M. Marzal & L. Bacigalupo (eds.), *Los jesuitas y la modernidad en Iberoamérica 1549-1773*, Lima, Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú [etc.], 2007, 158-171.

Antilles

267. P. Peyronnin, 'Contours d'une pastorale ultramarine: les missionnaires jésuites dans les sociétés d'habitation des Antilles et Guyane française aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles', *Bulletin de la Société d'Histoire de la Guadeloupe* 126 (2000), 25-80.

Argentina

268. *Documentos coloniales. Relativo a los Jesuitas: siglos XVI-XVII y XVIII*, III-VI, Tucumán, Dirección del Archivo General e Histórico de la Provincia de Tucumán etc., 2000, 220 p.; 2000, 250 p.; 2001, 383 p; 2001, 197 p.
269. C.D. Avalos, *La guerra por las almas. El proyecto de evangelización Jesuita en el Tucumán temprano, siglo XVII*, Salta, Centro Educativo de San Lorenzo, 2001, 150 p.
270. C. Page, *El camino de las estancias. Las estancias Jesuíticas de Córdoba y la manzana de la Compañía de Jesús. The Jesuit estancias of Córdoba and the Society of Jesus block*, Córdoba, Comisión del Proyecto, 2001, 127 p.
271. A. Fraschina, 'A Jesuit Beata at the time of the suppression in the Viceroyalty of Río de la Plata: María Antonia de Paz y Figueroa, 1730-1799', in J.W. O'Malley a.o. (eds.), *The Jesuits II : Cultures, Sciences and the Arts 1540-1773*, Toronto etc., University of Toronto Press, 2002, 758-771.
272. W.J. Matienzo Castillo, 'La capilla musical del colegio jesuita de Tarija', in V. Rondón (ed.), *Mujeres negros y niños en la música y sociedad colonial iberoamericana*, Santa Cruz de la Sierra, APAC, 2002, 124-132.
273. B. Ganson, *The Guaraní under Spanish rule in Río de la Plata*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 2003, 290 p.
274. M. Mörner, 'Preconditions and methods of evangelization in the seventeenth and eighteenth century Jesuit missions of the River Plate region', *Swedish Missiological Themes* 91 (2003), 275-296.
275. G. de las M. Benso & A.M. Signorile, *La estancia jesuitica de San Ignacio de Calamuchita*, Córdoba, Ediciones del Boulevard, 2004, 161 p.

276. H. Chiavazza, *Los templos coloniales como estructuras funerarias. Archeología en la iglesia jesuita de Mendoza*, Oxford, Archaeopress, 2005, 159 p.
277. F. Obermeier, 'Die Jesuitendrucke der Reduktionen des La Plata-Raums', *Wolffenbütteler Notizen zur Buchgeschichte* 30 (2005), 129-144.
278. M. de Olivares, *Los jesuitas en la Patagonia. Las misiones en la Araucanía y el Nahuelhuapi (1593-1736)*, Buenos Aires, Ediciones Continente, 2005, 224 p.
279. J. Solana Pujalte, 'El fondo del siglo XVI de la Biblioteca del antiguo colegio de Santa Catalina de la Compañía de Jesús de Córdoba', *AHSI* 76 (2007), 113-137.

Bolivia

280. V.H. Limpías Ortiz, 'Misiones de Moxos: arquitectura religiosa, residencial e industrial : la construcción de un urbanismo productivo en el corazón sudamericano', in S. Negro & M.M. Marzal (eds.), *Esclavitud, economía y evangelización: la haciendas jesuitas en la América virreinal*, Lima, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú. Fondo editorial, 2005, 519-541.
281. F. de B. Medina Rojas, '¿Exploradores o evangelizadores? La misión de los Mojos: cambio y continuidad (1667-1676)', in J.J. Hernández Palomo & R. Moreno Jeria (eds.), *La misión y los jesuitas en la América Española, 1566-1767: Cambios y permanencias*, Sevilla, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2005, 187-238.

Brazil

See also 663.

282. F. Torres Londoño, 'Escrevendo cartas. Jesuítas, escrita e missão no século XVI', *Revista Brasileira de História* 22 (2002), 11-32.
283. R. Hernández Asensio, 'Caciques, jesuitas y chamanes en la frontera sur de Buenos Aires (1740-1753)', *Anuario de Estudios Americanos* 60 (2003), 77-108.
284. M. Massimi, 'Representações acerca dos índios brasileiros em documentos jesuítas do século XVI', *Memorandum (Memória e história em psicologia)* 5 (2003), 69-85.
285. E.C.D. Fleck, 'A morte no centro da vida. Reflexões sobre a cura e a não cura nas reduções jesuítico-guaranis (1609-75)', *História, Ciências, Saúde-Manguinhos* 12 (2004), 635-660.
286. E.C.D. Fleck, 'Almas em busca da salvação. Sensibilidade barroca no discurso jesuítico (século XVII)', *Revista Brasileira de História* 24 (2004), 255-300.

287. B. Vasconcelos Franzen, 'Jesuítas na Colónia do Sacramento e Rio Grande do Sul, no século XVIII', *Brotéria* 158 (2004), 47-57.
288. J. Olza Zubiri a.o., *Gramática Moja-Ignaciana. (Morfosintaxis)*, Cochabamba, Editorial Verbo Divino, 2004, 1012 p.
289. L.F. Conde Sangenis, *Gênese do pensamento único em educação. Franciscanismo e jesuitismo na educação brasileira*, Rio de Janeiro, Vozes, 2004, 200 p.
290. E.J. Alonso Romo, 'Português e castelhano no Brasil quinhentista à volta dos jesuítas', *Revista de Índias* 65 (2005), 491-510.
291. D.B. Calainho, 'Jesuítas e medicina no Brasil colonial', *Tempo* 10 (2005), 61-75.
292. R. Najjar, 'Redescobrimdo a colonização: a arqueologia na restauração de três igrejas jesuíticas do litoral brasileiro', in S. Negro & M.M. Marzal (eds.), *Esclavitud, economía y evangelización: la haciendas jesuitas en la América virreinal*, Lima, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú. Fondo editorial, 2005, 543-560.
293. B. Vasconcelos Franzen, 'Jesuítas no Brasil e Paraguai coloniais: aldeamentos e reduções. As fazendas jesuíticas no Brasil', in S. Negro & M.M. Marzal (eds.), *Esclavitud, economía y evangelización: la haciendas jesuitas en la América virreinal*, Lima, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú. Fondo editorial, 2005, 561-571.
294. F. Azevedo, *Procurando sua identidade: a difícil trajetória da Vice-Província do Brasil Setentrional da Companhia de Jesus nos anos 1937 a 1952*, Recife, FASA Editora, 2006, 293 p.
295. B.H. Domingues, 'As missões jesuíticas entre os guaranis no contexto da Ilustração', *História (São Paulo)* 25 (2006), 44-69.
296. L.F. Medeiros Rodrigues, *Conquista recuperada e liberdade restituída: a expulsão dos jesuítas do Grão-Pará e Maranhão (1759)*, Roma, Pontificia Università Gregoriana, 2006, 330 p.
297. F. Torres Londoño, 'Trabalho indígena na dinâmica de controle das reduções de Maynas no Maraño do século XVII', *História (São Paulo)* 25 (2006), 15-43.
298. P. Ceccucci, 'Entre mito e realidade: o projecto misionario jesuita no Brasil de Quinhentos', in C. Camplani a.o. (eds.), *Dal mediterraneo l'America. Storia, religione, cultura*, Cagliari [etc.], Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, 2006, 51-75.

299. P.R. de Andrada Pacheco, 'Aspectos da pedagogia dos missionários jesuítas no Brasil colonial', in M.C. Luchetti Bingemer a.o. (eds.), *A globalização e os Jesuítas: origens, história e impactos*, II, São Paulo, 2007, 313-342.
300. F.E. de Andrade, 'O aprendizado da colonização no confronto entre os Jesuítas e os Paulistas no século XVII', in M.C. Luchetti Bingemer a.o. (eds.), *A globalização e os Jesuítas: origens, história e impactos*, II, São Paulo, 2007, 197-215.
301. M.E. de Andrade Cáceres Nogueira, 'Jogos, brinquedos e brincadeiras no Brasil colonial', in M.C. Luchetti Bingemer a.o. (eds.), *A globalização e os Jesuítas: origens, história e impactos*, II, São Paulo, 2007, 387-426.
302. D. Andriotti, 'O valor da educação musical nos Sete Povos das Missões', in M.C. Luchetti Bingemer a.o. (eds.), *A globalização e os Jesuítas: origens, história e impactos*, II, São Paulo, 2007, 267-270.
303. L.F. Baêta Neves Flores, 'Os soldados de Cristo na Terra dos Papagaios', in M.C. Luchetti Bingemer a.o. (eds.), *A globalização e os Jesuítas: origens, história e impactos*, I, São Paulo, 2007, 191-211.
304. R. Chambouleyron, 'El "aumento y conservación" del Maranhão: los jesuitas, la mano de obra indígena y el desarrollo económico en la amazonía portuguesa', in M. Marzal & L. Bacigalupo (eds.), *Los jesuitas y la modernidad en Iberoamérica 1549-1773*, Lima, Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú [etc.], 2007, 172-186.
305. L.F. Conde Sengeniz, 'Franciscanos e jesuítas na educação no Brasil', in M.C. Luchetti Bingemer a.o. (eds.), *A globalização e os Jesuítas: origens, história e impactos*, II, São Paulo, 2007, 427-437.
306. R.M.A. Fonseca Gadelha, 'Para além da catequese: Artes e ofícios dos jesuítas da Província do Brasil (séculos XVI-XVII)', in M.C. Luchetti Bingemer a.o. (eds.), *A globalização e os Jesuítas: origens, história e impactos*, II, São Paulo, 2007, 359-385.
307. B. Melià, 'As missões jesuítas nos Sete Povos das Missões', in M.C. Luchetti Bingemer a.o. (eds.), *A globalização e os Jesuítas: origens, história e impactos*, II, São Paulo, 2007, 255-257.
308. A.M. Monteiro de Carvalho, 'O colégio dos Jesuítas na formação da cidade de São Paulo', in M.C. Luchetti Bingemer a.o. (eds.), *A globalização e os Jesuítas: origens, história e impactos*, II, São Paulo, 2007, 171-195.
309. M.A. Monteiro Oliveira & M. Santos de Andrade Freitas, 'Política e prática educacional jesuítica no Brasil', in M.C. Luchetti Bingemer a.o. (eds.), *A globalização e os Jesuítas: origens, história e impactos*, II, São Paulo, 2007, 439-450.

310. L. Pena Catão, 'Inconfidência e presença Jesuítica nas Minas Gerais durante o período Pambalino', in M.C. Luchetti Bingemer a.o. (eds.), *A globalização e os Jesuítas: origens, história e impactos*, II, São Paulo, 2007, 217-228.
311. A.M. Picanço Favacho, 'A captura: o fundamento do governo pedagógico aplicado aos meninos dos gentios no Brasil quinhentista', in M.C. Luchetti Bingemer a.o. (eds.), *A globalização e os Jesuítas: origens, história e impactos*, II, São Paulo, 2007, 343-357.
312. L. Rodrigues da Silva & O. Lopes Júnior, 'Catolicismo popular e migração no Nordeste: Os Sertanejos do Rio Grande do Norte em busca do "Paraíso Cristão"', in M.C. Luchetti Bingemer a.o. (eds.), *A globalização e os Jesuítas: origens, história e impactos*, II, São Paulo, 2007, 247-254.
313. F. Rosas Moscoso, 'Las fronteras de la fe y de las Coronas: jesuitas españoles y portugueses en el Amazonas (siglo XVII-XVIII)', in M. Marzal & L. Bacigalupo (eds.), *Los jesuitas y la modernidad en Iberoamérica 1549-1773*, Lima, Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú [etc.], 2007, 368-386.
314. C.A. dos Santos, *O Colégio de Piratininga: a influencia da espiritualidade Inaciana na fundação da cidade de São Paulo*, São Paulo, Edições Loyola, 2007, 192 p.
315. A.J. dos Santos Rocha, 'Jesuítas no cenário educacional Brasileiro: Uma leitura de pesquisas e artigos recentes sobre a ação educativa dos jesuítas', in M.C. Luchetti Bingemer a.o. (eds.), *A globalização e os Jesuítas: origens, história e impactos*, II, São Paulo, 2007, 469-494.
316. C.A. de M.R. Zeron, 'Les Aldeamentos Jésuites au Brésil et l'idée moderne d'institution de la société', *AHSI* 76 (2007), 39-74.

Canada

317. C. Montel-Gléniisson, *Le rapport enseignant-enseigné dans les Relations de Jésuites de la Nouvelle-France (1632-1672)*, Paris [thèse de doctorat] 2001.
318. A. Greer, 'The exchange of medical knowledge between natives and jesuits in New France', in L. Millones Figuera & D. Ledezma (eds.), *El saber de los jesuitas, historia naturales y el Nuevo Mundo*, Madrid, Iberoamericana / Frankfurt am Main, Vervuert, 2005, 135-146.
319. H.M. Makwanda, 'La relation partenariale ou le défi de l'approche inclusive: la collaboration entre jésuites et non-jésuites de la province du Canada français', *Cahiers de spiritualité ignatienne* 117 (2006), 85-94.
320. M. Binasco, 'Capuchins, jésuites et récollets en Acadie de 1610 à 1710. Une première évangélisation assez chaotique', *Histoire & Missions Chrétiennes* 2 (2007), 163-176.

Chile

321. G. Fuentes Sepúlveda, *Actividad misional jesuita y forma de expresión religiosa en el archipiélago de Chiloé, siglos XVII y XVIII*, diss. Santiago, Universidad Católica, 2000, 116 p.
322. G.A. Bailey, 'Cultural convergence at the ends of the earth: the unique art and architecture of the Jesuit mission to the Chiloé archipelago (1608-1767)', in J.W. O'Malley a.o. (eds.), *The Jesuits II: Cultures, Sciences and the Arts 1540-1773*, Toronto etc., University of Toronto Press, 2002, 211-239.
323. G. Bravo Acevedo, 'La administración económica de la hacienda jesuita San Francisco de Borja Guanquehua', in S. Negro & M.M. Marzal (eds.), *Esclavitud, economía y evangelización: la haciendas jesuitas en la América virreinal*, Lima, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú. Fondo editorial, 2005, 377-394.
324. M. Matthei Puttkamer, 'Der Beitrag der flämischen Jesuiten in den Missionen Chiles (1628-1734)', in J. Meier (ed.), *Sendung - Eroberung - Begegnung. Franz Xaver, die Gesellschaft Jesu und die katholische Weltkirche im Zeitalter des Barock*, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 2005, 305-330.
325. R. Moreno Jeria, 'Los Jesuitas en Chiloé, 1608-1768: Los hombres de la misión', *Anuario de Historia de la Iglesia en Chile* 24 (2006), 65-86.
326. G.A. Bailey, 'La Calera de Tango (1741-1767) y los otros talleres de arte misional de la Compañía de Jesús en Chile colonial', in M. Marzal & L. Bacigalupo (eds.), *Los jesuitas y la modernidad en Iberoamérica 1549-1773*, Lima, Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú [etc.], 2007, 259-269.
327. G. Bravo Acevedo, 'Las consecuencias económicas de la expulsión de los jesuitas de la provincias de Chile y Perú', in M. Marzal & L. Bacigalupo (eds.), *Los jesuitas y la modernidad en Iberoamérica 1549-1773*, Lima, Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú [etc.], 2007, 421-449.

Colombia

328. F. González Mora, 'Aspectos arquitectónicos, urbanos y espaciales en las reducciones y haciendas jesuitas en los llanos de Casanare, Meta y Orinoco', in S. Negro & M.M. Marzal (eds.), *Esclavitud, economía y evangelización: la haciendas jesuitas en la América virreinal*, Lima, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú. Fondo editorial, 2005, 417-447.

Ecuador

329. P. Downes, 'Fremd- und Eigenwahrnehmung zentraleuropäischer Jesuiten in der Provinz Quito', in R. Decot (ed.), *Expansion und Gefährdung*,

Amerikanische Mission und Europäische Krise der Jesuiten im 18. Jahrhundert, Mainz, Philipp von Zabern, 2004, 3-18.

Martinique

330. A. Monostori, 'Lebensbedingungen der Jesuitenmission auf Martinique im 18. Jahrhundert', in R. Decot (ed.), *Expansion und Gefährdung. Amerikanische Mission und Europäische Krise der Jesuiten im 18. Jahrhundert*, Mainz, Philipp von Zabern, 2004, 161-172.

Mexico

331. B.H. Domingues, 'Política missionária e secular em escritos jesuíticos sobre a Baixa Califórnia no século XVIII', *Revista Brasileira de História* 23 (2003), 261-280.
332. S. Ortega Noriega, 'Las misiones jesuíticas de Sinaloa, Ostimuri y Sonora. El poder de los evangelizadores, 1591-1767', in A. Mayer & E. de la Torre Villar (eds.), *Religion poder y autoridad en la Nueva España*, México, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2004, 275-293.
333. J.d.l.C. Pacheco Rojas, *El colegio de Guadiana de los Jesuitas, 1596-1767*, México, Universidad Juárez del Estado de Durango-Plaza y Valdés editores, 2004, 175 p.
334. L. Arnal Simón, 'Formación de las haciendas jesuitas en el norte de México: el caso del Colegio de Zacatecas', in S. Negro & M.M. Marzal (eds.), *Esclavitud, economía y evangelización: la haciendas jesuitas en la América virreinal*, Lima, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú. Fondo editorial, 2005, 125-139.
335. I. del Río, 'Las haciendas del Fondo Piadoso de las Californias', in S. Negro & M.M. Marzal (eds.), *Esclavitud, economía y evangelización: la haciendas jesuitas en la América virreinal*, Lima, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú. Fondo editorial, 2005, 141-154.
336. J. Vergara Aceves, 'De la tiranía, por la ley a la solidaridad. Ensayo ignaciano sobre la liberación cultural de México', *Mirada* 4 (2005), 38-45.
337. B. Hernán-Gómez Prieto, 'Diálogo entre Don Quijote y Sancho en México sobre la expulsión de los jesuitas', in C. Camplani a.o. (eds.), *Dal mediterraneo l'America. Storia, religione, cultura*, Cagliari [etc.], Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, 2006, 91-137.
338. L.E. Alcalá, '"De compras por Europa": Procuradores Jesuitas y cultura material en Nueva España', *Goya* 318 (2007), 141-158.
339. P.H. Giraud, 'Ad maiorem Dei (et Societatis) gloriam. La nouvelle décoration de l'église Saint-Francois-Xavier de Tepotzotlán au XVIIIe siècle',

in A. Molinié a.o., *Les jésuites en Espagne et en Amérique : jeux et enjeux du pouvoir (XVIe-XVIIIe siècles)*, Paris, Université Sorbonne, 2007, 485-494.

340. J.R. Mendirichaga Dalzell, *El colegio de San Juan Nepomuceno, 1878-1914. Presencia de los jesuitas desde Saltillo*, México D.F., Universidad Iberoamericana, 2007, 359 p.

Paraguay

See also 293, 1164.

341. G. Monterroso, *Misiones. Iguazú – Ruinas Jesuíticas. Iguazu falls – Jesuit missions*, n.p., Editorial El Ateneo / Bifronte, 2000, 80 p.
342. B. Melià a.o., *La lengua Guaraní en el Paraguay colonial : que contiene la creación de un lenguaje cristiano en las Reducciones de los Guaraníes en Paraguay*, Asunción, CEPAG, 2003, 399 p.
343. D. Tuer, 'Old bones and beautiful words: The spiritual contestation between Shaman and Jesuit in the Guaraní mission', in A. Greer & J. Bilinkoff (eds.), *Colonial saints: Discovering the holy in the Americas, 1500-1800*, New York, Routledge, 2003, 77-97.
344. J.R. de Benoist, 'Des réductions du Paraguay (XVIIe-XVIIIe s.) aux villages de liberté du Soudan occidental (XIXe s.)', in J. Comby (ed.), *Diffusion et acculturation du christianisme (XIXe-XXe siècle). Vingt-cinq ans de recherches missiologiques par le CREDIC*, Paris, Karthala, 2005, 153-167.
345. K. Huffine, 'Raising Paraguay from decline: memory, ethnography and natural history in the eighteenth-century accounts of the Jesuit fathers', in L. Millones Figuera & D. Ledezma (eds.), *El saber de los jesuitas, historia naturales y el Nuevo Mundo*, Madrid, Iberoamericana / Frankfurt am Main, Vervuert, 2005, 279-302.
346. M. Livi Bacci, 'Coloni e "paulisti" alla caccia dei guaraní tra Paraná e Uruguay. Cento gesuiti per centomila indios. Asce d'acciaio e sicurezza in cambio di costumi cristiani. Monogamia e riproduzione più forti delle malattie di gregge', in his *Conquista: la distruzione degli indios americani*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 2005, 199-229.
347. M. Blanco Conde, 'Mapa histórico de las misiones jesuíticas en el Paraguay', *Cuadernos Hispanoamericanos* 678 (2006), 75-83.
348. O. Blinder, *Memoria de un lenguaje visual indígena: Recuperación de dibujos esgrafados en tejas y ladrillos de la Misiones Jesuíticas y Franciscanas del Paraguay*, Asunción / Nürnberg, Jesuitenmission, 2006, 251 p.
349. S. Le Comte, *Iguazú & the Jesuit reductions*, Martínez, Maizal, 2006, 64 p.

350. F. Obermeier, 'Antijesuitische Drucke über Südamerika und die Jesuitenreduktionen in Paraguay', *Wolffenbütteler Notizen zur Buchgeschichte* 31 (2006), 23-34.
351. M. Revuelta, 'Las reducciones del Paraguay, gloria y cruz de la Compañía de Jesús', *Ciencia Tomista* 133 (2006), 315-336.
352. M. Revuelta González, 'La inculturación jesuítica: las reducciones del Paraguay', *Annuario del Instituto Ignacio de Loyola* 13 (2006), 77-102.
353. I. Telesca, *Documentos jesuíticos del siglo XVIII, en al Archivo Nacional de Asunción*, [Asunción], CEPAG, 2006, 156 p.
354. J.P. Clément, 'La défense de l'oeuvre des jésuites au Paraguay: le père Cardiel et la Guerra Guaranítica', in A. Molinié a.o., *Les jésuites en Espagne et en Amérique: jeux et enjeux du pouvoir (XVIe-XVIIIe siècles)*, Paris, Université Sorbonne, 2007, 449-483.
355. R. Duarte Burró, *Le bois des missions. Sculptures baroques du Paraguay. La madera de las misiones. Imágenes barrocas del Paraguay*, Sarrebourg, Édition du Musée du Pays de Sarrebourg, 2007, 143 p.
356. J.P. Duviols, 'Les jésuites et les indiens du Paraguay "Le joug suave de l'évangile"', in A. Molinié a.o., *Les jésuites en Espagne et en Amérique: jeux et enjeux du pouvoir (XVIe-XVIIIe siècles)*, Paris, Université Sorbonne, 2007, 319-353.
357. M. Estela-Guillemont, 'La voix publique dans la Province du Paraquaria au temps du conflit entre les jésuites et Bernardino de Cárdenas, évêque d'Asunción (1644-1668)', in A. Molinié a.o., *Les jésuites en Espagne et en Amérique: jeux et enjeux du pouvoir (XVIe-XVIIIe siècles)*, Paris, Université Sorbonne, 2007, 369-407.
358. J. Klaiber, 'Misiones exitosas y menos exitosas: los jesuitas en Mainas, Nueva España y Paraguay', in M. Marzal & L. Bacigalupo (eds.), *Los jesuitas y la modernidad en Iberoamérica 1549-1773*, Lima, Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú [etc.], 2007, 323-335.

Peru

See also 327.

359. L. Laurencich-Minelli & P. Numhauser (eds.), *El silencio protagonista. El primer siglo jesuita en el Virreinato del Perú, 1567-1667*, Quito, Abya-Yala, 2004, 228 p.
360. J.P. Tardieu, 'Compra de esclavos por el colegio jesuita de San Pablo de Lima (1691-1729)', *Hispania Sacra* 56 (2004), 269-286.

361. M.E. Codina, 'Haciendas y misiones: el caso de Maynas', in S. Negro & M.M. Marzal (eds.), *Esclavitud, economía y evangelización: la haciendas jesuitas en la América virreinal*, Lima, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú. Fondo editorial, 2005, 243-261.
362. J. Esquivel Coronado, 'Los maestros tasadores de casas y haciendas jesuitas en el Cuzco durante el siglo XVIII', in S. Negro & M.M. Marzal (eds.), *Esclavitud, economía y evangelización: la haciendas jesuitas en la América virreinal*, Lima, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú. Fondo editorial, 2005, 493-518.
363. S. Negro, 'Arquitectura, poder y esclavitud en las haciendas jesuitas de la Nasca en el Perú', in S. Negro & M.M. Marzal (eds.), *Esclavitud, economía y evangelización: la haciendas jesuitas en la América virreinal*, Lima, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú. Fondo editorial, 2005, 449-492.
364. A. Polvarini de Reyes, 'Las haciendas de la Compañía de Jesús: la vid y el mercado de aguardiente en el Perú del siglo XVIII', in S. Negro & M.M. Marzal (eds.), *Esclavitud, economía y evangelización: la haciendas jesuitas en la América virreinal*, Lima, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú. Fondo editorial, 2005, 345-375.
365. D. Rodríguez, 'Juan Martínez Rengifo y los jesuitas: formación de la hacienda Santa María de Puquio (La Huaca), 1560-1594', in S. Negro & M.M. Marzal (eds.), *Esclavitud, economía y evangelización: la haciendas jesuitas en la América virreinal*, Lima, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú. Fondo editorial, 2005, 263-297.
366. C. Salazar-Soler, "'Obras más que de gigantes". Los jesuitas y las ciencias de la tierra en el Virreinato del Perú', in L. Millones Figuera & D. Ledezma (eds.), *El saber de los jesuitas, historia naturales y el Nuevo Mundo*, Madrid, Iberoamericana / Frankfurt am Main, Vervuert, 2005, 147-172.
367. A.M. Soldi, 'Obrajes de vidrio en Ica en los siglos XVII y XVIII. El caso de Maracona', in S. Negro & M.M. Marzal (eds.), *Esclavitud, economía y evangelización: la haciendas jesuitas en la América virreinal*, Lima, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú. Fondo editorial, 2005, 333-344.
368. J.P. Tardieu, 'La esclavitud de los negros y el plan de Dios: la dialéctica de los jesuitas del virreinato del Perú', in S. Negro & M.M. Marzal (eds.), *Esclavitud, economía y evangelización: la haciendas jesuitas en la América virreinal*, Lima, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú. Fondo editorial, 2005, 67-81.
369. J.J. Hernández Palomo (ed.), *Misión a las Indias por el Padre Gerónimo Pallas. De Roma a Lima: La "Misión a Las Indias", 1619 (Razón y visión de una peregrinación sin retorno)*, Madrid, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2006, 325 p.

370. F. Cantù, "Come ese nuevo mundo está tan lexos destas partes". Strategie e politiche di governo della Compagnia di Gesù nella provincia peruviana (1581-1607)', in P. Broggio a.o. (eds.), *I gesuiti ai tempi di Claudio Acquaviva. Strategie politiche, religiose e culturali tra Cinque e Seicento*, Brescia, Morcelliana, 2007, 119-155.
371. B. Lavallé, 'Españoles y criollos en la provincia peruana de la Compañía durante el siglo XVII', in M. Marzal & L. Bacigalupo (eds.), *Los jesuitas y la modernidad en Iberoamérica 1549-1773*, Lima, Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú [etc.], 2007, 339-355.
372. M.M. Marzal, 'Compromiso étnico y expulsión de los jesuitas peruanos en 1767', in M. Marzal & L. Bacigalupo (eds.), *Los jesuitas y la modernidad en Iberoamérica 1549-1773*, Lima, Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú [etc.], 2007, 493-526.
373. C. Salazar-Soler, 'Costruendo l'"Indio": Società e religione nel Perù dei secoli XVI e XVII', in P. Broggio a.o. (eds.), *I gesuiti ai tempi di Claudio Acquaviva. Strategie politiche, religiose e culturali tra Cinque e Seicento*, Brescia, Morcelliana, 2007, 157-183.
374. C. Salazar-Soler, 'En búsqueda del tesoro perdido: los jesuitas y las técnicas mineras en Perú de los siglos XVI y XVII', in M. Marzal & L. Bacigalupo (eds.), *Los jesuitas y la modernidad en Iberoamérica 1549-1773*, Lima, Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú [etc.], 2007, 226-258.
375. J.I. Saranyana, 'Teología sistemática jesuita en el virreinato del Perú (1568-1767)', in M. Marzal & L. Bacigalupo (eds.), *Los jesuitas y la modernidad en Iberoamérica 1549-1773*, Lima, Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú [etc.], 2007, 33-55.

Puerto Rico

376. C. López, *Con la cruz y con el dine: los jesuitas en el San Juan colonial*, San Juan, Editorial Fundación Universidad Nacional de San Juan, 2001, 339 p.

United States

377. T. Széll, 'Az északkelet-amerikai jezsuita missziók kezdete' [The beginning of the Northeast-American Jesuit missions], *Távlatok* 49 (2000), 473-483.
378. M.C. Bénassy, 'La dure vie matérielle des missionnaires en Amérique du Nord. Les jésuites en Basse-Californie (1697-1768) et les franciscains en Haute-Californie (176-1836)', in J. Pirotte (ed.), *Les conditions matérielles de la mission. Contraintes, dépassements et imaginaires XVIIe-XXe siècles*, Paris, Karthala, 2005, 167-185.
379. S.J. Gross, 'The Grasshopper shrine at Cold Spring, Minnesota. Religion and market capitalism among German-American Catholics', *Catholic Historical Review* 92 (2005), 215-243.

380. K.M. Kreis, 'Die nordamerikanischen Indianermission der Jesuiten im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert', *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft* 90 (2006), 249-261.
381. J. Thomas, 'The Jesuitana collection at Boston College', in F. Mormando & J.G. Thomas (eds.), *Francis Xavier and the Jesuit missions in the Far East*, Chestnut Hill MA, The Jesuit Institute of Boston College, 2006, 124 p.
382. P. Gleason, 'The first century of Jesuit higher education in America', *U.S. Catholic Historian* 25 (2007), 37-52.
383. K.M. Kreis, *Schulen und Kirchen für die Sioux-Indianer. Deutsche Dokumente aus den katholischen Missionen in South Dakota, 1884-1932*, Bochum, Projektverlag, 2007, 272 p.
384. K.M. Kreis & C. Dally-Starna, *Lakotas, black robes, and holy women. German reports from the indian missions in South Dakota, 1886-1900*, Lincoln NE, University of Nebraska Press, 2007, 338 p.
385. G. McKevitt, *Brokers of culture: Italian Jesuits in the American West 1848-1919*, Stanford CA, Stanford University Press, 2007, 428 p.
386. R.A. Schroth, *The American Jesuits: A history*, New York, NYU Press, 2007, 368 p.
387. E. Wirth, *They made all the difference: Life-changing stories from Jesuit high schools*, Chicago, Loyola Press, 2007, 218 p.

Venezuela

388. K. Tarble & F. Scaramelli, 'A brief but critical presence. The archeology of a Jesuit mission in the Middle Orinoco (1730-1774)', *Missionalia* 32 (2004), 419-444.
389. J. del Rey Fajardo, 'Aportes para el estudio de cambios y permanencias en las misiones jesuíticas de la Orinoquia', in J.J. Hernández Palomo & R. Moreno Jeria (eds.), *La misión y los jesuitas en la América Española, 1566-1767: Cambios y permanencias*, Sevilla, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2005, 117-150.
390. J. del Rey Fajardo, 'Función religiosa, social y cultural de las haciendas misionales en la Orinoquia', in S. Negro & M.M. Marzal (eds.), *Esclavitud, economía y evangelización: la haciendas jesuitas en la América virreinal*, Lima, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú. Fondo editorial, 2005, 155-181.
391. E.O. Samudio A., 'Las haciendas jesuíticas en la Orinoquia en su contexto económico', in S. Negro & M.M. Marzal (eds.), *Esclavitud, economía y evangelización: la haciendas jesuitas en la América virreinal*, Lima, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú. Fondo editorial, 2005, 183-214.

392. J. del Rey Fajardo, *Los jesuitas en Venezuela*, Caracas, Universidad Católica Andrés Bello / Bogotá, Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, 2006, 479 p.
393. J. del Rey Fajardo, 'Misiones jesuítica de la Orinoquia: entre la Ilustración y Modernidad', in M. Marzal & L. Bacigalupo (eds.), *Los jesuitas y la modernidad en Iberoamérica 1549-1773*, Lima, Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú [etc.], 2007, 105-128.

C. ASIA

See also 82.

394. P. Lécivain, 'Decoding the European renaissance mind. The Jesuit missionaries' view of cultural encounter in Asia', in Y. Camus (ed.), *Religion and culture. Past approaches - present globalisation - future challenges*, Macau, Instituto Ricci de Macau, 2004, 25-34.
395. R. Herzstein, 'Une reconciliation entre Paris et la Compagnie de Jésus au Levant (1875-1914). Faux-fuyant ou nécessité ponctuelle?', *Mémoire Spiritaine* 22 (2005), 96-113.
396. R.M. Loureiro, *In the company of books. Manuscripts and books in the Jesuit missions in East-Asia 1540-1620. / Na Companhia dos livros. Manuscritos e impressos nas missões jesuítas da Ásia oriental 1540-1620*, Macau, Universidade de Macau, 2007, 358 p.
397. I.G. Županov, 'Correnti e controcorrenti. La geopolitica gesuita in Asia (XVI secolo)', in P. Broggio a.o. (eds.), *I gesuiti ai tempi di Claudio Acquaviva. Strategie politiche, religiose e culturali tra Cinque e Seicento*, Brescia, Morcelliana, 2007, 205-218.

China

See also 2, 3, 977, 1051, 1053.

398. P. Vámos, 'A kommunista valláspolitiká és a katolikus misszionáriusok helyzetének alakulása Kínában, az 1949-50-es években' [The formation of communist religious politics and the situation of Catholic missionaries in China in 1949-1950], in *Mitoszok és vallások Kínában*. Budapest, Balassi, 2000, 161-174.
399. L. Cser, *Tíz év Kínában [Ten years in China]*, Budapest, [JIDE], [2001], 166 p.
400. T. Li, 'Chinese renaissance. The role of early Jesuits in China', in S. Uhalley & X. Wu (eds.), *China and Christianity. Burdened past, hopeful future*, Armonk, M. E. Sharpe, 2001, 117-126.
401. C. Willis, 'The Jesuit mission in China: the Portuguese contribution', in *China and Macau*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2002, 60-62, 65-80.

402. M.S. Chen, *Mythistory in Sino-Western contacts. Jesuit missionaries and the pillars of Chinese Catholic religion*, Thunder Bay (Ontario), Lakehead University Printing Services, 2003, 172 p.
403. D.R. Curto, 'The Jesuits in China. A new perspective', *Portuguese Studies* 19 (2003), 213-219 .
404. P. Nemeshegyi, 'A jezsuiták zenéje a 17-18. századi Kínában' [The music of the Jesuits in China during the 17-18th centuries], *Távlatok* 62 (2003) 540-552.
405. N. Standaert, 'El rol del otro en la experiencia misionera a partir de China. La identidad jesuita adaptada por los Chinos', in C. Rico de Sotelo (ed.), *Tradición jesuita. Enseñanza, espiritualidad, misión*, Montevideo, Universidad católica del Uruguay, 2003, 109-129.
406. C. Timmermans, *Entre Chine et Europe. Taoïsme et bouddhisme chinois dans les publications jésuites de l'époque moderne (XVIIe-XVIIIe siècles)*, Lille, Atelier national de reproduction des thèses, 2003, 595 p.
407. P. Vámos, *Magyar jezsuita misszió Kínában [Hungarian Jesuit Mission in China]*, Budapest, Akadémiai, 2003, 390 p.
408. Y. Xilin, 'Christianity's dual meaning in the modernisation of China. In commemoration of the 450th anniversary of the death of St. Francis Xavier', *Religion and culture. Past approaches - present globalisation - future challenges*, Macao, Macau Ricci Institute, 2004, 113-127.
409. A. Albanese, 'La stele di Xi'an, i gesuiti e Ripa', in M. Scarpari & T. Lippielo (eds.), *Caro Maestro ... Scritti in onore di Lionello Lanciotti per l'ottantesimo compleanno*, Venezia, Libreria Editrice Cafoscarina, 2005, 72-83.
410. K. Barlai, 'Astronomical measurements by Jesuit fathers in China in the year 1772', in L.G. Balasz a.o. (eds.), *The European Scientist: Symposium on the era and work of Franz Xaver von Zach (1754-1832)*, Frankfurt, Verlag Harri Deutsch, 2005, 45-52.
411. L.M. Brockey, 'A Garganta. Os Jesuitas da China e o Colégio de Macau, 1579-1623', *Review of Culture. International Edition* 5 (2005), 44-55.
412. L. Sher-Shiueh, 'History as rhetoric. An analysis of Jesuit Chreia in Late Ming China', in E. Ziolkowski (ed.), *Literature, religion, and East/West comparison. Essays in honor of Anthony C. Yu*, Cranbury NJ, Rosemont, 2005, 223-242.
413. B. Truchet, 'La traversée des jésuites en 1841, à bord de l'Érigone, à destination de la Chine', in J. Pirotte (ed.), *Les conditions matérielles de la mission. Contraintes, dépassements et imaginaires XVIIe-XXe siècles*, Paris, Karthala, 2005, 59-75.

414. J. Waley-Cohen, 'Diplomats, Jesuits and foreign curiosities', in E.S. Rawski & J. Rawson (eds.), *China. The three emperors*, London, Royal Academy of Arts, 2005, 178-207.
415. L.M. Brockey, 'Illuminating the shades of sin: The Society of Jesus and confession in seventeenth-century China', in N. Standaert & A. Dudink (eds.), *Forgive us our sins: Confession in Late Ming and Early Qing China*, Sankt Augustin / Nettetal, Steyler Verlag, 2006, 129-181.
416. C. von Collani, 'Der Ritenstreit und die Folgen für die Chinamission', *Zeitschrift für Missions- und Religionswissenschaft* 90 (2006), 210-225.
417. L. Hostetler, 'A mirror for the monarch. A literary portrait of China in eighteenth-century France', *Asia Major* 19 (2006), 349-376.
418. T. Meynard, *Following the footsteps of the Jesuits in Beijing: a guide to sites of Jesuit work and influence in Beijing*, Saint Louis, The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 2006, 120 p.
419. M. Revuelta González, 'Los ritos Chinos y los Jesuitas según la documentación franciscana', in his *Once calas en la historia de la Compañía de Jesús. "Servir a todos en el Señor"*, Madrid, Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 2006, 145-178.
420. P. Vámos, 'A magyar jezsuiták kínai missziója' [The Chinese mission of the Hungarian Jesuits], in *A magyar jezsuiták küldetése a kezdetektől napjainkig* [The mission of the Hungarian Jesuits from the beginning to our days], Piliscsaba, PPKE BK, 2006, 225-239.
421. L. Brancaccio, *China accomodata. Chinakonstruktionen in jesuitischen Schriften der Frühen Neuzeit*, Berlin, Frank & Timme, 2007, 268 p.
422. L.M. Brockey, *Journey to the East: the Jesuit mission in China 1579-1724*, Cambridge / London, The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007, 496 p.
423. H. Chen, 'The human body as a universe: Understanding heaven by visualization and sensibility in Jesuit cartography in China', *Catholic Historical Review* 93 (2007), 517-552.
424. P. Demattè, 'From astronomy to heaven. Jesuit science and the conversion of China', in M. Reed & P. Demattè (eds.), *China on paper. European and Chinese works from the late sixteenth to the early nineteenth century*, Los Angeles, Getty Publications, 2007, 53-69.
425. B. Elman, 'Global science and comparative history: Jesuits, science, and philology in China and Europe, 1550-1850', *East Asian Science, Technology, and Medicine* 26 (2007), 9-16.

426. N. Golvers, 'De Vlaamse jezuïetenmissie in China in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw: Nieuwe testimonia uit Mechelen', *Verbiest-Koerier* 19 (maart 2007), 2-6.
427. Z. Kang, 'Ming Qing lai Hua Yesuhuishi dui daojiao wenhua de jiedu yu yanjiu [Ming and Qing time Jesuits and the interpretation of and research on Daoism]', *Lishi* 231 (2007), 82-87.
428. M. Schippan, 'Russland und die Anfänge der europäischen Sinologie im 18. Jahrhundert. Zum Briefwechsel der der St. Petersburger Akademie der Wissenschaften mit den Jesuiten in China', *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 102 (2007), 587-596.
429. P. de Troia, 'Present location of places in China, mentioned by name in 17th century Jesuit works' [in Chinese], *Guoji hanxue* 15 (2007), 238-261.
430. B. Truchet, 'Une correspondance contrôlée. Les jésuites de Chine et les Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, 1842-1862', *Transversalités* 103 (2007), 45-68.
431. T. Zhou, 'Yesuhui zaoqi bujiao yu Zhong Ri chuantong shehui beiijing' [The Jesuits and Sino-Japanese relations], *Hunan shifan daxue shehui kexue xuebao* 36 (2007), 125-128.

India

432. I.G. Županov, 'Lust, marriage and free will. Jesuit critique of paganism in South India (Seventeenth Century)', *Studies in History* 16 (2000), 199-220.
433. I.G. Županov, 'Drugs, health, bodies and souls in the tropics. Medical experiments in sixteenth-century Portuguese India', *The Indian Economic and Social History Review* 39 (2002), 1-45.
434. M. Arumairaj, *Seventeenth century Tamilabam as gleaned from Jesuit letters*, Tiruchirappalli, Star Publications, 2003, 356 p.
435. S.J. Sebastian, *The Jesuit Carnatic mission. A foundation of Andhra Church*, Secunderabad, Jesuit Province Society-Hyd., 2004, 249 p.
436. C.C. da Silva Tavares, *Jesuitas e inquisidores em Goa: A cristiandade insular (1540-1682)*, Lisboa, Roma Editora, 2004, 297 p.
437. A. Lokhande, 'Pune Jesuit mission and catechists in the Ahmednagar district. Reminiscences, appraisal and perspectives', *Ishvani Documentation and Mission Digest* 23 (2005), 70-81.
438. C.H. Payne (ed.), *Jahangir and the Jesuits*, London / New York, Routledge Curson, 2005, 287 p.

439. I.G. Županov, “‘One civility, but multiple religion’. Jesuit mission among St. Thomas Christians in India (16th-17th centuries)’, *Journal of Early Modern History* 9 (2005), 284-325.
440. A. Dhiraviam, *Trends in the history of Jesuits' mission in Madurai (1606-1693)*, Rome, n.e., 2006, 126 p.
441. M. Díaz Gárriz, *Breve historia de la misión de Gujerat*, Bilbao, Mensajero, 2006, 422 p.
442. L.M. Brockey, ‘Jesuit missionaries on the Carreira da India in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth centuries. A selection of contemporary sources’, *Itinerario* 31 (2007), 111-132.

Indonesia

443. F. Magnis-Suseno, ‘Missionar in Indonesien. Erfahrungen, Reflexionen, Ausblicke’, *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft* 90 (2006), 262-274.

Iraq

444. D. Biacsi, ‘Jezsuiták Irakban’ [Jesuits in Iraq], *Távlatok* 62 (2003), 544-552.

Japan

See also 2, 431.

445. T. Maruyama, ‘Linguistic studies by Portuguese Jesuits in sixteenth and seventeenth century Japan’, in O. Zwartjes & E. Hovdhaugen (eds.), *Missionary linguistics / Lingüística misionera. Selected papers from the first international conference on missionary linguistics*, Amsterdam / Philadelphia, J. Benjamins, 2004, 141-160.
446. J.P. Oliveira e Costa, ‘Os Jesuitas e a chegada dos protestantes ao Japão’, *Review of Culture. International Edition* 11 (2004), 35-47.
447. V. Volpi, *Il visitatore. Un testimone oculare nel misterioso Giappone del XVI secolo*, Casala Monferrato (AL), Piemme, 2004, 394 p.
448. I. Higashibaba, ‘Christian prayer in Tokugawa Japan’, *Tenri Journal of Religion* 34 (2006), 107-117.
449. E. Kishimoto, ‘The Process of Translation in “Dictionarium Latino Lusitanicum, ac Iaponicum”’, *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 72 (2006), 17-26.
450. *Roma wo yumemita bishōnen Tenshō ken’ō shisetsu to Amakusa Shirō ten* [I 4 gentil uomini che hanno visto il sogno di Roma], Nagasaki, Nagasaki Museum of History and Culture, 2006, 143 p.
451. F.J. Gómez Díez, ‘Unidad y variedad en la misión jesuítica del siglo XVI.

Japón a las fronteras de la monarquía hispánica', *Estudios Eclesiásticos* 82 (2007), 359-387.

Korea

452. D. Baker, 'The seeds of modernity: Jesuit natural philosophy in Confucian Korea', *Pacific Rim Report* 48 (August 2007), 1-16.

Macao

See also 411.

453. D. Alden, 'Charles R. Boxer, Macau, and the Jesuits', in Y. Camus (ed.), *Religion and culture. Past approaches - present globalisation - future challenges*, Macau, Instituto Ricci de Macau, 2004, 11- 21.

Philippines

See 691.

D. EUROPE

454. P. Broggio, 'Inquisizione, visite pastorali e missioni: la Compagnia di Gesù e gli strumenti del controllo religioso e sociale nel mondo ispanico (secoli XVI-XVII)', in J.A. de Freitas Carvalho (ed.), *A Companhia de Jesus na Península Ibérica nos sécs. XVI e XVII. Espiritualidade e cultura*, Porto, Centro Inter-Universitário da História da Espiritualidade da Universidade do Porto, 2005, 459-86.
455. J.A. de Freitas Carvalho (ed.), *A Companhia de Jesus na Península Ibérica nos sécs. XVI e XVII. Espiritualidade e cultura*, Porto, Centro Inter-Universitário da História da Espiritualidade da Universidade do Porto, 2005, 626 p.
456. F. Palomo, 'De algunas cosas que sucedieron estando en misión. Espiritualidad jesuita y escritura misionera en la península Ibérica (siglos XVI-XVII)', in J.A. de Freitas Carvalho (ed.), *A Companhia de Jesus na Península Ibérica nos sécs. XVI e XVII. Espiritualidade e cultura*, Porto, Centro Inter-Universitário da História da Espiritualidade da Universidade do Porto, 2005, 119-50.
457. C.M. Robion, "'Indes pyrénéennes". Les communautés montagnardes vues par les missionnaires jésuites au XVIIe siècle', in S. Brunet & N. Lemaitre (eds.), *Clergés, communautés et familles des montagnes d'Europe*, Paris, Publications de la Sorbonne, 2005, 293-304.
458. P. Mat'a, 'Zwischen Heiligkeit und Betrugerei. Arme-Seelen-Retter, Exorzisten, Visionäre und Propheten im Jesuiten- und Karmeliten-orden', in A. Ohlidal & S. Samerski (eds.), *Jesuitische Frömmigkeitskulturen. Konfessionelle Interaktion in Ostmitteleuropa 1570-1700*, Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag, 2006, 177-206.

459. A. Ohlidal & S. Samerski (eds.), *Jesuitische Frömmigkeitskulturen. Konfessionelle Interaktion in Ostmitteleuropa 1570-1700*, Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag, 2006, 339 p.

460. B.M. Rinaldi, 'The Jesuit contribution to Oriental influence on European gardens', *Acta Horticulturae* 759 (2007), 153-165.

Austria

See also 514.

461. R. Wittmann, 'Frühes Druck- und Verlagswesen der Jesuiten. Ein Desiderat der Forschung', *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Buchforschung in Österreich* (2000/2), 2-15.

462. W. Drobesh, 'Habent sua fata libelli. Die historiographischen Bestände der Klagenfurter Jesuitenniederlassung zum Zeitpunkt der Auflösung (1773)', in W. Wadl (ed.), *Kärntner Landesgeschichte und Archivwissenschaft. Festschrift Alfred Ogris zum 60. Geburtstag*, Klagenfurt, Verlag des Geschichtsverein für Kärnten, 2001, 321-338.

463. I. Zombori, *A bécsi Pázmaneum [The Pazmaneum in Vienna]*, Budapest, METEM, 2002, 408 p.

464. R. Decot, 'Jesuitische Seelsorge im josephinischen Österreich und in Norditalien nach 1773', in R. Decot (ed.), *Expansion und Gefährdung. Amerikanische Mission und Europäische Krise der Jesuiten im 18. Jahrhundert*, Mainz, Philipp von Zabern, 2004, 185-108.

465. F. Caramelle, 'Die Jesuitenkirche zu Innsbruck', *Tirol* 66 (2005), 34-40.

466. A. Blöchlinger a.o., *150 Jahre Kolleg Stella Matutina. Die bewegte Geschichte des Kollegs Stella Matutina von 1856 bis 1938 und 1946 bis 1979*, Hohenems, Bucher Verlag, 2006, 155 p.

467. M. Čičo, '"Insignia religionis trophaea". Der Anteil der Jesuiten an der Errichtung der Kalvarienberge in der Österreichischen Provinz der Gesellschaft Jesu (17. Jahrhundert)', in A. Ohlidal & S. Samerski (eds.), *Jesuitische Frömmigkeitskulturen. Konfessionelle Interaktion in Ostmitteleuropa 1570-1700*, Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag, 2006, 225-256.

468. W. Deuer, 'Der Klagenfurter Dom als Prototyp der frühbarocken Wandpfeilerkirche in den Alpenländern? Eine These', in W. Drobesh & P.G. Tropper (eds.), *Die Jesuiten in Innerösterreich. Die kulturelle und geistige Prägung einer Region im 17. und 18. Jh.*, Wien etc., Verlag Herma & P. Tropper / Mohorjeva založba, 2006, 157-180.

469. W. Drobesh, 'Die Jesuiten als historiographisches Problem', in W. Drobesh & P.G. Tropper (eds.), *Die Jesuiten in Innerösterreich. Die kulturelle und*

geistige Prägung einer Region im 17. und 18. Jh., Wien etc., Verlag Hermagoras / Mohorjeva založba, 2006, 9-20.

470. W. Drobesh, 'Die Internationalisierung der "Provinz". Die Klagenfurter Jesuiten-"Akademie" als überregionale Bildungsstätte', in W. Drobesh & P.G. Tropper (eds.), *Die Jesuiten in Innerösterreich. Die kulturelle und geistige Prägung einer Region im 17. und 18. Jh.*, Wien etc., Verlag Hermagoras / Mohorjeva založba, 2006, 95-114.
471. W. Drobesh & P.G. Tropper (eds.), *Die Jesuiten in Innerösterreich. Die kulturelle und geistige Prägung einer Region im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, Wien etc., Verlag Hermagoras / Mohorjeva založba, 2006, 322 p.
472. I. Fazekas, 'Jesuitenfrömmigkeit und Priesterausbildung am Pazmaneum, dem Ungarischen Seminar in Wien (17./18. Jahrhundert)', in A. Ohlidal & S. Samerski (eds.), *Jesuitische Frömmigkeitskulturen. Konfessionelle Interaktion in Ostmitteleuropa 1570-1700*, Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag, 2006, 163-176.
473. K.H. Frankl, 'Die Jesuiten als Theologen', in W. Drobesh & P.G. Tropper (eds.), *Die Jesuiten in Innerösterreich. Die kulturelle und geistige Prägung einer Region im 17. und 18. Jh.*, Wien etc., Verlag Hermagoras / Mohorjeva založba, 2006, 21-36.
474. P.C. Hartmann, 'Rolle und Bedeutung der Jesuiten für den Wissenstransfer von Kontinent zu Kontinent im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert', in W. Drobesh & P.G. Tropper (eds.), *Die Jesuiten in Innerösterreich. Die kulturelle und geistige Prägung einer Region im 17. und 18. Jh.*, Wien etc., Verlag Hermagoras / Mohorjeva založba, 2006, 59-68.
475. R.K. Höfer, 'Jesuitische Schule und Seelsorge in der Steiermark', in W. Drobesh & P.G. Tropper (eds.), *Die Jesuiten in Innerösterreich. Die kulturelle und geistige Prägung einer Region im 17. und 18. Jh.*, Wien etc., Verlag Hermagoras / Mohorjeva založba, 2006, 194-214.
476. R. Kluger, '"Unser Kriegsherr und Feldoberster [...] ist Jesus Christus". Aspekte der jesuitischen Volksmission in Kärnten und in der Steiermark im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert', in W. Drobesh & P.G. Tropper (eds.), *Die Jesuiten in Innerösterreich. Die kulturelle und geistige Prägung einer Region im 17. und 18. Jh.*, Wien etc., Verlag Hermagoras / Mohorjeva založba, 2006, 79-94.
477. R. Locher, *Jesuitenkirche zur Heiligsten Dreifaltigkeit. Universitätskirche in Innsbruck*, Rum, TKV Chizzali GmbH, 2006, 28 p.
478. C. Kogler, 'Zu den Quellen der Klagenfurter Jesuitenchronik', in W. Drobesh & P.G. Tropper (eds.), *Die Jesuiten in Innerösterreich. Die kulturelle und geistige Prägung einer Region im 17. und 18. Jh.*, Wien etc., Verlag Hermagoras / Mohorjeva založba, 2006, 115-127.

479. H. Penz, "‘Jesuitisieren der alten Orden’? Anmerkungen zum Verhältnis der Gesellschaft Jesu zu den österreichischen Stiften im konfessionellen Zeitalter', in A. Ohlidal & S. Samerski (eds.), *Jesuitische Frömmigkeitskulturen. Konfessionelle Interaktion in Ostmitteleuropa 1570-1700*, Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag, 2006, 143-162.
480. V. Rajšp, 'Die Mehrsprachigkeit bei den innerösterreichischen Jesuiten und ihre wissenschaftlichen Leistungen', in W. Drobesch & P.G. Tropper (eds.), *Die Jesuiten in Innerösterreich. Die kulturelle und geistige Prägung einer Region im 17. und 18. Jh.*, Wien etc., Verlag Hermagoras / Mohorjeva založba, 2006, 222-230.
481. H. Rumpler, 'Die Jesuiten als Träger der Wissenschaft in Österreich und Kärnten', in W. Drobesch & P.G. Tropper (eds.), *Die Jesuiten in Innerösterreich. Die kulturelle und geistige Prägung einer Region im 17. und 18. Jh.*, Wien etc., Verlag Hermagoras / Mohorjeva založba, 2006, 37-58.
482. W. Telesko, 'Zur Ausstattung der ehemaligen Jesuitenkirche in Klagenfurt. Aspekte der Bildprogrammatik der "Gesellschaft Jesu" im 18. Jahrhundert', in W. Drobesch & P.G. Tropper (eds.), *Die Jesuiten in Innerösterreich. Die kulturelle und geistige Prägung einer Region im 17. und 18. Jh.*, Wien etc., Verlag Hermagoras / Mohorjeva založba, 2006, 181-193.
483. P.G. Tropper, 'Zur Kärntner Ordenslandschaft im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert', in W. Drobesch & P.G. Tropper (eds.), *Die Jesuiten in Innerösterreich. Die kulturelle und geistige Prägung einer Region im 17. und 18. Jh.*, Wien etc., Verlag Hermagoras / Mohorjeva založba, 2006, 69-78.
484. R. Wunder & W. Drobesch, 'Jesuitenlatein am Beispiel der "Annales Collegii Clagenfurtensis"', in W. Drobesch & P.G. Tropper (eds.), *Die Jesuiten in Innerösterreich. Die kulturelle und geistige Prägung einer Region im 17. und 18. Jh.*, Wien etc., Verlag Hermagoras / Mohorjeva založba, 2006, 143-156.
485. S. Leitner, '150 Jahre Katholisch-Theologische Fakultät Innsbruck. Einige Überlegungen', *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie* 129 (2007), 285-296.
486. K.H. Neufeld, 'Die theologische Fakultät der Leopold-Franzens-Universität Innsbruck', *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie* 129 (2007), 313-344.
487. B. Niederbacher, 'Hundert und fünfzig Jahre Philosophie an der Theologischen Fakultät in Innsbruck', *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie* 129 (2007), 345-366.
488. J. Niewiadomski, 'Facultas semper reformanda. Die Innsbrucker Katholisch-Theologische Fakultät in Jahren großer Stukturenreformen', *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie* 129 (2007), 297-312.
489. W. Rees, 'Das Fach Kirchenrecht und rechtliche Fragen an der Katholisch-

Theologischen Fakultät der Universität Innsbruck. Ein Rückblick', *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie* 129 (2007), 367-396.

Belgium

See also 324, 426, 597, 1464.

490. E. Stols, 'Humanistas y jesuitas en los negocios brasileños de los Schetz, grandes negociantes de Amberes y banqueros de Carlos V', in *Carlos V y la quiebra del humanismo político en Europa (1530-1558)*, Madrid, Sociedad Estatal para la Conmemoración de los centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V, 2001, 29-47.
491. R. Trnek, 'Rubens, le peintre de la Contre-Réforme et de l'ordre des Jésuites', in *Peter Paul Rubens. Exposition Hôtel de Ville de Bruxelles*, Bruxelles, Ville de Bruxelles, 2002, 57-63.
492. B. Op de Beeck, 'Boeken uit de bibliotheken van de Engelse Jezuïetencolleges te Brugge, bewaard in de verzameling 'Ville de Bruxelles'', *Boekgeschiedenis in Vlaanderen. Nieuwe instrumenten en benaderingen*, Brussel, Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen en Kunsten, 2003, 79-89.
493. R. Godding, 'Ludovico Iacobilli e i Bollandisti', in M. Duranti (ed.), *Ludovico Iacobilli, erudite umbro del '600*, Foligno, Biblioteca Iacobilli, 2004, 127-138.
494. X. Lequeux, 'L'apport des manuscrits grecs de l'Ambrosienne dans les "Acta Sanctorum"', in C.M. Mazucchi & C. Pasini (eds.), *Nuove ricerche sui manoscritti greci dell'Ambrosiana*, Milano, Vita e Pensiero, 2004, 179-189.
495. W. Fabri (ed.), *In memoriam. Jezuïeten uit Vlaanderen*, Brussel, Provinciaal, 2005, 49 p.
496. R. Godding, 'Il commentario del Martirologio Romano da parte dei Bollandisti ed i suoi antecedenti', in *Il Martirologio Romano. Teologia, liturgia, santità*, Città del Vaticano, Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2005, 71-87.
497. B. Joassart, 'L'abbé Godefroid Hermans et l'oeuvre des Bollandistes à Tongerlo (1789-1796)', in *Abbatat et abbés dans l'ordre de Prémontré*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2005, 213-238.
498. B. Joassart, 'Henri Omont et les bollandistes. Correspondance', *Analecta Bollandiana* 123 (2005), 377-420.
499. R. Faesen, 'Emblemata sacra. Introduction. Jesuitica at the Maurits Sabbe Library', in J.F. Chorpenning (ed.), *Emblemata sacra. Emblem books from the Maurits Sabbe library, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven*, Philadelphia, Saint Joseph's University Press, 2006, 1-6.

500. G. Proot & J. Mertens, 'Der sächsische Freiherr Christoph Heinrich von Kyau, Komtur von Pitsenburg (1716-1750) und Mäzen des Jesuitentheaters in Mechelen (1738)', in J. Mertens (ed.), *"Met desen crude est guet stoven..." Biesense opstellen opgedragen aan Gilbert van Houtven*, Bilzen, Landcommanderij en Historisch Studiecentrum Alden Biesen, 2006, 223-240.
501. G.M. Verd Conradi, 'El soneto "No me mueve, mi Dios, para quererte" y su versión Latina en los Países Bajos', *Archivo Teológico Granadino* 69 (2006), 49-70.
502. E. Belmans, *Af-beeldinghe van d'eerste eeuw der Societeyt Iesu (1640). Het gedenckeboek van de eerste eeuw van het Gezelschap van Jezus*, Leuven, Katholieke Universiteit. Faculteit Letteren, 2007, 289 p.
503. H. Callewier, 'Anti-jezuïtisme in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden (1542-1773)', *Trajecta* 16 (2007), 30-50.
504. R. Godding a.o., *Bollandistes, saints et legends*, Bruxelles, Société des Bollandistes, 2007, 179 p.
505. T. Meganck, 'Peter Paul Rubens en de jezuitenkerk (nu Carolus Borromeüskerk) te Antwerpen', in J. Vander Auwera a.o. (eds.), *Rubens. Een genie aan het werk. Rondom de Rubenswerken in de Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België*, Tiel, Lannoo, 2007, 215-223.

Croatia

506. V. Pozaic (ed.), *Jesuits among the Croats*, Zagreb, Institute of Philosophy and Theology, 2000, 600 p.

Czech Republic

507. E. Doležalová, 'Seminář sv. Václava a konvikt sv. Bartoloměje na Starém Městě pražském', *Pražský sborník historický* 31 (2001), 186-261.
508. K. Cerný, 'Jezuité a medicína', in I. Čornejová (ed.), *Úloha církevních řádů při pobělohorské rekatolizaci*, Praha, Scriptorium, 2003, 170-179.
509. J. Havlík, 'Kult svatých patronů proti moru v letech 1679-1680', in I. Čornejová (ed.), *Úloha církevních řádů při pobělohorské rekatolizaci*, Praha, Scriptorium, 2003, 332-362.
510. P. Nevímová, 'Vliv spirituality Tovaryšstva Ježíšova na výzdobné programy řádových kostelů', in I. Čornejová (ed.), *Úloha církevních řádů při pobělohorské rekatolizaci*, Praha, Scriptorium, 2003, 217-249.
511. M. Svatoš, 'Kontrola četby a distribuce náboženských knih při lidových misích a misijní knížky v 18. století', in I. Čornejová (ed.), *Úloha církevních řádů při pobělohorské rekatolizaci*, Praha, Scriptorium, 2003, 363-384.

512. J. Svobodová, 'Jak zasáhly církevní řády do Života Klatov?', in I. Čornejová (ed.), *Úloha církevních řádů při pobělohorské rekatolizaci*, Praha, Scriptorium, 2003, 165-169.
513. E. Doležalová, 'Nadace pro Jezuitský seminář a konvikt v Praze jako specifický prvek barokní kultury' [Foundation for the Jesuit seminary and boarding school in Prague as a specific element of Baroque culture], in O. Fejtová a.o. (eds.), *Barokní Praha – barokní Čechie 1620-1740*, Praha, Scriptorium, 2004, 583-587.
514. G. Heiss, 'Mezi ochranou a ohrožením: Italská a Židovská obec v Praze a ve Vídni v 16. a 17. století ve zprávách Jezuitů' [Between protection and jeopardy: the Italian and Jewish communities in Prague and Vienna in the 16th and 17th centuries in the reports of the Jesuits], in O. Fejtová a.o. (eds.), *Barokní Praha – barokní Čechie 1620-1740*, Praha, Scriptorium, 2004, 177-189.
515. P. Štěpánek, 'Barokní Čechie – barokní Iberie a Amerika' [Baroque Bohemia – Baroque Iberia and America], in O. Fejtová a.o. (eds.), *Barokní Praha – barokní Čechie 1620-1740*, Praha, Scriptorium, 2004, 997-100.
516. L. Matusíková, 'Licences for the baptism of Jews granted by the archbishopric consistory to the Jesuit college in Prague's old town, 1664-1755', *Judaica Bohemica* 41 (2005), 261-322.
517. P. Nevimová, *Cappella italiana della Città Vecchia [Prague]*, Kutná Hora, Halský kulturní institut, 2005, 31 p.
518. M. Holubová & A. Fechtnerová, *Catalogus personarum et officiorum residentii ad S. Montem (1647-1773). Biografický slovník členů Tovaryšstva Ježíšova působících na Svaté Hoře u Příbami v letech 1647-1773*, Praha, SOA, 2006, 158.
519. E. Kovács, 'Az olmützi jezsuiták magyarországi kapcsolatai 1562 és 1773 között' [The Hungarian relations of the Jesuits of Olomouc 1562-1773], in *A magyar jezsuiták küldetése a kezdetektől napjainkig [The mission of the Hungarian Jesuits from the beginning to our days]*, Piliscsaba, PPKE BK, 2006, 513-519.
520. A. Mészáros, 'A Cseh- és Morvaországi jezsuita akadémiák szerepe a magyarországi egyetemjárásban' [The role of Bohemian and Moravian Jesuit academies in the perigrination of Hungarian students], in *A magyar jezsuiták küldetése a kezdetektől napjainkig [The mission of the Hungarian Jesuits from the beginning to our days]*, Piliscsaba, PPKE BK, 2006, 504-512.
521. A. Ohlidal, 'Die (Wieder-)Einführung der Wallfahrten nach Sankt Johann unter dem Felsen und Altbunzlau um 1600 - ein Verdienst der Prager Jesuiten?', in A. Ohlidal & S. Samerski (eds.), *Jesuitische Frömmigkeitskulturen. Konfessionelle Interaktion in Ostmitteleuropa 1570-1700*, Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag, 2006, 207-224.

522. S. Samerski, 'Von der Rezeption zur Indoktrination. Die Annenbruderschaft in Olmütz (16./17. Jahrhundert)', in A. Ohlidal & S. Samerski (eds.), *Jesuitische Frömmigkeitskulturen. Konfessionelle Interaktion in Ostmitteleuropa 1570-1700*, Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag, 2006, 93-118.
523. M. Šroněk, 'Der Statuens schmuck der Prager Karlsbrücke in der Bildpropaganda der Gesellschaft Jesu', in A. Ohlidal & S. Samerski (eds.), *Jesuitische Frömmigkeitskulturen. Konfessionelle Interaktion in Ostmitteleuropa 1570-1700*, Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag, 2006, 119-140.
524. M. Šroněk, Jan Jiří Heinsch. *Malíř barokní zbožnosti. Painter of baroque piety*, Praha, Vydání první, 2006, 192 p.

France

See also 717.

525. C. Potay, 'Le collège des jésuites de Nîmes', in *Congrès archéologique de France, 157e session*, Paris, Société française d'archéologie, 2000, 175-186.
526. A. Romano, 'Enseignement des mathématiques et de la philosophie naturelle au collège jésuite de Rouen dans les années 1640', in J.P. Clero (ed.), *Les Pascal à Rouen (1640-1648)*, Rouen, Publications de l'Université de Rouen, 2000, 217-233.
527. M. Brisacier, 'L'élève des jésuites', in *Charles de Gaulle: la jeunesse et la guerre, 1890-1920*, Paris, Plon, 2001, 44-55.
528. J. Fouilleron, 'Les jésuites chassés de la cité. Violences pour un retour: Mauriac, 6-7 septembre 1762', *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 48 (2001), 50-70.
529. A.E. Spica, 'Les Enluminures de Le Maistre de Sacy et l'Almanach intitulé "La dérouté et la confusion des Jansénistes": une querelle d'images', in D. Descotes a.o. (eds.), *Le rayonnement de Port-Royal. Mélanges en l'honneur de Philippe Sellier*, Paris, Champion, 2001, 539-555.
530. D. Colon, 'Le mythe de la congrégation: les Jésuites et les élites des grandes écoles au XIXe siècle', in M. Fumaroli a.o. (eds.), *Elites et sociabilité en France*, Paris, Perrin, 2003, 171-183.
531. M.P. Marchini, 'Au sortir de l'école jésuite. Le collège de Bastia', in J. Fusina a.o. (eds.), *Histoire de l'école en Corse*, Ajaccio, Albiana, 2003, 391-404.
532. H. Madelin, 'L'école Sainte-Geneviève. 150 ans d'histoire', *Études* 400 (2004), 477-487.
533. J.M. Valentin, 'Orphée, Pallas et le projet jésuite de renovatio mundi', in his *L'école, la ville, la cour. Pratiques sociales, enjeux poétologiques et répertoires du théâtre*

dans l'Empire au XVIIe siècle, Paris, Klincksieck, 2004, 103-110.

534. F. Seichepine, 'Les bibliothèques de collèges jésuites en Bourgogne d'après les inventaires de 1763', *Annales de Bourgogne* 77 (2005), 199-226.
535. M. Choudhury, "'Carnal quietism": Embodying anti-Jesuit polemics in the Catherine Cadière affair, 1731', *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 39 (2006), 173-186.
536. G. De Rosa, 'I 150 anni della rivista "Études"', *La Civiltà Cattolica* 157 (2006), 568-571.
537. H.M. Schmidinger, 'La troisième scolastique en France au XXe siècle', P. Secretan (ed.), *La philosophie chrétienne d'inspiration catholique. Constats et controverses - positions actuelles*, Fribourg, Academic Press, 2006, 157-228.
538. D. Varry, 'Batailles de libelles à Lyon à l'occasion de la suppression de la Compagnie de Jésus (années 1760-1775)', *Histoire et civilisation du livre. Revue internationale* 2 (2006), 135-168.
539. A. Piéjus (ed.), *Plaire et instruire. Le spectacle dans les collèges de l'Ancien Régime*, Rennes, Presses Université Rennes, 2007, 370 p.
540. N. Reinhardt, 'The king's confessor: changing images', in M. Schaich (ed.), *Monarchy and religion. The transformation of royal culture in eighteenth-century Europe*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2007, 153-185.
541. M. Revuelta González, 'Negación de asilo a Jesuitas franceses refugiados en España en el dictamen del fiscal Campomanes en 1764', *Miscelánea Comillas* 65 (2007), 101-124.

Germany

See also 836, 950.

542. D. Breuer, 'Die Aachener Jesuitenbibliothek', in *Geschichte im Bistum Aachen*, 6, Aachen, Geschichtsverein für das Bistum Aachen e.V., 2001, 55-79.
543. D. Breuer, 'Der Anteil der Jesuiten an der Kulturentwicklung im Hochstift Ermland und im Herzogtum Preußen (Braunsberg, Rössel, Königsberg)', in K. Garber a.o. (eds.), *Kulturgeschichte Ostpreußens in der Frühen Neuzeit*, Tübingen, Niemeyer, 2001, 319-333.
544. F. Pohle, 'Theater der Jesuiten in Aachen', in R. Mielke & L. Bertsch (eds.), *Glaube und Gerechtigkeit. 400 Jahre Jesuiten in Aachen*, Aachen, Einhardverlag, 2001, 44-53.
545. F. Büttner, 'Kaiser Heinrich II. im Jesuitentheater des süddeutschen Raumes', *Bericht des Historischen Vereins Bamberg für die Pflege der Geschichte des ehemaligen Fürstbistums* 137 (2001), 241-270.

546. R. Haub, 'Theater und Kunst als Mittel der Glaubensverkündigung. Neue Veröffentlichungen zur Geschichte der Jesuiten in Deutschland', *Stimmen der Zeit* 126 (2001), 279-281.
547. F. Pohle, 'Das Jesuitentheater im Rheinland. Ein multimediales Großereignis der Barockzeit', in *Geschichte im Bistum Aachen*, 6, Aachen, Geschichtsverein für das Bistum Aachen e.V., 2001, 81-115.
548. D.P.J. Wynands, '400 Jahre Jesuiten in Aachen. Kontinuität mit Zäsuren', in *Geschichte im Bistum Aachen*, 6, Aachen, Geschichtsverein für das Bistum Aachen e.V., 2001, 29-54.
549. C. Bellot, 'St. Achatus. Kapelle der Dominikanerinnen-Niederlassung, seit 1582 Kapelle des Jesuitenhauses', in *Kölner Kirchen und ihre Ausstattung in Renaissance und Barock*. Band I [= *Colonia Romanica* 16/17 (2001/2002)], 33-35.
550. G.B. González, 'Jesuitenautoren und Amerikaschriften im Alten Reich (18. Jh.)', in R. Decot (ed.), *Expansion und Gefährdung. Amerikanische Mission und Europäische Krise der Jesuiten im 18. Jahrhundert*, Mainz, Philipp von Zabern, 2004, 67-84.
551. F. Mennekes a.o., *Werkzeuge der Stille: Die neuen Orgeln in Sankt Peter zu Köln*, Köln, Wienand Verlag, 2004, 64 p.
552. I. Schild, 'Die Bauten der Jesuiten in Aachen', *Zeitschrift des Aachener Geschichtsvereins* 106 (2004), 207-302.
553. J. Šotola, 'Amica defensio societatis Jesu. Die Debatte über den Jesuitenorden in Deutschland 1773-1800', in R. Decot (ed.), *Expansion und Gefährdung. Amerikanische Mission und Europäische Krise der Jesuiten im 18. Jahrhundert*, Mainz, Philipp von Zabern, 2004, 173-184.
554. J.M. Valentin, 'Théâtre et sensibilité religieuse au XVIIIe siècle. Les "Méditations dramatiques" des jésuites bavares', in his *L'école, la ville, la cour. Pratiques sociales, enjeux poétologiques et répertoires du théâtre dans l'Empire au XVIIIe siècle*, Paris, Klincksieck, 2004, 193-201.
555. M. Baldus, 'Jesuiten- und Säkularisationsgut als Sondervermögen (Staatsnebenfonds) im Land Nordrhein-Westfalen', in H. Klüeting (ed.), *200 Jahre Reichsdeputationshauptschluss. Säkularisation, Mediatisierung und Modernisierung zwischen Altem Reich und neuer Staatlichkeit*, Münster, Aschendorff, 2005, 285-332.
556. R. Baumstark, 'Rom: Strategie und Erfolg der ersten Jesuiten in Bayern', in A. Schmid & K. Weigand (ed.), *Bayern mitten in Europa. Vom Frühmittelalter bis ins 20. Jahrhundert*, München, C.H. Beck, 2005, 134-151.

557. C. Bellot, 'St. Mariae Himmelfahrt. Kirche des Jesuitenkollegs (1803 bis 1945 Pfarrkirche, seit 1981 Annexkirche des Doms)', in *Kölner Kirchen und ihre Ausstattung in Renaissance und Barock, Band 3*, Köln, Greven Verlag, 2005, 3310.
558. F. Pohle, 'Zum Katechismustheater der Jesuiten im Rheinland', *Spee-Jahrbuch* 12 (2005), 51-68.
559. S. Appuhn-Radtke, 'Dokumente europäischer Bildung in der Barockzeit. Augsburger Thesenblätter für slowenische Lehranstalten', in J. Höfler & F. Büttner (eds.), *Bayern und Slowenien im Zeitalter des Barock*, Regensburg, Schnell + Steiner, 2006, 145-169.
560. R. Haub, 'Colegium Dillingen - Die Jesuiten in Dillingen', *Jahrbuch des Historischen Vereins Dillingen* 107 (2006), 215-222.
561. W. Löser, 'Theologie und Philosophie. 80 Jahre', *Theologie und Philosophie* 81 (2006), 413-424.
562. B. Paal, 'Der Altar des heiligen Ignatius in der Jesuitenkirche St. Michael zu München', *Geist und Leben* 79 (2006), 276-278.
563. K. Schatz, "'Stimmen der Zeit" im Kirchenkonflikt', *Stimmen der Zeit* 224 (2006), 147-161.
564. H.J. Schmalor, 'Catalogus librorum Geista Warburgum delatorum. Zur Bibliotheksgeschichte des geplanten Jesuitenkollegs in Warburg', *Jahrbuch für mitteldeutsche Kirchen- und Ordensgeschichte* 2 (2006), 15-29.
565. M. Wisłocki, 'Zur Rezeption jesuitischer Ideen in der evangelischen Frömmigkeit und Kirchenkunst Pommerns', in A. Ohlidal & S. Samerski (eds.), *Jesuitische Frömmigkeitskulturen. Konfessionelle Interaktion in Ostmitteleuropa 1570-1700*, Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag, 2006, 295-322.
566. C. Brodkorb, 'Die Jesuiten in Aschaffenburg 1917-1967', *Würzburger Diözesangeschichtsblätter* 69 (2007), 387-423.
567. R. Decot (ed.), *Konfessionskonflikt, Kirchenstruktur, Kulturwandel. Die Jesuiten im Reich nach 1556*, Mainz, Philipp von Zabern, 2007, 222 p.
568. B. Gallistl, 'Die Etablierung der ersten Hildesheimer Jesuiten im Spiegel ihrer Historia Collegii', *Kirchliches Buch- und Bibliothekswesen. Jahrbuch* 2005/06 (2007), 23-40.
569. R. Haub, *Es fordert den ganzen Menschen: Jesuiten im Widerstand*, Würzburg, Echter, 2007, 177 p.
570. C. Nebgen, *Missionarsberufungen nach Übersee in drei deutschen Provinzen der Gesellschaft Jesu im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, Regensburg, Schnell und Steiner, 2007, 384 p.

571. K.P. Richter, 'Kostbare Schenkung der Deutschen Jesuiten: Fünf Jahrhunderte Musikhandschriften aus der Münchener St. Michaelskirche in der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek vereint', *Bibliotheks-Magazin* 2 (2007), 54-58.
 572. J. Seiler, 'Jesuiten nach Mergentheim? Die gescheiterten Übernahmeveruche des Dominikanerkloster in Mergentheim durch die Jesuiten und den Deutschen Orden (1574-1582)', *Würzburger Diözesangeschichtsblätter* 69 (2007), 345-375.
 573. G. Tüskés & E. Knapp, 'Die ungarische Geschichte auf der deutschen Jesuitenbühne', *Germanistische Studien* 6 (2007), 85-142.
 574. I. Zacher, *Das Jesuiten-Monument und die Grabmäler von Düsseldorfer Geistlichen auf dem Golzheimer Friedhof*, Düsseldorf, Dominikanerkonvent, 2007, 31 p.
- Hungary**
- See also 407, 420, 519.
575. J. Ádám, 'Magyar jezsuiták a harmadik évezred küszöbén' [Hungarian Jesuits at the threshold of the third milleneum], *Távtatok* 47 (2000), 71-87.
 576. G. Mészáros, *Jezsuita épületek Győrben* [Jesuit buildings in Győr], [Győr], 2000, 12 p.
 577. K. Mészárosová, 'Jesuiten und die Gegenreformation in Ungarn', in L. Kačić (ed.), *Gegenreformation und Barock in Mitteleuropa / in der Slowakei*, Bratislava, Slavistický kabinet SAV, 2000, 125-132.
 578. B. Török, 'A papi, szerzetesi hivatás kialakulásának motívumai. Jezsuita növendékekkel készült interjúk alapján' [Incentives in formation of clerical and monastic vocation. Interviews with Jesuit novices], *Távtatok* 49 (2000), 399-409.
 579. *A nagybányai Szent István templom* [The church of Saint Stephen in Baia Mare], Nagybánya, Misztófalusi Kis Miklós közművelődési Egyesület, 2000, 79 p.
 580. I. Kilián, *A piarista dráma és színjáték a XVII-XVIII. században. Iskolai színjátékaink témarendje egy reprezentatív jezsuita minta és a teljes piarista felmérés alapján* [Drama und Schauspiel der Piaristen im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert. Die Themen der Schulschauspiele, erstellt aufgrund eines repräsentativen Musters des jesuitischen und einer vollständigen Untersuchung des piaristischen Materials], Budapest, Universitas, 2002, 429 p.
 581. P. Kovács, *Fekete Sas patikamúzeum. Apothekenmuseum zum Schwarzen Adler*, Székesfehérvár, A Szent István Király Múzeum Közleményei, 2002, 32 p.
 582. É. Knapp, 'A soproni jezsuita díszletgyűjtemény' [The Jesuit scenery collection of Sopron] in *A magyar színjátszás honi és európai gyökerei* [The home

and European roots of Hungarian playing], Miskolc, Miskolci Egyetem, 2003, 173-196.

583. A. Márffy, 'Fejezetek a jezsuita iskolai színjátszás történetéből Pécsen a 17. század végén és a 18. században' [Chapters from the history of Jesuit school playing in Pécs at the end of the 17th century and in the 18th century], in *Koller József emlékkonferencia* (Szerk.: M. Font- D. Vargha) [József Koller Memorial Conference], Pécs, Pécsi Történeti Alapítvány, 2003, 247-264.
584. T. Bardi, 'Il teatro della morte. Ikonografie námetů dobré smrti a kristovy krve v Šoproňské sbírce Jezuitských jevištních návrhů' [Il teatro della morte. The iconography of the themes of the Bona Mors and of the Sanguis Christi in the Sopron collection of Jesuit stage designs], in O. Fejtová a.o. (eds.), *Barokní Praha – barokní Čechie 1620-1740*, Praha, Scriptorium, 2004, 889-904.
585. G. Bikfalvi, *A Jézus Társasága Magyarországi Rendtartomány Központja* [The centre of the Hungarian Jesuit Province], Budapest, JTMR, 2004, 20 p.
586. P. Bökő, 'Az Egri Papnevelőintézet története' [The history of the seminary in Eger], in *Emlékkönyv* [Memorial book], Eger, Egri Hittudományi Főiskola, 2004, 93-118.
587. G. Tüskés, 'Jesuitenliteratur und Frömmigkeitspraxis in Ungarn im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert', in A. Ohlidal & S. Samerski (eds.), *Jesuitische Frömmigkeitskulturen. Konfessionelle Interaktion in Ostmitteleuropa 1570-1700*, Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag, 2006, 17-36.

Ireland

588. B. Bradley, "Something about Tullabeg." A footnote on the schooldays of James Joyce', *Studies* 93 (2004), 157-168.

Italy

See also 385, 464.

589. A. Tanturri, 'Scolopi e gesuiti all'epoca di S. Giuseppe Calasanzio', *Archivio Italiano per la Storia della Pietà* 13 (2000), 193-216.
590. S. Branca Savini & A. Gallo, *Chiesa dei Gesuiti: arte e devozioni*, Venezia, Marsilio, 2002, 53 p.
591. T.J. Dandeleit, 'La Compagnia di Gesù', in T.J. Dandeleit (ed.), *La Roma spagnola (1500-1700)*, Barcelona, Crítica, 2002, 178-179, 182-183, 226-227.
592. D. Poli, *Una pastorale della comunicazione: Italia, Ungheria, America e Cina: l'azione dei gesuiti dalla fondazione allo scioglimento dell'Ordine*, Roma, Università degli Studi di Macerata, 2002, 584 p.

593. J.D. Selwyn, 'Angels of peace: The social drama of reconciliation in the Jesuit mission of southern Italy', in P. Findlen [a.o.], *Beyond Florence: The contours of medieval and early modern Italy*, Stanford, CA, Stanford University Press, 2003, 160-175.
594. A. Barzazi, 'Un mondo in declino: rimonta dei gesuiti, eclissi dei somaschi', in her *Gli affanni dell'erudizione: studi e organizzazione culturale degli ordini religiosi a Venezia tra Sei e Settecento*, Venezia, Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 2004, 387-420.
595. R. Salvarani, 'Potere signorile e ordini religiosi a Castiglione delle Stiviere in Età Moderna: l'esempio dei Gesuiti', in R. Salvarani & G. Antenna (eds.), *La regola e lo spazio: potere politico e insediamenti cittadini di ordini religiosi*, Brescia, Cesimb, 2004, 99-119.
596. V. Cunja Rossi, *I gesuiti, Trieste e gli Asburgo nel Seicento*, Trieste, Società di Minerva, 2005, 208 p.
597. R. Dekoninck, 'L'invention de l'image de la Compagnie de Jésus entre Rome et Anvers', in N. Dacos & C. Dulière (eds.), *Italia Belgica*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2005, 163-187.
598. L.G. Lazar, *Working in the vineyard of the Lord: Jesuit confraternities in early modern Italy*, Toronto / Buffalo / London, University of Toronto Press, 2005, 377 p.
599. S. Serangeli & R. Zambuto, 'Sui rapporti tra Gesuiti e Università di Macerata: una fonte male intesa', *Annali di Storia delle Università Italiane* 9 (2005), 269-272.
600. R. Bösel, 'Ein Projekt im Auftrag Ferdinands II. für das Ignatius-Heiligtum in der römischen Kirche II Gesù', in R. Bösel a.o. (eds.), *Kaiserhof-Papsthof (16.-18. Jahrhundert)*, Wien, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2006, 225-249.
601. M. Fatica (ed.), *Matteo Ripa e il Collegio dei Cinesi di Napoli (1682-1869). Percorso documentario e iconografico*, Napoli, Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale", 2006, 329 p.
602. C. Ferlan, 'Die Gründung des Jesuitenkollegs in Görz und die ersten Jahre der Tätigkeit', in W. Drobisch & P.G. Tropper (eds.), *Die Jesuiten in Innerösterreich. Die kulturelle und geistige Prägung einer Region im 17. und 18. Jh.*, Wien etc., Verlag Herma & Sohn / Mohorjeva založba, 2006, 243-251.
603. P. Grendler, 'The attempts of the Jesuits to enter Italian universities in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries', in his *Renaissance education between religion and politics*, London, Ashgate, 2006, 1-21.

604. T. Magnuson, 'Jesuiternas kyrka Il Gesù i Rom', *Konsthistorisk tidskrift* 75 (2006), 146-166.
605. M.G. Pettorru, "'Indias Sardescas". Forme della prima presenza gesuitica in Sardegna, tra contesto urbano e realtà rurali (1559-1572)', *Archivio Italiano per la Storia della Pietà* 19 (2006), 235-284.
606. M. Prano, 'Tracce della Biblioteca dei Gesuiti di Pinerolo nella Biblioteca del Seminario di Torino e in altre biblioteche torinesi', in M. Fratini (ed.), *Libri, biblioteche e cultura nella Valli Valdesi in Età Moderna*, Torino, Claudiana, 2006, 117-144.
607. M. Rosa, 'Gesuitismo e antigesuitismo nell'Italia del Sei-Settecento', *Rivista di Storia e Letteratura Religiosa* 42 (2006), 247-281.
608. L. Tavano, 'Typische Merkmale der Anwesenheit der Jesuiten im Görzer Raum', in W. Drobesh & P.G. Tropper (eds.), *Die Jesuiten in Innerösterreich. Die kulturelle und geistige Prägung einer Region im 17. und 18. Jh.*, Wien etc., Verlag Hermagoras / Mohorjeva založba, 2006, 231-242.
609. M. Turrini, *Il "giovine signora" in collegio: i gesuiti e l'educazione della nobiltà nelle consuetudini del collegio ducale di Parma*, Bologna, CLUEB, 2006, 564 p.
610. P. Zovatto, 'Die Niederlassung der Jesuiten in Triest und ihre Rolle in der Stadt', in W. Drobesh & P.G. Tropper (eds.), *Die Jesuiten in Innerösterreich. Die kulturelle und geistige Prägung einer Region im 17. und 18. Jh.*, Wien etc., Verlag Hermagoras / Mohorjeva založba, 2006, 252-268.
611. F.d.B. Medina, 'Extrañamiento y extinción de la Compañía de Jesús: venturas y desventuras de los jesuitas en el exilio de Italia', in M. Marzal & L. Bacigalupo (eds.), *Los jesuitas y la modernidad en Iberoamérica 1549-1773*, Lima, Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú [etc.], 2007, 450-492.
612. G. Sale, 'A un secolo dall' enciclica contro il modernismo. Il contributo della "Civiltà Cattolica" alla redazione della "Pascendi"', *La Civiltà Cattolica* 158-IV (2007), 9-19.

Latvia

613. M. Boiko, 'Totenoffizium, Jesuiten und heidnische Seelenspeisungen in Südostlettland', in H. Müns (ed.), *Musik und Migration in Ostmitteleuropa*, München, R. Oldenbourg, 2005, 61-79.

Lithuania

See 647.

Luxemburg

614. M. Schmitt, *Cathedral of Our Lady Luxembourg*, Regensburg, Schnell & Steiner, 2005, 36 p.

The Netherlands

See 771, 1461.

615. F. Gaasbeek, 'Geloven en bouwen in Wijk bij Duurstede. Katholieke kerken, kloosters en kapellen na de Reformatie', *Jaarboek Oud-Utrecht* 2000, 125-161.
616. P. Begheyn & E. Verheggen, *Een teruggevonden kerkschat. Kopergravures van Wierix*, Amsterdam Museum het Rembrandthuis, 2001, 24 p.
617. T.H. von der Dunk, "'Een prachtig Tempelgebouw binnen de Hoofdstad des Rijks". De bouw van "de Zaaier" aan de Amsterdamse Keizersgracht', *Amstelodamum* 88 (2001), 1-15.
618. D. van den Akker, 'Delflandse jezuïeten in de 17e eeuw. Op zoek naar de herkomst van de IHS-emblemen op boerderijen', *Historische Vereniging Maasland* (2002), 17-40.
619. P. Begheyn, 'Jezuïeten in Den Bosch en Bossche jezuïeten 1553-2002', in Th. Hoogbergen & M. Ackermans (ed.), *Kloosters en religieus leven. Historie met toekomst*, 's-Hertogenbosch, Adr. Heinen, 2002, 140-151.
620. H. Oldenhof, 'Bibliotheek Jezuïetenstatie Leeuwarden', in J. van Sluis, PBF. *De Provinsjale Biblioteek fan Fryslân, 150 jaar geschiedenis in collecties*, Leeuwarden, Provinsjale Biblioteek fan Fryslân, 2002, 75-80.
621. M.A. Lindenburg, 'Het huwelijk van Jan Vermeer', *Jaarboek Delfia Batavorum* 13 (2003), 93-98.
622. P. Begheyn, 'Jezuïeten op het Singel. 350 jaar Krijtberg', *Ons Amsterdam* 56 (2004), 114-118.
623. T. Breukel, 'De Krijtberg', in his *Stil Amsterdam. Survivalgids voor de stedeling*, Bussum, Thoth, 2005, 127-130.
624. P.J. Margry, "'Jezuïetenstreken". Mythevorming rond jezuïeten in negentiende-eeuws Nederland', *Streven* 72 (2005), 99-111.
625. M. van Vlieden, 'Bonifatius onthuld: de geschiedenis van zijn relieken te Dokkum', *Millennium* 19 (2005), 91-111.
626. P. Begheyn, 'The printing of the "Acta Sanctorum" in Amsterdam. Two unpublished documents, 1671-1672', *Lias* 33 (2006), p.217-221.
627. P. Begheyn, 'Geschiedenis van de jezuïeten in Nederland 1540-1814', in M.

- Lindeijer (red.), *De weg van de pelgrim. Jezuïeten en hun spiritualiteit*, Kampen, Ten Have, 2006, 61-75.
628. H. Callewier, 'De marteling en executie van drie Vlaamse jezuïeten te Maastricht (1638)', *Vlaamse Stam* 42 (2006), 537-541.
- Refers to Gerard Pasman, Jan Baptist Boddens, Philip Nottyn.
629. J. Dinjens, 'Van apostolische vorming tot zelfontplooiing: de Berchmans Sociëteit te Maastricht', *Studies over de sociaal-economische geschiedenis van Limburg* 2006, 3-26.
630. M. Lindeijer, 'Knielen met Ignatius en Jan Berchmans', *Historisch Jaarboek voor het Land van Zwentibold* 27 (2006), pp. 21-26.
631. M. Lindeijer, 'Geschiedenis van de jezuïeten in Nederland 1814-1965 en daarna', in M. Lindeijer (red.), *De weg van de pelgrim. Jezuïeten en hun spiritualiteit*, Kampen, Ten Have, 2006, 76-99.
632. C. Swüste, 'Apostolaat in Nederland sinds 1975', in M. Lindeijer (red.), *De weg van de pelgrim. Jezuïeten en hun spiritualiteit*, Kampen, Ten Have, 2006, 184-202.
633. J. Willemsen, 'Jezuïeten (SJ)', in his *Nederlandse missionarissen en hun missiegebieden. Deel 1. Orden, congregaties en missieorganisaties*, Nijmegen, Katholiek Documentatiecentrum, 2006, 22-25.
634. P. Begheyn & V. Hunink, 'De inventaris van de Nijmeegse jezuïetenstatie uit 1625', *Jaarboek Numaga* 54 (2007), 20-33.
635. P. van Dael & M. Raassen, *De Papegaai. R.K. kerk van de Heilige Petrus en Paulus*, Amsterdam, R.K. parochie Heilige Nicolaas, 2007, 40 p.
636. P. van Dael & M. Raassen, *The Parrot (De Papegaai) or RC Church of Sts. Peter and Paul*, Amsterdam, R.K. parochie Heilige Nicolaas, 2007, 40 p.
637. A. Dorrestein (red.), *Mutua Fides 1967-2007*. Katwijk de Breul, Geffen, Wihabo, 2007, 122 p.
638. B. Mersch, 'Jezuïetenpaters uit Maastricht en de herkerstening van Maaseik, 1588-1598', in H. op den Kamp e.a. (reds.), *Pro Augustino amico, Guus Janssen vijftig jaar*, Sittard, Stichting Charles Beltjens, 2007, 129-136.
639. A.M.P.P. Janssen, 'De Jezuïetenmissie van Millen en Sittard (1636-1646)', *Historisch Jaarboek voor het Land van Zwentibold* 28 (2007), 7-26.
640. M. Lindeijer, 'Massificatie van heiligheid. Nederlandse jezuïeten en de reliekencultus tussen 1870 en 1970', *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Kerkgeschiedenis* 10 (2007), 8-15.

641. K. Schutgens, 'De blik van een buitenstaander: een impressie van Sittard uit 1851', *Historisch Jaarboek voor het Land van Zwentibold* 28 (2007), 47-56.
642. A.V. Triebels, 'De Pioniers, 1945-1948. Katholieke jeugdbeweging tussen kerk en maatschappij', *Nijmeegs Katern* 21/3 (2007), 34-37.
643. A.F.C.M. Wolf, *Priestergraf en kerkhofkruis op de R.K. Begraafplaats aan de Daalseweg te Nijmegen*, Nijmegen, Roelants, 2007, 45 p.

Poland

644. M. Inglot, *Kolegium księży jezuitów w Illukszcie*, Kraków, Wyższa Szkoła Filozoficzno-Pedagogiczna "Ignatianum", 2000, 95 p.
645. B. Natonski, *Humanizm jezuicki i teologia pozytywno-kontrowersyjna od XVI do XVIII wieku: nauczanie i pismienictwo*, Kraków, Wyższa Szkoła Filozoficzno-Pedagogiczna "Ignatianum" / Wydawnictwo WAM, 2003, 282 p.
646. L. Grzebien & J. Wiesiołowski (eds.), *Kronika Jezuitów poznańskich (młodsza). I. 1570-1653* [Cronaca dei gesuiti di Poznań], Poznań, Wydawnictwo Miejskie, 2004, 548 p.
647. N.I. Stasiewicz-Jasiukowej (ed.), *Wkład jezuitów do nauki i kultury w Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów i pod zaborami* [Contributi scientifici gesuiti nelle culture delle Repubbliche della Polonia e della Lituania 1500-1800], Kraków, "Ignatianum" [etc.] 2004, 756 p.
648. J. Baumgarten, 'Jesuitische Bildpolitik zwischen Überwältigung und Überprüfbarkeit am Beispiel der Jesuitenkirchen in Breslau und Glatz', in A. Ohlidal & S. Samerski (eds.), *Jesuitische Frömmigkeitskulturen. Konfessionelle Interaktion in Ostmitteleuropa 1570-1700*, Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag, 2006, 63-92.
649. L. Berezhnaya, 'Two Polish Jesuits in a multiconfessional environment: Reception, adaptation and local practices', in A. Ohlidal & S. Samerski (eds.), *Jesuitische Frömmigkeitskulturen. Konfessionelle Interaktion in Ostmitteleuropa 1570-1700*, Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag, 2006, 259-278.
650. J. Kołacz, *Słownik kultury i języka jezuitów polskich* [The dictionary of culture and language of Polish Jesuits], Kraków, Wydawnictwo WAM, 2006, 316 p.
651. J. Wasilewska-Dobkowska, *Pióropusze i turbany. Wizerunek mieszkańców Azji w sztuce jezuitów polskich w XVII i XVIII wieku* [Feather beaddresses and turbans. Far East in the art of Polish Jesuits in the 17th-18th Centuries], Warszawa, Neriton, 2006, 208 p.
652. M. Wisłocki, 'Zur Rezeption jesuitischer Ideen in der evangelischen Frömmigkeit und Kirchenkunst Pommerns', in A. Ohlidal & S. Samerski (eds.), *Jesuitische Frömmigkeitskulturen: konfessionelle Interaktion in Ostmitteleuropa 1570-1700*, Stuttgart, Steiner, 2006, 295-321.

Portugal

See also 401, 445, 834.

653. M. García Arenas, 'La Compañía de Jesús en la "Deducción cronológica y analítica" pombalina', *Revista de Historia Moderna* 21 (2003), 315-348.
654. J. Carvalhais, *A Companhia de Jesus na educação da juventude : Portugal e Além-Mar Sécs. XVI - Séc XX*, Caldas da Saúde, Colégio das Caldinhas, 2004, 198 p.
655. M.N. Ciccía, 'Le Portugal et les jésuites à travers la correspondance de Voltaire: un réseau d'informations (1758-1762)', *Arquivos* 49 (2005), 55-81.
656. J.E. Franco, 'A reforma antijesuítica da Universidade Portuguesa pelo Marquês de Pombal', *Itinerarium* 51 (2005), 411-444.
657. L. de Moura Sobral, 'Espiritualidade e propaganda nos programas iconograficos dos Jesuitas Portugueses', in J.A. de Freitas Carvalho (ed.), *A Companhia de Jesus na Península Ibérica nos sécs. XVI e XVII. Espiritualidade e cultura*, Porto, Centro Inter-Universitário da História da Espiritualidade da Universidade do Porto, 2005, 385-415.
658. M.C. Osswald, 'The Society of Jesus and the diffusion of the cult and iconography of Saint Ursula and the eleven thousand virgins in the Portuguese empire during the second half of the 16th century', in J.A. de Freitas Carvalho (ed.), *A Companhia de Jesus na Península Ibérica nos sécs. XVI e XVII, espiritualidade e cultura*, Porto, Centro Inter-Universitário de Estudios de História de Espiritualidade, 2005, 601-609.
659. F. Palomo, 'Corregir letras para unir espíritus. Los jesuitas y las cartas edificantes en el Portugal del siglo XVI. Cultura epistolar en la Alta Edad Moderna', *Cuadernos de Historia Moderna* 4 (2005), 57-81.
660. F. Sanches Martins, 'Culto y devoções das ingrejas dos Jesuitas em Portugal', in J.A. de Freitas Carvalho (ed.), *A Companhia de Jesus na Península Ibérica nos sécs. XVI e XVII. Espiritualidade e cultura*, Porto, Centro Inter-Universitário da História da Espiritualidade da Universidade do Porto, 2005, 89-117.
661. P. Vilas Boas, 'Papel dos Jesuítas no anti-quietismo em Portugal', in J.A. de Freitas Carvalho (ed.), *A Companhia de Jesus na Península Ibérica nos sécs. XVI e XVII. Espiritualidade e cultura*, Porto, Centro Inter-Universitário da História da Espiritualidade da Universidade do Porto, 2005, 487-503.
662. J.E. Franco, 'O "terramoto" pombalino e a campanha de "desjesuitização" de Portugal', *Lusitania Sacra* 18 (2006), 147-218.

663. J.E. Franco. *O mito dos Jesuítas em Portugal, no Brasil e no Oriente (Séculos XVI a XX)*. 2 vols., Lisboa, Gradiva, 2006, 627 and 463 p.
664. J.B. Libanio, '25 anos da Faculdade de Teologia 1982-2007', *Perspectiva Teológica* 39 (2007), 67-83.
665. M.T. Nascimento & A.I. Moniz, 'Figurations du sacré dans les Azulejos de l'église du collège et de la cathédrale de Porto', in R. Dekoninck & A. Guiderdoni-Bruslé (eds.), *Emblemata sacra. Rhétorique et herméneutique du discours sacré dans la littérature en images. The rhetoric and hermeneutics of illustrated sacred discourse*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2007, 189-197.

Romania

666. M. Crăciun, 'Implementing Catholic Reform. The Jesuits and traditional religion in early modern Transylvania', in A. Ohlidal & S. Samerski (eds.), *Jesuitische Frömmigkeitskulturen. Konfessionelle Interaktion in Ostmitteleuropa 1570-1700*, Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag, 2006, 37-62.
667. P.J. Shore, *Jesuits and the politics of religious pluralism in eighteenth century Transylvania: culture, politics, and religion, 1693-1773*, Aldershot/Rome, Ashgate/Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 2007, 245 p.

Russia

See 428.

Slovenia

668. P. Kuret, 'Jesuiten Schultheater in Ljubljana', in L. Kačič (ed.), *Gegenreformation und Barock in Mitteleuropa / in der Slowakei*, Bratislava, Slavistický kabinet SAV, 2000, 147-156.
669. E. Škulj, 'Slowenische Jesuiten und die Kirchenmusik', in L. Kačič (ed.), *Gegenreformation und Barock in Mitteleuropa / in der Slowakei*, Bratislava, Slavistický kabinet SAV, 2000, 133-146.
670. F.M. Dolinar, 'Die Rolle und die Bedeutung der Jesuiten während des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts im slowenischen Raum', in W. Drobess & P.G. Tropper (eds.), *Die Jesuiten in Innerösterreich. Die kulturelle und geistige Prägung einer Region im 17. und 18. Jh.*, Wien etc., Verlag HermaGoras / Mohorjeva založba, 2006, 215-221.

Spain

See also 371, 541, 721.

671. S. Pastore, 'Tra conversos, gesuiti e inquisizione: Diego de Guzmán e i processi di Ubeda (1549-1552)', in G. Paolin (ed.), *Inquisizioni: percorsi di ricerca*, Trieste, Edizioni Università di Trieste, 2001, 215-251.

672. R. Reichardt, 'L'imaginaire social des Jésuites bannis et expulsés (1758-1773): Aux origines de la polarisation entre lumières et anti-lumières', in M. Tietz & D. Briesemeister (eds.), *Los jesuitas españoles expulsos. Su imagen y su contribución al saber sobre el mundo hispánico en la Europa del siglo XVIII*, Madrid / Frankfurt a.M., Iberoamericana / Vervuert, 2001, 473-525.
673. W. Soto, 'El colegio Jesuítico de San Sebastián en Málaga (I)', *Boletín de Arte Universidad de Malaga* 22 (2001), 55-76.
674. M.L. Copete, 'Pauvreté et confréries jésuites en Espagne, XVIe-XVIIIe siècle', in M.L. Copete & R. Caplán (eds.), *Identités périphériques. Péninsule ibérique, Méditerranée, Amérique Latine*, Paris, L'Harmattan, 2004, 109-139.
675. J.J. Lozano Navarro, 'La Compañía de Jesús en el reino de Granada durante el siglo XVI. Las misiones populares', in M. Barrios Aguilera & A. Galán Sánchez (eds.), *La historia del reino de Granada a debate. Viejos y nuevos temas. Perspectivas de estudio*, Málaga, Centro de Ediciones de la Diputación Provincial de Málaga, 2004, 537-550.
676. R. Fernández Gracia, 'Religioso camarín y aula de milagros. La santa capilla del Castillo de Javier entre los siglos XVII y XVIII', in I. Arellano (ed.), *Sol, apóstol, peregrino. San Francisco Xavier en su centenario*, Pamplona, Gobierno de Navarra, 2005, 287-324.
677. R. García Cárcel, 'Los Jesuitas y el Obispo Palafox', in A. L. Cortés Peña a.o. (eds.), *Religión y poder en la Edad Moderna*, Granada, Editorial Universidad de Granada, 2005, 257-270.
678. J.J. Lozano Navarro, 'Una aproximación a la relación entre el poder político y la Compañía de Jesús. La casa de Neoburgo y los Jesuitas (siglos XVI-XVIII)', in A. L. Cortés Peña a.o. (eds.), *Religión y poder en la Edad Moderna*, Granada, Editorial Universidad de Granada, 2005, 53-66.
679. M.I. Resina Rodrigues, 'Frei Luís de Granada e a Companhia de Jesus: a convergência', in J.A. de Freitas Carvalho (ed.), *A Companhia de Jesus na Península Ibérica nos sécs. XVI e XVII. Espiritualidade e cultura*, Porto, Centro Inter-Universitário da História da Espiritualidade da Universidade do Porto, 2005, 445-458.
680. E.J. Alonso Romo, 'Dominicos peninsulares amigos de los jesuitas', *Archivo Dominicano* 27 (2006), 117-142.
681. A. Borràs Feliu, 'El monasterio de Veruela y la Compañía de Jesús', in *Tesoros de Veruela. Legado de un monasterio cisterciense*, Zaragoza, Monasterio de Veruela, 2006, 315-332.
682. M. Córdoba Salmerón, *El colegio de la Compañía de Jesús en Granada. Arte, historia y devoción*, Madrid, Fundación Universitaria Española, 2006, 363 p.

683. N. Guasti, *Lotta politica e riforme all'inizio del regno di Carlo III: Campomanes e l'espulsione dei gesuiti dalla monarchia spagnola (1759-1768)*, Firenze, Alina, 2006, 415 p.
684. N. Guasti, *L'esilio italiano dei gesuiti spagnoli espulsi (1761-1798). Politica, economia, cultura*, Roma, Edizioni di Storia e letteratura, 2006, 566 p.
685. J.J. Lozano Navarro, 'La Compañía de Jesús y la mujer en la Andalucía moderna: Las duquesas de Arcos y el colegio de Marchena (siglos XVI-XVIII)', in A.L. Cortés Peña (ed.), *Poder civil, Iglesia y sociedad en la Edad Moderna*, Granada, EUG, 2006, 147-160.
686. M. Moreno Valero, 'Los Jesuitas en el seminario diocesano de Córdoba', *Boletín de la Real Academia de Córdoba, de Ciencias, Bellas Letras y Nobles Artes* 85 (2006), 199-216.
687. M. Pacheco Albalade, 'El Puerto en el extrañamiento de los Jesuitas Españoles en 1767', *Revista de Historia de El Puerto* 36 (2006), 49-95.
688. N. Pons i Llinàs, '226 Jesuïtes de les Balears, propagadors de la paraula de Déu en un món llunyà i inclement. Segles XVI a XXI', *Comunicació* 115-116 (2006), 207-225.
689. M. Revuelta González, 'Andalucía: Coordenadas históricas de una provincia ignaciana que renace y perdura', in his *Once calas en la historia de la Compañía de Jesús. "Servir a todos en el Señor"*, Madrid, Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 2006, 43-76.
690. M. Revuelta González, 'Las cuatro supresiones legales de la Compañía de Jesús en la España contemporánea', in his *Once calas en la historia de la Compañía de Jesús. "Servir a todos en el Señor"*, Madrid, Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 2006, 211-231.
691. M. Revuelta González, 'La restauración desde España en Hispanoamérica y Filipinas', in his *Once calas en la historia de la Compañía de Jesús. "Servir a todos en el Señor"*, Madrid, Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 2006, 233-258.
692. M. Revuelta González, 'Las misiones populares en tierras valencianas: Entre ataques y fervores', in his *Once calas en la historia de la Compañía de Jesús. "Servir a todos en el Señor"*, Madrid, Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 2006, 259-291.
693. M. Revuelta González, 'La Universidad Pontificia Comillas: Un modelo de adaptación', in his *Once calas en la historia de la Compañía de Jesús. "Servir a todos en el Señor"*, Madrid, Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 2006, 295-322.
694. M. Revuelta González, 'La expulsión de los jesuitas por Carlos III. Comentarios historiográficos y reflexiones generales', in his *Once calas en la*

- historia de la Compañía de Jesús. "Servir a todos en el Señor"*, Madrid, Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 2006, 181-208.
695. B. Rodríguez Caparrini, 'El colegio de San Luis Gonzaga de la Compañía de Jesús de El Puerto de Santa María: un recorrido histórico-literario (1875-1924)', *Pliegos de la Academia* 10 (2006), 55-74.
696. J.M. Rodríguez Domingo, 'El patrimonio artístico del colegio de San Pablo: De la Compañía de Jesús a la Universidad de Granada', in *Obras maestras del patrimonio de la Universidad de Granada*, I, Granada, Universidad de Granada, 2006, 127-164.
697. J. Singhartinger, 'Die Jesuiten und das Hospital Juan de Dios in Granada', *Misericordia. Zeitschrift der Barmherzigen Brüder in Bayern* 58 (Juli 2006), 22-23.
698. B. Barbara-Pons, 'Discours et pouvoirs au Colegio Real del Espíritu Santo de Salamanque: poser la première pierre et le dire (12 novembre 1617)', in A. Molinié a.o., *Les jésuites en Espagne et en Amérique: jeux et enjeux du pouvoir (XVIe-XVIIIe siècles)*, Paris, Université Sorbonne, 2007, 495-568.
699. P. Broggio, 'Attività missionaria e strategie insediative nelle province Spagnole della Compagnia di Gesù (1581-1700)', in P. Broggio a.o. (eds.), *I gesuiti ai tempi di Claudio Acquaviva. Strategie politiche, religiose e culturali tra Cinque e Seicento*, Brescia, Morcelliana, 2007, 87-118.
700. J. Burrieza Sánchez, *Valladolid, tierras y caminos de Jesuitas. Presencia de la Compañía de Jesús en la provincia de Valladolid, 1545-1767*, Valladolid, Diputación de Valladolid, 2007, 327 p.
701. R. Carrasco, 'Le crime de frère Hernando; un drame au collège de Grenade en 1616', in A. Molinié a.o., *Les jésuites en Espagne et en Amérique: jeux et enjeux du pouvoir (XVIe-XVIIIe siècles)*, Paris, Université Sorbonne, 2007, 433-448.
702. B. Fonck, 'Les confesseurs jésuites des Bourbons d'Espagne au XVIIIe siècle: approches et perspectives', in A. Molinié a.o., *Les jésuites en Espagne et en Amérique: jeux et enjeux du pouvoir (XVIe-XVIIIe siècles)*, Paris, Université Sorbonne, 2007, 83-108.
703. C. Gálvez-Peña, 'A la muerte de un rey. Discurso político en un sermón limeño del siglo XVIII', in A. Molinié a.o., *Les jésuites en Espagne et en Amérique: jeux et enjeux du pouvoir (XVIe-XVIIIe siècles)*, Paris, Université Sorbonne, 2007, 205-228.
704. M.A. García-Garrido, 'Cuando los jesuitas toman la palabra: poder y predicación en la Sevilla del siglo XVII', in A. Molinié a.o., *Les jésuites en Espagne et en Amérique: jeux et enjeux du pouvoir (XVIe-XVIIIe siècles)*, Paris, Université Sorbonne, 2007, 265-283.

705. A. Guillaume-Alonso, 'Les jésuites d'Olivares: confession, absolution et exercice du pouvoir', in A. Molinié a.o., *Les jésuites en Espagne et en Amérique: jeux et enjeux du pouvoir (XVIe-XVIIIe siècles)*, Paris, Université Sorbonne, 2007, 35-61.
706. J.J. Labrador Herraiz, 'El cancionero de Jesuitas. Manuscrito 6226 de la Real Academia Española', *Miscelánea Comillas* 65 (2007), 45-70.
707. J. Martínez Millán, 'La trasformazione della monarchia Hispana alla fine del XVI secolo. Dal modello cattolico castigliano al paradigma universale cattolico-romano', in P. Broggio a.o. (eds.), *I gesuiti ai tempi di Claudio Acquaviva. Strategie politiche, religiose e culturali tra Cinque e Seicento*, Brescia, Morcelliana, 2007, 19-53.
708. A. Molinié a.o., *Les Jésuites en Espagne et en Amérique, jeux et enjeux du pouvoir (XVIe-XVIIIe siècles)*, Paris, Université Sorbonne, 2007, 631 p.
709. S. O'Phelan Godoy, 'El Seminario de Nobles de Madrid y la elite criolla hispanoamericana', in M. Marzal & L. Bacigalupo (eds.), *Los jesuitas y la modernidad en Iberoamérica 1549-1773*, Lima, Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú [etc.], 2007, 309-322.
710. I. Pinedo, 'Los Jesuitas en San Sebastián hace cincuenta años', *Mundaiz* 73 (2007), 121-129.
711. J. Solana Pujalte, 'El fondo del siglo XVI de la biblioteca del antiguo colegio de Santa Catalina de la Compañía de Jesús de Córdoba', *AHSI* 76 (2007), 113-137.
712. W. Soto Artuñedo, 'Jesuitas, moriscos y musulmanes. Algunos datos de Granada y Málaga', *Encuentro Islamo-Cristiano* 422 (2007), 1-16.

United Kingdom

See also 492, 978.

713. C. David, *St Winefride's well. A history & guide*, Llandysul, Ceredigion, Gomer Press, 2002, [28] p.
714. H. Dijkgraaf, *The library of a Jesuit community at Holbeck, Nottinghamshire (1679)*, New York, University of New York, 2003, 264 p.
715. F.W. Brownlow, 'A Jesuit allusion to King Lear', *Recusant History* 28 (2006), 416-423.
716. F. Edwards, 'The Jesuits and devotion to Our Lady in the England of Elizabeth I and James I', *Recusant History* 28 (2006), 345-352.
717. J. Graffius, 'St. Omers to Stonyhurst. Jesuit education of English Catholics 1593-1900', in V.C. Raguin (ed.), *Catholic collecting, Catholic reflection 1538-1850*.

Objects as a measure of reflection on a Catholic past and the construction of Recusant identity in England and America, Worcester MA, College of the Holy Cross, 2006, 161-168.

718. J.J. Lozano Navarro, 'Beatrice María de Este princesa de Módena y reina de Inglaterra (1658-1718): Su relación con la Compañía de Jesús', in A.L. Cortés Peña (ed.), *Poder civil, Iglesia y sociedad en la Edad Moderna*, Granada, EUG, 2006, 343-358.
719. R.E. Scully, 'The Society of Jesus; its early history, spirituality, and mission to England', in V.C. Raguin (ed.), *Catholic collecting, Catholic reflection 1538-1850. Objects as a measure of reflection on a Catholic past and the construction of Recusant identity in England and America*, Worcester MA, College of the Holy Cross, 2006, 127-138.
720. S. Tutino, 'Between Nicodemism and "honest" dissimulation: the Society of Jesus in England', *Historical Research* 79 (2006), 534-553.
721. B. Rodríguez Caparrini, 'Alumnos Españoles en el internado Jesuita de Beaumont (Old Windsor, Inglaterra), 1861-1868', *AHSI* 76 (2007), 3-38.
722. M. Whitehead, 'To provide for the edifice of learning'. Researching 450 years of Jesuit educational and cultural history, with particular reference to the British Jesuits', *History of Education* 36 (2007), 109-143.
723. V. Houlston, *Catholic resistance in Elizabethan England: Robert Person's Jesuit polemic, 1580-1610*, London/Rome, Ashgate/Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 2007, 234 p.

III. PERSONS

Ábel, Ferenc (1721-1784)

724. B. Tarján, 'Ábel Ferenc, egy szlovák jezsuita misszionárius a XVIII. századból' [F.A., a Slovak Jesuit missionary from the 18th century] *Magyar Egyháztörténeti Vázlatok – Regnum* 15 (2003), 141-172.

Acosta, José de (1540-1600)

See also 1293, 1294.

725. J. Alcina Franch (ed.), *José de Acosta, Historia natural y moral de las Indias*, Las Rozas, Dastin, 2002, 492 p.
726. F. Helm, *La misión católica durante los siglos XVI-XVII: contexto y texto: el condicionamiento contextual de la misión, analizado por la comparación de los catecismos de José de Acosta SJ (Lima, 1584) y de Matteo Ricci SJ (Beijing, 1603)*, Cochabamba, Editorial Verbo Divino / Universidad Católica Boliviana / Buenos Aires, Editorial Guadalupe, 2002, 624 p.

727. E. Sastre, 'Gli "altri" visti dal missionario gesuita Padre José de Acosta (1600)', *Euntes Docete* 56 (2003), 189-208.
728. F. Castañeda, 'Das Ende der Debatte um die Conquista und der philosophische Beginn der Colonia bei José de Acosta', in M. Vollet & F. Castañeda (eds.), *Mission und Sprache. Interdisziplinäre Erkundungen zum Orden Colonial in Iberoamerika*, Frankfurt a.M., Lang, 2004, 27-48.
729. Y. El Alaoui, *Jésuites, morisques et indiens: étude comparative des méthodes d'évangélisation de la Compagnie de Jésus d'après les traités de José de Acosta (1588) et d'Ignacio de las Casas (1605-1607)*, Paris, Honoré Champion Éditeur, 2006, 677 p.
730. A. Fernandez-Rodriguez, 'Correspondances missionnaires, l'écart entre le texte-source et le texte-cible. Les missions d'Amérique latine au XVIe siècle', *Transversalités* 104 (2007), 13-33.

Acquaviva, Claudio (1543-1615)

See also 187.

731. A. Guerra, 'La Compagnia di Acquaviva: riflessioni su memoria e identità gesuitica', in F. Motta (ed.), *Anatomia di un corpo religioso: l'identità dei gesuiti in età moderna*, Bologna, Dehoniane, 2002, 385-399.
732. S. Mostaccio, "'Gubernatio spiritualis". Claudio Acquaviva e le congregazioni provinciali italiane tra gestione del consenso e ridefinizione dell' "Institutum"', in F. Motta (ed.), *Anatomia di un corpo religioso: l'identità dei gesuiti in età moderna*, Bologna, Dehoniane, 2002, 401-406.
733. P. Broggio a.o. (eds.), *I gesuiti ai tempi di Claudio Acquaviva. Strategie politiche, religiose e culturali tra Cinque e Seicento*, Brescia, Morcelliana, 2007, 320 p.

Aleni, Giulio (1582-1649)

734. R.P. Hsia, 'Dreams and conversions: A comparative analysis of Catholic and Buddhist dreams in Ming and Qing China: Part I', *The Journal of Religious History* 29 (2005), 223-240.
735. G. Criveller, 'La controversia cristologica nella missione moderna in Cina (II) Giulio Aleni (1582-1649)', *Archivio Teologico Torinese* 12 (2006), 208-224.
736. S. Gang, *Learning from the other: Giulio Aleni, Kouduo richao, and Late Ming dialogic hybridization*, [dissertation], Los Angeles, University of Southern California, 2006.
737. J. Chaves, 'Chang Jui-t'u (Zhang Ruitu) (1570-1641). Poem in honor of Giulio Aleni, S.J. (1582-1649)', *Sino-Western Cultural Relations Journal* 29 (2007), 14-18.

738. S. Li, 'Zhongyi diyishou 'Ying' shi: Ai ulüe 'Shengmeng ge' chutan [The first 'English' poem translated into Chinese. A preliminary study of G.A.'s 'Shengmeng ge'], *Zhongguo wenzhe yanjiu jikan (Academia Sinica Taipei)* 30 (2007), 87-142.

Aler, Paul (1656-1727)

739. F. Pohle, 'Die Bibel als Spiegel der christliche Familie. P. Paul Aler SJ und seine Kölner Singspiele', in V. Kapp a.o. (eds.), *Bibeldichtung*, Berlin, Duncker & Humblot, 2006, 261-299.

Alloza, Juan de (1597-1666)

740. A. Coello de la Rosa, *En compañía de ángeles: vida del extático y fervoroso Padre Juan de Alloza, SJ (1597-1666)*, Barcelona, Ediciones Bellaterra, 2007, 218 p.

Almeida, Luciano Mendes de (1930-2006)

741. M.H. Arrochellas, *Deus é bom. Homenagem a Dom Luciano*, Rio de Janeiro, Editora Universitária Cândido Mendes, 2006, 271 p.
742. J.B. Libânio, 'Laudatio in honorem DD. Luciano', *Perspectiva Teológica* 105 (2006), 165-179.
743. J.G. Vidigal, 'Dom Luciano Mendes de Almeida, SJ, Arcebispo emérito de Mariana, MG', *Revista Eclesiástica Brasileira* 66 (2006), 972-977.

Amiot, Joseph-Marie (1718-1793)

744. F. Picard, 'Joseph-Marie Amiot, jésuite français à Pékin, et le cabinet de curiosités de Bertin', in F. Gétreau (ed.), *Musique, images, instruments (Revue française d'organologie et d'iconographie musicale)*, Paris, CNRS, 2006, 69-86.

Anchieta, José de (1534-1597)

745. *Anchieta em Coimbra. Actas do Congresso Internacional. 1548-1998*, Porto, Universidade de Coimbra/Fundação Eng. Antonio de Almeida, 2000, 1366 p.
746. N. Basilotta, 'Padre Anchieta e il "governo" degli indigeni del Brasile', *Studie e materiali di Storia delle Religioni* 69 (2003), 365-384.
747. L. Ramos, *José de Anchieta, poeta e apóstolo*, São Paulo, Paulinas, 2003, 150 p.
748. N. Extremera Tapia, 'O diálogo das línguas no teatro de Anchieta', in G. Mendonça Teles (ed.), *Diálogos Ibero-Americanos - II*, Rio de Janeiro, Edições Galo Branco, 2006, 142-162.
749. L. Trias Folch, 'Contribuição à língua portuguesa: Carte sobre as coisas naturais de São Vicente, de 31 de maio de 1560, do Padre José de Anchieta', in G. Mendonça Teles (ed.), *Diálogos Ibero-Americanos - II*, Rio de Janeiro, Edições Galo Branco, 2006, 123-141.

750. N. Extremera Tapia, 'Anchieta e Nóbrega: jesuítas fazendo a história do Brasil', in M.C. Luchetti Bingemer a.o. (eds.), *A globalização e os Jesuítas: origens, história e impactos*, I, São Paulo, 2007, 213-265.

Andrade, Antonio de (1580-1643)

751. H. Didier, 'Antonio de Andrade, explorador del Tíbet', in J. Plazaola (ed.), *Jesuítas exploradores, pioneros y geógrafos*, San Sebastián, Instituto Ignacio de Loyola / Bilbao, Ediciones Mensajero, 2006, 55-73.

Andreoli, Aurelio (1913-1991)

752. S. Galimberti, *Aurelio Andreoli e il centro culturale "Veritas" di Trieste*, Trieste, MGS Press, 2006, 206 p.

Arrupe, Pedro (1907-1991)

753. Pedro Arrupe. 'Un hombre de Dios, un hombre para el mundo', *Diakonia* 25 (2001), no. 99.
754. I. Cacho Nazabal, 'Pedro Arrupe, un general para el cambio', *Anuario del Instituto Ignacio de Loyola* 13 (2006), 57-76.
755. Q.J. Weber, *Pedro Arrupe*, Porto Alegre, Livraria Editora Padre Reus, 2006, 60 p.
756. G. La Bella (ed.), *Pedro Arrupe, General de la Compañía de Jesús. Nuevas aportaciones a su biografía*, Bilbao, Mensajero / Santander, Sal Terrae, 2007, 1077 p.
757. J.Y. Calvez, 'Les choix du père Arrupe', *Études* 151 (2007), 355-365.
758. G. Costa, "'Fede e giustizia". Le intuizioni di Pedro Arrupe', *Aggiornamento sociali* 58 (2007), 677-688.
759. J.A. García a.o. (eds.), *Rezar com o Padre Arrupe*, Braga, Editorial A.O., 2007, 158 p.
760. R.C. Heredia, 'Incarnating Christ in India. Pedro Arrupe and inculturation', *Vidyajyoti Journal of Theological Reflection* 71 (2007), 342-357.
761. J. Joseph a.o., 'Remembering Fr. Arrupe, 1907-1991', *Vidyajyoti Journal of Theological Reflection* 71 (2007), 801-830.
762. M. Maier, *Pedro Arrupe. Zeuge und Prophet*, Würzburg, Echter, 2007, 95 p.
763. M. Maier, *Pedro Arrupe, testigo y profeta*, Santander, Sal Terrae, 2007, 108 p.
764. B. Sorge, 'Padre Arrupe me lo ricordo così', *Aggiornamento sociali* 58 (2007), 657-662.
765. U. Valero, 'Pedro Arrupe, entonces y ahora', *Razón y Fe* 256 (2007), 169-

184.

Astete, Gaspar (1537-1601)

766. M.d.L. Correia Fernandes, 'A disciplina do comportamento moral e social. Gaspar Astete (1537-1601) e o seu program de formação de "juventude crista"', in J.A. de Freitas Carvalho (ed.), *A Companhia de Jesus na Península Ibérica nos sécs. XVI e XVII. Espiritualidade e cultura*, Porto, Centro Inter-Universitário da História da Espiritualidade da Universidade do Porto, 2005, 433-444.

Attiret, Jean-Denis (1702-1768)

767. Jean-Denis Attiret: *un doctois du XVIIIe siècle à la cour de l'Empereur de Chine*, Dole, Musée des Beaux-Arts de Dole, 2004, 47 p.

Balbín, Bohuslav (1621-1688)

768. L. Szörényi, 'Bohuslav Balbín und die Ungarn', in I. Monok & P. Ötvös (eds.), *Lesestoffe und kulturelles Niveau des niederen Klerus. Jesuiten und nationalen Kulturverhältnisse Böhmen, Maehren und das Karpathenbecken im XVII. und XVIII. Jahrhunderts*, Szeged, Scriptorum, 2001, 78-91.

769. A. Richterová, 'Osud knihoven Bohuslava Balbína a Michala Adama Francka z Franckensteinu' [The fate of the libraries of B.B. and M.A.F. of Franckenstein], in O. Fejtová a.o. (eds.), *Barokní Praha – barokní Čechie 1620-1740*, Praha, Scriptorium, 2004, 643-651.

Balde, Jacob (1604-1668)

770. É. Knapp, 'Jacob Balde magyarországi befogadása' [The reception of J.B. in Hungary], *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 108 (2004), 568-583.
771. G. van Gemert, 'Balde und die Niederlande - die Niederlande und Balde. Marginalien zum editorischen Schicksal der Sylven-Bücher acht und neun', in T. Burkard a.o. (eds.), *Jacob Balde im kulturellen Kontext seiner Epoche. Zur 400. Wiederkehr seines Geburtstages*, Regensburg, Schnell & Steiner, 2006, 375-389.
772. R. Haub, 'Sancta morte praeoccupatus. Die Vita des Jesuitenpater Jacob Balde (1604-1668) nach dem Neuburger Nekrolog', in T. Burkard a.o. (eds.), *Jacob Balde im kulturellen Kontext seiner Epoche. Zur 400. Wiederkehr seines Geburtstages*, Regensburg, Schnell & Steiner, 2006, 363-374.
773. J. Oswald, 'Ein Jesuitendichter aus dem Elsaß. Jacob Balde und die Exerzitien des Ignatius von Loyola', in T. Burkard a.o. (eds.), *Jacob Balde im kulturellen Kontext seiner Epoche. Zur 400. Wiederkehr seines Geburtstages*, Regensburg, Schnell & Steiner, 2006, 341-362.

Balthasar, Hans Urs von (1905-1988), Jesuit until 1950

See also 1098, 1218, 1239, 1247, 1249.

774. V. Kapp a.o. (eds.), *Theodramatik und Theatralität. Ein Dialog mit dem Theaterverständnis von Hans Urs von Balthasar*, Berlin, Duncker & Humblot, 2000, 288 p.
775. Y. De Maeseneer, 'Saint Francis versus McDonald's? Contemporary globalization critique and Hans Urs von Balthasar's theological aesthetics', *Heythrop Journal* 44 (2003), 1-14.
776. P. Blätter, *Pneumatologia crucis. Das Kreuz in der Logik von Wahrheit und Freiheit. Ein phänomenologischer Zugang zur Theologie Hans Urs von Balthasars*, Würzburg, Echter Verlag, 2004, 440 p.
777. A. Fumagalli, 'Estetica teologica e teologia morale. I fondamenti dell'etica Cristiana nell'opera di H.U. von Balthasar', *La Scuola Cattolica* 133 (2005), 421-444.
778. W. Löser, *Kleine Einführung zu Hans Urs von Balthasar*, Freiburg, Herder, 2005, 183 p.
779. W. Löser, 'Wort und Wort Gottes in der Theologie Hans Urs von Balthasars', *Theologie und Philosophie* 80 (2005), 225-248.
780. G. Marchesi, 'La via della bellezza nell'estetica teologica di Hans Urs von Balthasar', *PATH* 4 (2005), 395-412.
781. S. Mycek, 'Maria nel pensiero teologico-teodrammatico di Hans Urs von Balthasar', *Sacra Doctrina* 50 (2005), 30-60.
782. C.I. Avenati de Palumbo, 'La 'habitabilidad comunal' como figura conclusiva de la theodramática de Hans Urs von Balthasar', *Revista Teologia* 47 (2006), 535-541.
783. D. Gonneaud & P. Charpentier de Beauvillé (eds.), *Chrétiens dans la société actuelle. L'apport de Hans Urs von Balthasar*, Magny-les-Hameaux, Socéval, 2006, 334 p.
784. P. Henrici (ed.), *Hans Urs von Balthasar - ein grosser Churer Diözesan*, Fribourg, Academic Press, 2006, 136 p.
785. C. Sorč, 'Gott und das Leid bei Hans Urs von Balthasar', *Folia Theologica* 17 (2006), 119-225.
786. W. Kasper (ed.), *Logik der Liebe und Herrlichkeit Gottes. Hans Urs von Balthasar im Gespräch. Festgabe für Karl Kardinal Lehmann zum 70. Geburtstag*, Mainz, Matthias-Grünwald Verlag, 2006, 516 p.

787. W. Löser, 'Hans Urs von Balthasar und Ignatius von Loyola', in W. Kasper (ed.), *Logik der Liebe und Herrlichkeit Gottes. Hans Urs von Balthasar im Gespräch. Festgabe für Karl Kardinal Lehmann zum 70. Geburtstag*, Mainz, Matthias-Grünewald Verlag, 2006, 94-110.
788. M. Paradiso, 'Adrienne von Speyr e von Balthasar', *Prospettiva persona* 57-58 (2006), 49-54.
789. A. Raffelt, 'Balthasar - Rahner: eine "Vergegnung"?' in W. Kasper (ed.), *Logik der Liebe und Herrlichkeit Gottes. Hans Urs von Balthasar im Gespräch. Festgabe für Karl Kardinal Lehmann zum 70. Geburtstag*, Mainz, Matthias-Grünewald Verlag, 2006, 484-505.
790. R. Voderholzer, 'Die Bedeutung der so genannten "Nouvelle Théologie" (insbesondere Henri de Lubac) für die Theologie Hans Urs von Balthasars', in W. Kasper (ed.), *Logik der Liebe und Herrlichkeit Gottes. Hans Urs von Balthasar im Gespräch. Festgabe für Karl Kardinal Lehmann zum 70. Geburtstag*, Mainz, Matthias-Grünewald Verlag, 2006, 204-228.
791. R. Barnett, 'Balthasar from a parish perspective', *The Expository Times* 118 (2007), 590-595.
792. E. Block, 'Hans Urs von Balthasar and some contemporary catholic writers', *Logos. A Journal of Catholic Thought and Culture* 10 (2007), 151-178.
793. S. Caruana, 'The Sequela Christi theme in Saint Augustine of Hippo and in Hans Urs von Balthasar's Augustinus revisited', in H. Scerri, *Living Theology. Studies on Karl Rahner, Yves Congar, Bernard Lonergan and Hans Urs von Balthasar*, Città del Vaticano, Libreria Editrice del Vaticano, 2007, 195-206.
794. V. Holzer, 'Brève esquisse sur la christologie du "Samedi-Saint" dans la sotériologie de Hans Urs von Balthasar', *Transversalités* 102 (2007), 135-146.
795. F. Kerr, 'Hans Urs von Balthasar', in *Twentieth-century Catholic theologians*, Malden MA, Blackwell Publishing, 2007, 121-144.
796. K. Mongrain, 'Von Balthasar's way from doxology to theology', *Theology Today* 64 (2007), 58-70.
797. K. Mongrain, 'Poetics and doxology. Von Balthasar on poetic resistance to modernity's turn to the subject', *Pro Ecclesia* 16 (2007), 381-415.
798. P. O'Callaghan, 'Gli stati di vita del cristiano. Riflessioni su un'opera di Hans Urs von Balthasar', *Annales Theologici* 21 (2007), 61-100.
799. P. Serracino Ingloft, 'Theatre and liturgy? Two hesitant footnotes to Hans Urs von Balthasar', in H. Scerri, *Living Theology. Studies on Karl Rahner, Yves Congar, Bernard Lonergan and Hans Urs von Balthasar*, Città del Vaticano, Libreria Editrice del Vaticano, 2007, 185-194.

800. J.A. Vogel, 'The unselfing activity of the Holy Spirit in the theology of Hans Urs von Balthasar', *Logos. A Journal of Catholic Thought and Culture* 10 (2007), 16-34.

Bampton, Joseph (1854-1933)

801. B. Rodríguez Caparrini, 'El Eton católico'. *El internado jesuita de Beaumont (Old Windsor, Inglaterra) durante el rectorado del Padre Joseph M. Bampton, S.J. (1901-1908)*, Cádiz, Universidad de Cádiz, 2004, 552 p.

Banchig, Antonio (1814-1891)

802. G. Banchig, P. Antonio Banchig : *gesuita di frontiera (Tarçetta 1814-Gorizia 1891)*, Cividale del Friuli / Čedad, Most società cooperativa, 2007, 286 p.

Bangha, Béla (1880-1940)

803. J. Gergely, 'Bangha Béla (1880-1940)', in *Főpapok, főpásztorok, főbbiek: arcélek a huszadik század magyar egyháztörténetéből [Prelates, Bishops, High Priests]*, Budapest, Pannonica, 2004, 130-162.
804. F. Szabó, 'Bangha Béla SJ', in *Pozsonytól Kassáig [From Bratislava to Kosice]*, Nádszeg, Glória, 2005, 38-47.

Batllore i Munné, Miquel (1909-2003)

805. J. Seguí, 'Batllori in memoriam: Batllori y San Juan de Ribera', *Miscellanea Comillas* 62 (2004), 549-566.
806. J. Solervicens, *Bibliografia de Miquel Batllori*, València, Eliseu Climent, 2004, 269 p.

Baudiss, Wojciech Maria (1842-1926)

807. S. Cieślak, 'Wkład o. Wojciecha Marii Baudissa SJ w reformę zakonu św. Bazylego Wielkiego' [The contribution of W.M.B. to the reform of the Order of St. Basil the Great], *Nasza przeszłość* 101 (2004), 197-238.

Bayer, Johann Wolfgang (1722-1794)

808. U. Glüsenkamp, 'Reiseberichtersattung im 18. Jahrhundert am Beispiel der Reise Johann Wolfgang Bayers SJ (1722-1794) nach Peru', in R. Decot (ed.), *Expansion und Gefährdung. Amerikanische Mission und Europäische Krise der Jesuiten im 18. Jahrhundert*, Mainz, Philip von Zabern, 2004, 123-138.
809. U. Glüsenkamp, 'Johann Wolfgang Bayer S.J. (1722-1794) – ein Peru-Missionar aus Franken', *Zeitschrift für Bayerische Landesgeschichte* 69 (2006), 887-921

Bea, Augustin (1881-1968)

810. B.M. Krämer, 'Augustin Kardinal Bea. Zum Lebenswerk des Kardinals der Einheit und zum Kardinal-Bea-Museum in Riedböhringen', *Freiburger Diözesan-Archiv* 123 (2003), 125-147.
811. B.M. Krämer, 'Augustin Kardinal Bea (1881-1968). Vorkämpfer der Ökumene und der Aussöhnung mit den Juden', *Freiburger Rundbrief* 13 (2006), 82-92.
812. H. Otto, "'Augustin Kardinal Bea (28. Mai 1881 bis 16. Februar 1968). Herkunft und Entscheidung für die Gesellschaft Jesu." Gedenkrede an Christi Himmelfahrt (25. Mai) 2006 anlässlich des 125. Geburtstages in Riedböhringen', *Freiburger Diözesan-Archiv* 126 (2006), 65-76.
813. J.M. Vereb, "Because he was a German!" *Cardinal Bea and the origins of Catholic engagement in the ecumenical movement*, Grand Rapids MI / Cambridge, William B. Eerdmans, 2006, 332 p.

Begheyn, Paul (1944-)

814. K. Fens, 'Schitterende dubbelheid', in his *In het voorbijgaan. Kleine essays*, Amsterdam, Athenaeum - Polak & Van Gennep, 2007, 23-25.

Bellarmino, Roberto (1542-1621)

815. D. Sorrentino, 'Sulla testimonianza del Santo negli scritti spirituali di Roberto Bellarmino', *Asprenas* 47 (2000), 129-142.
816. C. Benke, 'Spirituelle Theologie als Paränese. Die asketischen Spätwerke des Kirchenvaters Robert Bellarmin SJ', in J. Arnold a.o. (eds), *Kirchenväter. Ekklesiales Denken von den Anfängen bis in die Neuzeit*, Paderborn [etc.], Ferdinand Schöningh, 2004, 1033-1049.
817. A. Richardt, *Saint Robert Bellarmin (1542-1621): le défenseur de la foi*, Paris, François-Xavier de Guibert, 2004, 323 p.
818. P. van Boxel, 'Robert Bellarmine, Christian hebraist and censor', in C. Ligota & J.L. Quantin (eds.), *History of scholarship*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2006, 251-275.
819. S. Lalla, 'Robert Bellarmin und die Kirchenväter', in G. Frank a.o. (eds), *Die Patristik in der frühen Neuzeit. Die Relektüre der Kirchenväter in den Wissenschaften des 15. bis 18. Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart / Bad Cannstadt, Frommann-Holzboog, 2006, 49-63.
820. T. Quaghebeur, 'La lettre du cardinal Robert Bellarmin (1542-1621) à Clément VIII (1602) et sa réapparition dans la controverse janséniste un demi-siècle plus tard', *Lias* 33 (2006), 75-88.

821. S.H. De Franceschi, 'Gallicanisme, antirichérisme et reconnaissance de la romanité ecclésiale. La dispute entre le cardinal Bellarmin et le théologien parisien André Duval (1614)', in J.L. Quantin (ed.), *Papes, princes et savants dans l'Europe modernes. Mélanges à la mémoire de Bruno Neveu*, Genève, Droz, 2007, 97-121.

Bernardt, Georg (1595-1660)

822. F. Rädle (ed.), *Georg Bernardt SJ. Dramen: lateinisch und deutsch, III: "Jovianus" 1623/1642. Ein Spiel vom Sturz des Mächtigen und vom Bauern als König*, Amsterdam, APA-Holland University Press, 2006, 234 p.

Bidermann, Jacob (1578-1639)

823. J.M. Valentin, 'Les Ludi de Jacob Bidermann et les débuts du théâtre des jésuites dans l'Empire', in his *L'école, la ville, la cour. Pratiques sociales, enjeux poétologiques et répertoires du théâtre dans l'Empire au XVIIe siècle*, Paris, Klincksieck, 2004, 83-101.

Bíró, Ferenc (1869-1938)

824. A. Kulcsár: 'P. Bíró Ferenc emberszemlélete' [Humane aspect of Fr. F.B.], *Lépések* (2000), 24-36.
825. M. Suller, 'A teremtet világ megszentelése P. Bíró lelkigyakorlataiban' [The sanctification of the created world in the spiritual experiences of Fr. F.B.], *Lépések* (2001), 17-23.
826. A. Zsigmond, 'Bíró Ferenc jezsuita atya szociális tanítása a Rerem Novarum enciklika tükrében' [The social teaching of Jesuit Father F.B. in the mirror of the encyclical Rerum Novarum], *Lépések* (2001), 61-77.
827. E. Horváth, *Szivedé egészen. Bíró Ferenc jezsuita életútja* [With your whole heart. The life of Jesuit F.B.], Kecskemét, Korda, 2005, 160 p.

Bitterich, Johann (1675-1720)

828. J. Meier, 'Johann Bitterich und die Indios von Oberursel', *Würzburger Diözesangeschichtsblätter* 62/63 (2001), 297-330.

Bobadilla, Diego de (1590-1648)

829. N.P. Cushner, 'Merchants and missionaries. A theologian's view of clerical involvement in the galleon trade', in T. Storch (ed.), *Religions and missionaries around the Pacific, 1500-1900*, Aldershot-Burlington, Ashgate Variorum, 2006, 41-50.

Bolkovac, Paul (1907-1993)

830. E. Winde-Schwarz, *Der Pater: Tagebuch einer Konversion*, Kiel, J.F. Steinkopf, 2007, 190 p.

Bonifacio, Juan (1538-1606)

831. T. Egido, 'Juan Bonifacio y Juan de Yepes: un encuentro afortunado (1558-1562)', *Perfiat* 26 (2006), 143-161.
832. S. Pérez Martín, 'P. Bonifacio: obras y bibliografía', *Perfiat* 26 (2006), 163-166.

Borja, Francisco de (1510-1572)

833. F. Solá & J.M. Cervós, *El palacio ducal de Gandía*, Gandía, Ayuntamiento de Gandía, 2004, 269 p.
834. F. García Hernán, 'Francisco de Borja y Portugal' in J.A. de Freitas Carvalho (ed.), *A Companhia de Jesus na Península Ibérica nos sécs. XVI e XVII. Espiritualidade e cultura*, Porto, Centro Inter-Universitário da História da Espiritualidade da Universidade do Porto, 2005, 189-219.
835. G.R. Dimler, 'Emblematic structures in celebrations of Francis Borgia's canonization', in his *Studies in the Jesuit emblem*, New York, AMS Press, 2007, 272-294.
836. G.R. Dimler, 'Octiduum S. Francisco Borgiae (1671). The Munich Jesuits celebrate the canonization of Francis Borgia', in his *Studies in the Jesuit emblem*, New York, AMS Press, 2007, 295-322.

Bošković, Rudjer Josip (1711-1787)

837. G. Boistel, 'Document inédit des pères jésuites R.J. Boscovich et Esprit Pezenas sur les longitudes en mer', *Revue d'histoire des sciences* 54 (2001), 383-397.

Bosmans, Henri (1852-1928)

838. P. Van Praag, 'La retranscription de l'Appendice Algebraïque par le Père Henri Bosmans', in H. Elkhadem & W. Bracke (eds.), *Simon Stevin 1548-1620. L'émergence de la nouvelle science*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2004, 63-71.

Brasanelli, Giuseppe (1659-1728)

839. B.D. Sustersic, 'El "Insigne artífice" José Brasanelli. Su participación en la conformación de un nuevo lenguaje figurativo en las misiones jesuíticas-guaraníes', in A.M. Aranda a.o. (eds.), *Barroco Iberoamericano. Territorio, Arte, Espacio y Sociedad*, I, Sevilla, Ediciones Giralda, 2001, 623-643.

Bremond, Henri (1865-1933), Jesuit until 1904

840. F. Marxer, 'L'Histoire littéraire du sentiment religieux de l'abbé Bremond', *Christus* 53 (2006), 350-353.

Brentán, Károly (1694-1758)

841. T. Lacza, 'Brentán Károly. Magyar jezsuiták Latin Amerikában' [K.B. Hungarian Jesuits in Latin America], *Fórum* (2000), 123-144.
842. T. Lacza, 'Brentán Károly', in *Utazók, felfedezők, hódítok, kalandorok* [Travellers, discoverers, conquerors, adventurers], Dunaszerdahely, Lilium Aurum, 2003, 111-118.

Broeckhoven, Egied van (1933-1967)

843. H. Carmeliet (ed.), *Trek je sandalen uit. Uit het dagboek van Egied Van Broeckhoven*, Mechelen, Kerk & Wereld, 2007, 48 p.
844. J.M. Rambla Blanch, *Dios, la amistad y los pobres. La mística de Egide van Broeckhoven, jesuita obrero*, Santander, Sal Terrae, 2007, 256 p.

Brumoy, Pierre (1688-1742)

845. J.M. Valentin, "'Un système [...] faux [...], mais d'où résultent de si grandes beautés". Tragédie, tragique et destin dans le drame de tradition catholique. Le Théâtre des Grecs (1730) de Pierre Brumoy s.j.', in his *L'école, la ville, la cour. Pratiques sociales, enjeux poétologiques et répertoires du théâtre dans l'Empire au XVIIe siècle*, Paris, Klincksieck, 2004, 173-191.

Burnier, João Bosco (1917-1976)

846. P. Casaldáliga, *Martírio do Pe. João Bosco Penido Burnier*, São Paulo, Loyola, 2006, 40 p.

Butterworth, Robert (1930-), Jesuit until 1989

847. R. Butterworth, *The detour. Towards revising Catholicism*, Leominster, Gracewing, 2005, 255 p

Campion, Edmund (1539-1581)

848. G. Kilroy, *Edmund Campion: Memory and transcription*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2005, 261 p.
849. A. Dailey, 'Making Edmund Campion: treason, martyrdom, and the structure of transcendence', *Religion & Literature* 38 (2006), 65-83.
850. R.E. Scully, 'The battle of books. Polemical and martyrological writings of Campion, Persons, and other English catholics', in V.C. Raguin (ed), *Catholic collecting. Catholic reflection 1538-1850. Objects as a measure of reflection on a Catholic past and the construction of Recusant identity in England and America*, Worcester MA, College of the Holy Cross, 2006, 139-150.
851. T. McCoog (ed.), *The reckoned expense: Edmund Campion and the Early English Jesuits*. Second edition, revised with additional material, Rome, Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 2007, 495 p.

Canisius, Petrus (1521-1597)

See also 952.

852. C. Di Filippo Bareggi, 'La formazione pastorale del clero in cura d'anime dopo il Concilio di Trento: dal Catechismus ad parrochos alla Bibliotheca Selecta', in M. Sangalli (ed.), *Per il Cinquecento religioso italiano: clero, cultura, società*, I, Roma, Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 2003, 265-290.
853. B. Ros & P. Zunneberg, 'Petrus Canisius (1521-1597). Portret van een heilige', in *Nijmeegse passanten. Een stadsgeschiedenis in twintig portretten*, Nijmegen, Valkhof Pers, 2005, 60-63.
854. R. van de Schoor, 'Petrus Canisius' reis naar Polen in 1558 en 1559', in C. Caspers [e.a.] (reds.), *Wegen van kerstening in Europa, 1300-1900*, Budel, Damon, 2005, 66-88.
855. P. Begheyn, 'De pasgeboren Petrus Canisius en de Bossche loterij (1521)', *Nijmeegs Katern* 21 (2007), 56-57.
856. P. Begheyn, 'Opvoeding en onderwijs in catechese en colleges. Petrus Canisius als humanistisch pedagoog', in M. Rotsaert & B. Segaert (red.), *Markante jezuiteten uit de Lage Landen: Canisius, Verbiest, Lessius, Regout*, Leuven, Peeters, 2007, 4-18.
857. P. Begheyn & V. Hunink, 'Vier unpublizierte Briefe des Petrus Canisius aus Augsburg (1561-1564)', *Zeitschrift für bayerische Landesgeschichte* 70 (2007), 781-791.
858. K. Hillenbrand, 'Deformatio - Reformatio. Petrus Canisius und sein Wirken in Würzburg', *Würzburger Diözesangeschichtsblätter* 69 (2007), 27-34.

Carillo, Alfonso (1553-1618)

859. L. Szilas, Alfonso *Carillo jesuita Erdélyben [The Jesuit A.C. in Transylvania]*, Budapest, METEM, 2001, 159 p.

Casas, Domingo Lázaro de las (1609-1661)

860. E. Tampe, 'Domingo Lázaro de las Casas, S.J. (1609-1661)', *Anuario de Historia de la Iglesia en Chile* 24 (2006), 7-10.

Casas, Ignacio de las (1550-1608)

See also 729.

861. R. Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, 'De Pablo a Saulo: traducción, crítica y denuncia de los Libros plúmbeos por el P. Ignacio de las Casas, S.J.', in M. Barrios Aguilera & M. García-Arenal (eds.), *Los Plomos del Sacromonte. Invención y tesoro*, València, Universidad de València [etc.], 2006, 217-251.

862. M. Barrios Aguilera, 'El castigo de la disidencia en las invenciones plúmbeas de Granada. Sacromonte versus Ignacio de las Casas', in M. Barrios Aguilera & M. García-Arenal (eds.), *Los Plomos del Sacromonte. Invención y tesoro*, València, Universidad de València [etc.], 2006, 481-520.

Castiglione, Giuseppe (1688-1766)

863. J.L. Gouraud a.o., *Giuseppe Castiglione dit Lang Shining 1688-1766*, Lausanne / Paris, Favre, 2004, 148 p.
864. M. Pirazzoli-T'Serstevens, *Giuseppe Castiglione, 1688-1766: Peintre et architecte à la cour de Chine*, Paris, Thalia, 2007, 222 p.
865. W. Yaoting, *New visions at the Ch'ing court: Giuseppe Castiglione and western-style trends [in Chinese]*, Taipei, National Palace Museum Gallery, 2007, 200 p.

Cataldo, Giuseppe (1837-1928)

866. A. Lo Nardo, *Dalla Sicilia alle Montagne Rocciose: P. Giuseppe Cataldo, Gesuita di Terrasini (PA)*, Palermo, Provincia Regionale di Palermo, 2007, 351 p.

Caussade, Jean-Pierre de (1675-1751)

867. D. Salin (ed.), *L'abandon à la Providence divine. Autrefois attribué à Jean-Pierre de Caussade*, [Paris], Desclée De Brouwer / Bellarmin, 2005, 208 p.

Caussin, Nicolas (1583-1651)

868. J.M. Valentin, 'Saxonia conversa. Les avatars d'un thème politique et littéraire au XVII^e siècle en Europe: Caussin, Avancini, Anton Ulrich', in his *L'école, la ville, la cour. Pratiques sociales, enjeux poétologiques et répertoires du théâtre dans l'Empire au XVII^e siècle*, Paris, Klincksieck, 2004, 291-386.
869. J.M. Valentin, 'Le drame de martyr européen et le Trauerspiel. Caussin, Masen, Stefonio, Galluzi, Gryphius', in his *L'école, la ville, la cour. Pratiques sociales, enjeux poétologiques et répertoires du théâtre dans l'Empire au XVII^e siècle*, Paris, Klincksieck, 2004, 419-460.
870. V. Kamp, 'Skandalöse Orthodoxie bei Nicolas Caussin', in H. Laufhütte & M. Titzmann (eds.), *Heterodoxie in der Frühen Neuzeit*, Tübingen, Max Niemeyer, 2006, 191-200.
871. S. Conte (ed.), *Nicolas Caussin: rhétorique et spiritualité à l'époque de Louis XIII*, Berlin, LIT Verlag, 2007, 358 p.
872. R. Dekoninck, 'Ad imaginem. Plaisir et connaissance dans la pensée iconologique de Nicolas Caussin', in S. Conte, *Nicolas Caussin: rhétorique et spiritualité à l'époque de Louis XIII*, Berlin, Lit Verlag, 2007, 317-325.
873. S.M. Morgain, 'La Cour Sainte de Nicolas Caussin. Des modèles à l'usage

du dévot', in G. Bedouelle a.o. (eds.), *La Tradition rassemblée*, Fribourg, Academic Press, 2007, 413-168.

874. A.E. Spica, 'La figure d'un courtisan chrétien dans La Cour sainte', in S. Conte (ed.), *Nicolas Caussin: rhétorique et spiritualité à l'époque de Louis XIII*, Berlin, LIT Verlag, 2007, 169-187.

Certeau, Michel de (1925-1986)

875. J. Valentin, 'Certeau im Plural. Ein Tagungsbericht', *Orientierung* 66 (2002), 117-118.
876. S. Morra, "Pas sans toi." *Testo, parola e memoria verso una dinamica della esperienza ecclesiale negli scritti di Michel de Certeau*, Roma, PUG, 2004, 258 p.
877. A. Bastenier, 'Le croire et le cru: Les appartenances religieuses au sein du christianisme européen revisitées à partir des travaux de Michel de Certeau', *Social Compass* 54 (2007), 13-32.
878. P. Lécrivain, 'Michel de Certeau e le scienze dell' "altro"', *La Civiltà Cattolica* 158 (2007), 139-152.

Ceyrac, Pierre (1914-)

879. J. Cordelier, *L'avventura di Ceyrac. Una vita per gli altri*, Milano, Jaca Book, 2007, 221 p.

Chapelle, Albert (1929-2003)

880. A. Chapelle, *Au creux du rocher. Itinéraire spirituel et intellectuel d'un jésuite. Mémorial*, Bruxelles, Editions Lessius, 2004, 182 p.

Charles, Pierre (1883-1954)

881. J. Pirotte, 'Pierre Charles à Louvain. Les formes d'une "action" missionnaire', in J. Comby (ed.), *Diffusion et acculturation du christianisme (XIXe-XXe siècle). Vingt-cinq ans de recherches missiologiques par le CREDIC*, Paris, Karthala, 2005, 121-137.

Chesneau, René (1573-1617)

882. P. Martin, 'La matière exotique dans les emblèmes eucharistiques du Père Chesneau', in R. Dekoninck & A. Guiderdoni-Bruslé (eds.), *Emblemata sacra. Rhétorique et herméneutique du discours sacré dans la littérature en images. The rhetoric and hermeneutics of illustrated sacred discourse*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2007, 211-223.

Chifflet, Pierre-François (1592-1682)

883. B. Joassart (ed.), *Pierre-François Chifflet, Charles du Cange et les Bollandistes. Correspondance*, Bruxelles, Société des Bollandistes, 2005, 305 p.

Ciszek, Walter (1904-1984)

884. R. Stets, 'A spirituality of surrender. A Jesuit's story', *Review for Religious* 65 (2006), 43-47.

Claver, Pedro (1580-1654)

885. A. Gutiérrez, 'San Pedro Claver: Precursor de la defensa de los derechos humanos', *Studia Missionalia* 55 (2006), 49-61.

Clavijero, Francisco Javier (1731-1787)

886. S.N. Méndez-Bonito, 'Las historias naturales de Francisco Javier Clavijero, Juan Ignacio de Molina y Juan de Velasco', in L. Millones Figuera & D. Ledezma (eds.), *El saber de los jesuitas, historia naturales y el Nuevo Mundo*, Madrid, Iberoamericana / Frankfurt am Main, Vervuert, 2005, 225-250.

887. B.H. Domingues, 'A participação do jesuíta Clavijero na "disputa do novo mundo": uma combinação eclética de humanismo, tomismo, história natural e iluminismo', in M. Marzal & L. Bacigalupo (eds.), *Los jesuitas y la modernidad en Iberoamérica 1549-1773*, Lima, Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú [etc.], 2007, 72-97.

Clavius, Christoph (1538-1612)

888. E. Knobloch, 'Nunes and Clavius', in L. Saraiva & H. Leitão (eds.), *The practice of mathematics in Portugal*, Coimbra, Acta Universitatis Conimbrigensis, 2004, 163-194.

889. R. Gatto, 'Christoph Clavius' "Ordo Servandus in Addiscendis Disciplinis Mathematicis" and the teaching of mathematics in Jesuit colleges at the beginning of the Modern Era', *Science & Education* 15 (2006), 235-258.

Closa, Pedro (1932-1971)

890. J. Renau, *Pedro Closa. Jesuita y cristiano*, Barcelona, Cristianisme i justícia, 2003, 32 p.

Cobo Suero, Juan Manuel (1937-)

891. M. Irusta Cerro, 'Iberoamérica y utopía en Juan Manuel Cobo', *Miscelánea Comillas* 65 (2007), 91-101.
892. J. Sanjosé Del Campo, 'De Cobo y sobre Cobo en la Revista Razon e Fe', *Miscelánea Comillas* 65 (2007), 25-41.
893. 'Bio-bibliografía de Juan Manuel Cobo', *Miscelánea Comillas* 65 (2007), 13-17.

Coghlan , James Peter (1731-1800)

894. F. Blom (ed.), *The Correspondence of James Peter Coghlan (1731-1800)*, Woodbridge, The Catholic Record Society by the Boydell Press, 2007, 456 p.

Coreth, Emmerich (1919-2006)

895. O. Muck, 'Prof. P. Dr. Emerich Coreth SJ 1919-2006', *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie* 129 (2007), 97-99.

Cortina, Jon (1934-2005)

896. N. Klein, 'Jon Cortina SJ (1934-2005)', *Orientierung* 70 (2006), 1-2.

Cser, László (1914-2004)

897. F. Szabó, 'Cser László halálára' [At the death of L.C.], *Távlatok* 64 (2004), 275-280.
898. F. Szabó, 'A kínai misszionárius emlékezete' [The memory of a Chinese missionary], *Új Horizont* 33/4 (2005), 32-40

Cus, Alphonse (1846-1910)

899. J.M. Kreins, 'Le père Alphonse Cus de la Compagnie de Jésus. Apostolat dans le Luxembourg (1892-1900)', in O. Donneau (ed.), *La croix et la bannière. Les catholiques en Luxembourg de Rerum Novarum à Vatican II*, Bastogne, Éditions du Musée en Piconrue, 2005, 253-264.

Cuscó Mir, Alberto (1852-1916)

900. A. Barrios Moneo, *Piedra angular. El P. Alberto Cuscó Mir, Jesuita y fundador*, Mexico, Aguascalientes, 2002, 434 p.
901. A. Barrios Moneo, *Signo de contradicción. El P. Alberto Cuscó Mir, Jesuita y fundador*, Mexico, Aguascalientes, 2003, 2196 p.

Daniélou, Jean (1905-1974)

902. J. Fontaine, *Actualité de Jean Daniélou*, Paris, Cerf, 2006, 230 p.
903. D. Burrell, 'Christians, muslims (and Jews) before the one God: Jean Daniélou on mission revisited', *Interpretation* 61 (2007), 34-41.

Daubenton, Guillaume (1648-1723)

904. C. Desos, *La vie du R.P. Guillaume Daubenton S.J. (1648-1723): un jésuite français à la cour d'Espagne et à Rome*, Córdoba, Servicio de Publicaciones Universidad de Córdoba / CajaSur, 2005, 225 p.

David, Jan (1546-1613)

905. W. Waterschoot, 'Veridicus Christianus and Christelicken Waerseggher by Joannes David', in R. Dekoninck & A. Guiderdoni-Bruslé (eds), *Emblemata sacra. Rhétorique et herméneutique du discours sacré dans la littérature en images. The rhetoric and hermeneutics of illustrated sacred discourse*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2007, 527-534.

Delehaye, Hippolyte (1859-1941)

906. C.J.T. Talar, 'Discourse on method: Hippolyte Delahaye's *Légendes hagiographiques*', in E. Emery & L. Postlewaite (ed.), *Medieval saints in late nineteenth-century French culture*, Jefferson, McFarland & Co, 2004, 139-159.

Delp, Alfred (1907-1945)

See also 1133.

907. A.R. Batlogg & R. Müller (ed.), *Alfred Delp. Im Angesicht des Todes*, Würzburg, Echter, 2007, 79 p.
908. R. Haub, *Alfred Delp: Beten und Glauben*, Kevelaer, Topos plus, 2007, 125 p.
909. H. Maier, 'Alfred Delps Vermächtnis. Glauben über Not und Nacht hinaus', *Stimmen der Zeit* 225 (2007), 795-808.

Delrio, Martin-Antoine (1551-1608)

910. P.A. Heuser, 'Eine Auseinandersetzung über den Indizienwert der Kaltwasserprobe im Hexenprozess. Studien zur Rick-Delrio-Kontroverse 1597-1599 und zur Zurückdrängung der Kaltwasserprobe aus kurkölnischen Hexenprozessen im 17. Jahrhundert', *Rheinisch-westfälische Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* 45 (2000), 73-135.
911. T. Deneire, 'In de kijker. Martinus Antonius Delrio, Syntagma tragoediae latinae in tres partes distinctum, Antwerpen 1593[-1595]', in J. De Landtsheer a.o. (eds.), *Justus Lipsius (1547-1606). Een geleerde en zijn Europese netwerk*, Leuven, Leuven University Press, 2006, 55-60.

Desideri, Ippolito (1684-1733)

See also 958.

912. G. Raffo, 'Ippolito Desideri, missionario gesuita ed esploratore', *La Civiltà Cattolica* 156 (2005), 366-371.
913. E.G. Bargiacchi, *Ippolito Desideri S.J.: alla scoperta del Tibet e del buddhismo*, Pistoia, Edizioni Brigata del Leoncino, 2006, 126 p.
914. E.G. Bargiacchi, *Ippolito Desideri: opere e bibliografia*, Roma, Institutum Historicum S.I., 2007, 303 p.

Díaz de Cerio, Franco (1921-2005)

915. S. Pagano, 'In memoriam R.P. Franco Díaz de Cerio, S.I.', *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 43 (2005), 9-11.

Dobronoki, György (1588-1649)

916. K. Mészáros, *Dobronoki György egy jezsuita a XVII. századból* [G.D., a Jesuit from the 17th century], Lendva, Magyar Nemzetiségi Művelődési Intézet, 2004, 53 p.

Dominis, Marcantonio de (1560-1624), Jesuit until 1597

917. T. Quaghebeur, 'The unsuccessful condemnation of De Dominis by the theological faculty of Louvain (1616-1624)', *Cristianesimo nella Storia* 27 (2006), 447-470.

Drunen, Theo van (1963-)

918. A. Fafié, 'Op de grens van kerk en wereld. In gesprek met Theo van Drunen SJ', *Herademing* 15/1 (2007), 36-40.

Duhr, Bernhard (1852-1930)

919. C. Brodtkorb, 'Leben und Wirken von Pater Bernhard Duhr SJ (1852-1930)', in R. Decot (ed.), *Konfessionskonflikt, Kirchenstruktur, Kulturwandel. Die Jesuiten im Reich nach 1556*, Mainz, Philipp von Zabern, 2007, 185-203.

Dulles, Avery (1918-)

920. R. Cassidy, 'The models of Avery Dulles and some references to Lonergan', *Lonergan Workshop* 19 (2007), 51-61.
921. M.S. Massa, 'Avery Dulles, teaching authority in the church, and the 'dialectically tense' middle. An American strategic theology', *The Heythrop Journal* 48 (2007), 932-951.

Duneau, Louis († 1631)

922. Y. Loskoutoff, 'Portrait du cardinal Antoine Barberini d'après les lettres inédites du père Duneau S.J. au cardinal Mazarin', in J.L. Quantin, *Papes, princes et savants dans l'Europe modernes. Mélanges à la mémoire de Bruno Neveu*, Genève, Droz, 2007, 171-189.

Dupuis, Jacques (1923-2004)

923. G. Hall, 'Jacques Dupuis' christian theology of religious pluralism', *Pacifica* 15 (Feb. 2002), 37-50.
924. P. Valkenberg, 'Jacques Dupuis as a theologian with a reversed mission. Some remarks on his controversial theology of religious pluralism', in F.

Wijzen & P. Nissen (eds.), *'Mission is a must'. Intercultural theology and the mission of the church*, Amsterdam / New York, Rodopi, 2002, 147-148.

925. D. Kendall & G. O'Collins (eds.), *In many and diverse ways. In honor of Jacques Dupuis*, Maryknoll, Orbis, 2003, 304 p.

926. T. Merrigan, 'The appeal to Yves Congar in recent Catholic theology of religions. The case of Jacques Dupuis', in G. Flynn (ed.), *Yves Congar theologian of the Church*, Louvain, Peeters, 2005, 427-457.

Éder Xavér, Ferenc (1727-1773)

927. T. Lacza, 'Éder X. Ferenc. Magyar jezsuiták Latin Amerikában. [F.E.X. Hungarian Jesuits in Latin America], *Fórum* 2 (2000), 127-146.

Elffen, Nicolaus (1626-1706)

928. M. Richau, 'Nicolaus Elffen - ein Prediger im Kölner Dom mit protestantischer moselländischer Abstammung', *Mitteilungen der Westdeutschen Gesellschaft für Familienkunde* 42 (2006), 226-232.

Ellacuría, Ignacio (1930-1989)

929. K. Burke, 'Reflections on Ignatian soteriology. The contribution of Ignacio Ellacuría', *Lonergan Workshop* 19 (2007), 37-50.

Enden, Franciscus van den (1602-1674), Jesuit until ab. 1628

930. W. Klever, *Met oude Grieken. Van den Enden en Spinoza op weg naar echte directe democratie. Inclusief hertaalde en toegelichte vrije politieke stellingen (1665)*, Vrijstad [= Capelle a/d IJssel, Klever], 2007, 207 p.

931. W. Klever, *Franciscus van den Enden, Free political propositions and considerations of state (1665). Text in translation, the relevant biographical documents and a selection from Kort verhael*, Vrijstad [= Capelle a/d IJssel, Klever], 2007, 214 p.

Engelgrave, Hendrick (1610-1670)

932. M. Van Vaecck, 'The use of the emblem as a rhetorical device in Engelgrave's emblematic sermon books', in R. Dekoninck & A. Guiderdoni-Bruslé (eds), *Emblemata sacra. Rhétorique et herméneutique du discours sacré dans la littérature en images. The rhetoric and hermeneutics of illustrated sacred discourse*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2007, 535-551.

Enomiya-Lassalle, Hugo (1898-1990)

933. U. Baatz, H. M. Enomiya-Lasalle. *Jesuita y maestro zen*, Barcelona, Herder, 2005, 196 p.

Errandonea, Ignacio (1886-1970)

934. J. Sanjosé del Campo, 'La etapa madrileña de Ignacio Errandonea (1941-1947)', *Miscelánea Comillas* 64 (2006), 451-501.

Espinal, Luis (1932-1980)

935. C. Albrecht, 'Une vie pour la liberté et la justice: Luis Espinal, jésuite et martyr', *Choisir* (septembre 2003), 9-11.

Eximeno Pujades, José Antonio (1729-1808)

936. M.A. Picó, *El Padre José Antonio Eximeno Pujades*, Valencia, Institución Alfonso el Magnánimo, 2003, 418 p.

Faludi, Ferenc (1704-1779)

937. S.I. Kovács, 'A pipázó puttó. Faludi Ferenc költeményes maradványai' [The pipe smoker's little angel. Poetical relics of F.F.], *Irodalomismeret* 11 (2000), 97-103.
938. P. Sárközy, *Faludi Ferenc (1704-1779)*, Pozsony [Bratislava], Kalligram, 2005, 276 p.
939. F. Szabó, 'Adalékok Faludi erkölcsnemesítő írásainak forrásaihoz' [Contributions to the sources of edifying writings of Faludi], *Magyar könyvszemle* 121 (2005), 226-232.
940. F. Szabó, 'Faludi Ferenc', in *Pozsonytól Kassáig [From Bratislava to Kosice]*, Nádszeg, Glória, 2005, 22-29.
941. G. Szentmártoni Szabó, 'Faludi Ferenc forrásünnepe' [F.F.'s fountain festival], *Vasi Szemle* 60/2 (2006), 4-20.

Favre, Pierre (1506-1546)

See also 46-48, 53, 60.

942. D. Bertrand, 'Avec Pierre Favre: aux sources de l'obéissance religieuse', *Vies consacrées* 2 (2006), 75-88.
943. C. Coupeau & H. Zollner, 'L'itinerario del beato Pietro Fabro', *La Civiltà Cattolica* 157 (2006), 534-547.
944. J. García de Castro, *Pedro Fabro, la cuarta dimensión: Orar y vivir*, Maliaño, Sal Terrae, 2006, 141 p.
945. R. García Mateo, 'Pedro Fabro, los luteranos y el diálogo ecuménico', *Manresa* 78 (2006), 239-251.
946. Void.

947. P. Henrici, 'Mission und Mystik im Leben des seligen Peter Faber', *Studia Missionalia* 55 (2006), 27-47.
948. N.T. de Lemos, 'O terceiro era eu. Pedro Fabro em primeira pessoa', *Brotéria* 163 (2006), 79-96.
949. S. Madrigal, 'Pedro Fabro, el peregrino saboyano', *Razón y Fe* 254 (2006), 115-138.
950. A.M. Navas Gutierrez, 'El Beato Pedro Fabro ante la crisis religiosa de Alemania (Impresiones sacadas de su correspondencia)', *Archivo Teológico Granadino* 69 (2006), 5-47.
951. B. O'Leary, *Pierre Favre and discernment*, London, The Way, 2006, 141 p.
952. P. Begheyn, 'Pierre Favre als begeleider van de Geestelijke Oefeningen. Het voorbeeld van Petrus Canisius', *Cardoner* 26 (2007), 53-65.
953. D. Bertrand, *Pierre Favre, un portrait*, Bruxelles, Lessius, 2007, 365 p.
954. J. García de Castro, 'Pedro Fabro (1506-1546). Inspirador y constructor de la primera Compañía de Jesús', *Estudios Eclesiásticos* 82 (2007), 235-276.

Ferus, Jiří Plachý (1586-1655)

955. J. Linka, 'Kult českých patronů v díle Jiřího Fera-Plachého SJ', in I. Čornejová (ed.), *Úloha církevních řádů při pobělohorské rekatolizaci*, Praha, Scriptorium, 2003, 317-331.

Fichter, Joseph (1908-1994)

956. R.B. Anderson, 'Pride and prejudice in New Orleans: Joseph Fichter's Southern Parish', *U.S. Catholic Historian* 24 (2006), 23-46.

Ford, John Cuthbert (1902-1989)

957. E.M.O. Genilo, *John Cuthbert Ford, SJ: Moral theologian at the end of the Manualist era*, Washington, Georgetown University Press, 2007, 217 p.

Freyre, Manoel (1679-?), Jesuit until 1719

958. M.J. Sweet, 'Desperately seeking Capuchins: Manoel Freyre's report on the Tibets and their routes (Tibetorum ac eorum Relatio Viarum) and the Desideri mission to Tibet', *Journal of the International Association of Tibetan Studies* 2 (2006), 1-33.

Fritz, Samuel (1654-1725)

959. K. Schubring, 'Samuel Fritz explorador de la Amazonia', in J. Plazaola (ed.), *Jesuitas exploradores, pioneros y geógrafos*, San Sebastián, Instituto Ignacio de Loyola / Bilbao, Ediciones Mensajero, 2006, 159-175.

Fróis, Luís (1532-1597)

960. R.D. Gill, *Topsy-turvy 1585. A translation and explication of Luis Frois S.J.'s Tratado (treatise) listing 611 ways Europeans & Japanese are contrary*, Key Biscayne FL, Paraverse Press, 2004, 739 p.

Fuchs, Josef (1912-2005)

961. D.M. O'Leary, *A study of Josef Fuchs' writings on human nature and morality*, Lanham, University Press of America, 2005, 76 p.

Galli, Mario von (1904-1987)

962. N. Klein, 'Ein blick auf Mario von Galli SJ', *Orientierung* 71 (2007), 189-190.

Gárate, Francisco (1857-1929)

963. J.E. Ruiz de Galarreta, *Grande en lo pequeño. El hermano Gárate*, Bilbao, Mensajero, 2007, 257 p.
964. J.E. Ruiz de Galarreta, 'Francisco Gárate, grande en lo pequeño', *Razón y Fe* 256 (2007), 185-192.

Garzoni, Leonardo (1543-1592)

965. M. Ugaglia, 'The science of magnetism before Gilbert. Leonardo Garzoni's treatise on the loadstone', *Annals of Science* 63 (2006), 59-84.

Gemmingen, Eberhard von (1936-)

966. H. Regeniter, *Der Pater und der Papst: Eberhard von Gemmingen. Die Biographie*, Leipzig, St. Benno, 2007, 144 p.

Geronimo, Francesco de (1642-1716)

967. M. Spedicato (ed.), "... nelle Indie di quaggiù": san Francesco de Geronimo e i processi di evangelizzazione nel Mezzogiorno moderno, Galatina, Edizioni Panico, 2006, 383 p.

Gianfranceschi, Giuseppe (1875-1934)

968. P. Dal Toso, 'Note biografiche sul padre Giuseppe Gianfranceschi e sul suo impegno educativo nell'ASCI dal 1916 al 1928', *Bolletino dell' Archivio per la Storia del Movimento Sociale Cattolico in Italia* 41 (2006), 19-31.

Gil, Pedro (1923-1993)

969. J. Heredia, *Pedro Gil S.J., escultor*, Santander, Mensajero – Sal Terrae, 2000, 275 p.

Ginneken, Jacques van (1877-1945)

970. J. Noordegraaf, 'Dutch linguists between Humboldt and Saussure: the case of Jac. van Ginneken (1877-1945)', *Historiographica Linguistica* 29 (2000), 145-163.

971. M. Derks, *Heilig moeten. Radicaal-katholiek en retro-modern in de jaren twintig en dertig*, Hilversum, Verloren, 2007, 431 p.

Girard, Jean-Baptiste (1680-1733)

972. S. Lamotte, 'Le P. Girard et la Cadière dans la tourmente des pièces satiriques', *Dix-huitième siècle* 39 (2007), 431-453.

Godó, Mihály (1913-1996)

973. M. Godó, *Önéletrajz. Testamentum [Autobiography. Testament]*, Kolozsvár, Gloria, 2002, 150 p.
974. K. Hetényi Varga, 'P. Godó Mihály', in *Szerzetesek a horogkereszt és a vörös csillag árnyékában. II [Monks in shadow of the swastika and the red star]*, Abaliget, Lámpás, 2002, 87-96.

Góis, Bento de (1562-1607)

975. H. Didier, 'Bento de Góis: un jesuita entre los musulmanes del Asia Central', in J. Plazaola (ed.), *Jesuitas exploradores, pioneros y geógrafos*, San Sebastián, Instituto Ignacio de Loyola / Bilbao, Ediciones Mensajero, 2006, 37-53.

Gómez Caffarena, José (1925-)

976. J.I. Sánchez Carazo, 'Una invitación a creer: Reflexión desde la obra de José Gómez Caffarena', *Mayéntica* 32 (2006), 321-391.

Gonnet, Joseph (1815-1895)

977. B. Truchet, 'Un début d'inculturation en Chine au dix-neuvième siècle. Le père Joseph Gonnet, jésuite (1815-1895)', *Mémoire Spiritaine* 23 (2006), 59-79.

Gonzaga, Luigi (1568-1591)

978. J.A. Munitiz, 'St Aloysius Gonzaga: Autograph letter in Manresa House novitiate', *AHSI* 76 (2007), 139-149.

González de Santalla, Tirso (1624-1705)

979. E. Colombo, *Convertire i musulmani: l'esperienza di un gesuita spagnolo del Seicento*, [Milano], Bruno Mondadori, 2007, 208 p.

Gracián. Baltasar (1601-1658)

See also 1484.

980. J.I. Gómez Zorraquino, 'El feliz encuentro de Vincencio Juan de Lastanosa y la Compañía de Jesús', *Argensola* 115 (2005), 95-114.

981. A. Ferrari, *Fernando el Católico en Baltasar Gracián*, Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, 2006, 720 p.

982. R. Natal Martínez & D. Natal Álvarez, 'Aproximación antropológica a El Criticón, de Gracián', *Religión y Cultura* 53 (2007), 323-360.

Grienberger, Christoph (1561-1636)

983. F. Daxecker, 'Der Haller Astronom Christoph Grienberger und Galileo Galilei', *Tiroler Heimatblätter* 78 (2003), 92-95.

Grimaldi, Francesco Maria (1618-1663)

984. L. Ingalliso, *Substantia aut accidens? F.M. Grimaldi e la scoperta della diffrazione*, Catania, Centrografico, 2007, 175 p.

Gumilla, José (1686-1750)

985. M.R. Ewalt, 'Father Gumilla, crocodile hunter? The function of wonder in El Orinoco ilustrado', in L. Millones Figuera & D. Ledezma (eds.), *El saber de los jesuitas, historia naturales y el Nuevo Mundo*, Madrid, Iberoamericana / Frankfurt am Main, Vervuert, 2005, 303-333.

986. J. del Rey Fajardo, 'José Gumilla, explorador científico de la Orinoquia', in J. Plazaola (ed.), *Jesuitas exploradores, pioneros y geógrafos*, San Sebastián, Instituto Ignacio de Loyola / Bilbao, Ediciones Mensajero, 2006, 199-243.

Gutsman, Ožbald (1727-1790)

987. T. Domej, 'Oswaldus Gutsman SJ als Slawist', in W. Drobesh & P.G. Tropper (eds.), *Die Jesuiten in Innerösterreich. Die kulturelle und geistige Prägung einer Region im 17. und 18. Jh.*, Wien etc., Verlag Hermagoras / Mohorjeva založba, 2006, 128-141.

Gyalogi, János (1686-1761)

988. É. Knapp, 'Egy ismeretlen irodalomelméleti munka a XVIII. század első feléből: Gyalogi János De eloquentia sacra (1750)' [An unknown work on literature theory from the first half of the 18th century: J.G. De eloquentia sacra (1750)], in *Religio, retorika, nemzettudat régi irodalmunkban. [Religion, rhetoric, national consciousness in our old literature]*, Debrecen, Kossuth Egyetemi K., 2004, 227-262.

989. V. Bíró, 'Gyalogi János', in *Erdély katolikus nagyjai [Great Catholic personalities of Transylvania]*, Csíkszereda, Typographia, [2004], 158-161.

Habian [Fabian] (1585-1621)

990. K. Paramore, 'Hayashi Razan's redeployment of anti-Christian discourse. The fabrication of Haiyaso', *Japan Forum* 18 (2006), 185-206.

Halloix, Pierre (1571-1656)

991. L. Lies, 'Origenes defensio des Petrus Halloix. Zum ungelösten Verhältnis von spiritueller und dogmatischer Geltung', in J. Arnold a.o. (eds), *Kirchenväter. Ekklesiales Denken von den Anfängen bis in die Neuzeit*, Paderborn [etc.], Ferdinand Schöningh, 2004, 1051-1066.

Hawkins, Henry (1577-1646)

992. A. Guiderdoni-Bruslé, 'L'emblématique sacrée à l'épreuve du temps', *Interfaces* 19-20 (2001), 118-152.

Hazart, Cornelis (1617-1690)

993. J. van Gennip, 'Een Roomse strijder met pen en preek. De Antwerpse controversist Cornelius Hazart S.J. (1617-1690)', *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Kerkgeschiedenis* 10 (2007), 100-109.

Hees, Nico van (1915-2002), Jesuit until 1964

994. K.Fens, 'Nico van Hees, journalenz', in *In het voorbijgaan. Kleine essays*, Amsterdam, Athenaeum - Polak & Van Genneep, 2007, 79-80.

Hell, Maximilian (1720-1792)

995. F. Szenkovits, 'Maximilian Hell la Cluj'. [M.H. in Cluj], *Lucrarile Didactice Matematice* 18 (2001), 159-162.
996. V. Tuboly a.o., *A fekete Vénusz [The black Venus]*, Hegyhátság, Hegyháti Csillagászati Alapítvány, 2004, 169 p.
997. S. Keszthelyi, 'Régi Vénusz átvonulások', [The transits of Old Venus], *Meteor* 34 (2004), 50-56.
998. A. Teres, 'Magyar jezsuita csillagászok' [Hungarian Jesuit astronomers], in *A jezsuiták küldetése a kezdetektől napjainkig [The mission of the Hungarian Jesuits from the beginning to our days]*, Piliscsaba, PPKE BK, 2006, 312-328.

Henskens (Henschenius), Godfried (1601-1681)

999. B. Joassart, 'Henschen et Papebroch à Paris en 1662', *Analecta Bollandiana* 124 (2006), 359-400.
1000. P. Gasnault, 'Un billet de Godefrid Henschen à Étienne Baluze', *Analecta Bollandiana* 125 (2007), 92.

Hervás y Panduro, Lorenzo (1735-1809)

1001. A. Astorgano, 'La "Biblioteca jesuitico-española" de Hervás y su liderazgo sobre el resto de los ex-jesuitas', *Hispania Sacra* 56 (2004), 172-268.

Hopkins, Gerard Manley (1844-1889)

1002. J. Feeney, 'Hopkins and the McCabe family. Three children who knew Gerard Manley Hopkins', *Studies* 90 (2001), 299-307.
1003. F. Fennell, 'Hopkins and Pre-Raphaelites', *Studies* 90 (2001), 309-319.
1004. F.W. Schlatter, 'Martial Klein, Hopkins' Dublin colleague', *The Hopkins Quarterly* 29 (2002), 69-105.
1005. F. Vance, 'Gerard Manley Hopkins: poetry as music', *The Hopkins Quarterly* 29 (2002), 109-125.
1006. K. Hart, 'Poetry and revelation. Hopkins, counter-experience and reductio', *Pacifica* 3 (2005), 259-280.
1007. B. Arkins, 'The Hopkins scholarship of Norman White', *Studies* 95 (2006), 199-204.
1008. F.J. van Beeck, 'Hopkins: Cor ad Cor', in his *Driven under the influence. Essays in Theology, 1974-2004*, Fairfield CT, Sacred Heart University Press, 2006, 223-234.
1009. P. Bujko, 'Gerard Manley Hopkins: Gott finden in der Einzigartigkeit des Geschöpfes', in T. Gertler a.o. (eds.), *Zur grösseren Ehre Gottes: Ignatius von Loyola neu entdeckt für die Theologie der Gegenwart*, Freiburg, Herder, 2006, 330-348.
1010. C.P. Farrar, 'Gerard Manley Hopkins's 'Lantern out of doors': A contemplative response to loss', *Review for Religious* 65 (2006), 283-292.
1011. D. Grünzweig, 'Gerard Manley Hopkins. Die Wortreiche der Augen', *Stimmen der Zeit* 224 (2006), 611-628.
1012. T.F. Jackson, 'The role of the Holy Spirit in Gerald Manley Hopkins's poetry', *Logos. A Journal of Catholic Thought and Culture* 9 (2006), 108-126.
1013. G. Hughes, 'Gerard Manley Hopkins and Loneragan's notion of elemental meaning', *Loneragan Workshop* 19 (2007), 107-136.
1014. H. Pearson, 'The "Terrible Sonnets" of Gerard Manley Hopkins and the spirituality of depression', *The Way* 46 (2007), 23-37.

Hughes, Gerard (1924-)

1015. G.W. Hughes, *God, where are you*, London, Darton, Longman and Todd, 2004, 270 p.

Hugo, Herman (1588-1629)

1016. J. Albi de la Cuesta (ed.), *Hermann [sic] Hugo, Siño de Breda*, Madrid, Balkan Editores, 2001, 239 p.

1017. G.R. Dimler, 'Herman Hugo's Pia desideria', in his *Studies in the Jesuit emblem*, New York, AMS Press, 2007, 168-199.

1018. G.R. Dimler, 'Edmund Awaker's translation of the Pia desideria. The reception of Herman Hugo's emblem book in seventeenth-century England', in his *Studies in the Jesuit emblem*, New York, AMS Press, 2007, 200-216.

Hunya, Dániel (1900-1957)

1019. K. Hetényi Varga, 'P. Hunya Dániel', in *Szerzetesek a borogkereszt és a vörös csillag árnyékában. II [Monks in the shadow of the swastika and the red star]*, Abaliget, Lámpás, 2002, 115-120.

1020. N. Klemm, *P. Hunya Dániel élete és munkássága. [Life and activity of Fr. D.H.]*, Szeged, Agapé, 2003, 198 p.

Hurtado, Alberto (1901-1952)

1021. J. Castellón, *Père Alberto Hurtado. Les fondations du Royaume*, Bruxelles, Lessius, 2000, 152 p.

1022. A. Magnet, *El padre Hurtado*, Santiago de Chile, Editorial Los Andes, 2003, 257 p.

1023. A. Lavin a.o., *Biografía y testimonios del Padre Alberto Hurtado*, Santiago de Chile, Universidad Católica, 2005, 183 p.

1024. T. Mifsud, *El sentido social: el legado ético del padre Hurtado*, Santiago de Chile, Ediciones Ignacianas, 2005, 188 p.

1025. E. Sánchez C. a.o., *Padre Alberto Hurtado, S.J.: la riqueza de su pensamiento; hombre / valores / educación*, Santiago de Chile, Ediciones Universidad Católica de Chile, 2005, 200 p.

1026. *Alberto Hurtado: memoria y actualidad*, Santiago de Chile, Universidad Alberto Hurtado, 2005, 523 p.

1027. M. Bravo, 'El eterno insatisfecho. Semblanza de san Alberto Hurtado Cruchaga, s.j., segundo santo Chileno', *Ecclesia* 20 (2006), 109-116.

Huyssens, Pieter (1577-1637)

1028. P. Philippot a.o., 'Pieter Huyssens', in *L'architecture religieuse et la sculpture baroques dans les Pays-Bas méridionaux et la principauté de Liège 1600-1770*, Sprimont, Pierre Mardaga, 2003, 65-80.

Illei, János (1725-1794)

1029. A. Di Francesco & A. Quarantotto, 'Papok és garabonciások' [Priests and wizards], in *A magyar színház születése [The birth of Hungarian theatre]*, Miskolc, Miskolci Egyetem, 2000, 368-386.

Isla, José Francisco de (1703-1781)

1030. F. Étienvre, 'Le Día grande de Navarra de José Francisco de Isla (1746): le jeu d'un jésuite avec la tradition', in A. Molinié a.o., *Les jésuites en Espagne et en Amérique : jeux et enjeux du pouvoir (XVIe-XVIIIe siècles)*, Paris, Université Sorbonne, 2007, 229-244.

Johnston, William (1925-)

1031. W. Johnston, *Mystical journey. An autobiography*, Maryknoll NY, Orbis Books, 2006, 230 p.

Káldi, György (1573-1634)

1032. A. Koncz, 'Hitvitázó tudomány vagy tudományos hitvita? Káldi György és Dengelegi Péter polémája' [Controversial science or scientific theological controversy. Polemics of G.K. and Péter Dengelegi], *Irodalomtörténeti közlemények* 104 (2000), 669-694.
1033. C. Gábor, *Káldi György prédikációi. Források, teológia, retorika* [Die Predigten des G.K. Quellen, Theologie, Rhetorik], Debrecen, Kossuth Egyeteni Kladó, 2001, 296 p.
1034. J. Vársárhelyi, 'P. Káldi György: Oktató intéz' [Fr. G.K. Educational warning], *Irodalomtudományi közlemények* 105 (2001), 623-637.

Kechichian, Sahak (1917-2005)

1035. P. Sabak Kechichian, S.J. *Le religieux dévoué* [in Armenian and French], Beyrouth, [Catholic Armenian Patriarchate], 2007, 65 p.
1036. P.H. Kolvenbach, 'P. Sahak Kechichian le traducteur', in P. Sabak Kechichian, S.J. *Le religieux dévoué* [in Armenian and French], Beyrouth, [Catholic Armenian Patriarchate], 2007, 9-12.
1037. C. Libois, 'Le Père Sahak Kechichian (1907-2005)', in P. Sabak Kechichian, S.J. *Le religieux dévoué* [in Armenian and French], Beyrouth, [Catholic Armenian Patriarchate], 2007, 31-35.

Kino, Eusebio (1645-1711)

See also 1485.

1038. S.A. Bedini, 'Pioneering Padre on horseback. Eusebio Francis Kino (1645-1711)', *Professional Surveyor* 20 (2000), nrs. 5 and 6.
1039. H.E. Bolton, *Los confines de la cristianidad: una biografía de Eusebio Francisco Kino, S.J., misionero y explorador de Baja California y la Pimeria Alta*, México D.F., Editorial México Desconocido, 2001, 781 p.
1040. D. Calarco, *Un uomo dal cuore in fiamme : profilo spirituale di Eusebio Francesco Chini (1645-1711)*, Roma, Città Nuova, 2003, 155 p.

1041. D. Calarco, 'Eusebio Francisco Chini (P. Kino): un hombre de frontera', in J. Plazaola (ed.), *Jesuitas exploradores, pioneros y geógrafos*, San Sebastián, Instituto Ignacio de Loyola / Bilbao, Ediciones Mensajero, 2006, 111-131.
1042. G. Gómez Padilla, 'Kino, un Xavier de la Indias occidentales', in I. Arellano a.o. (eds.), *San Francisco Javier entre dos continentes*, Madrid, Iberoamericana / Frankfurt am Main, Vervuert, 2007, 71-87.

Kipp, Gerhard (1862-1903)

1043. C. Shelke, 'Gerhard Kipp (1862-1903). Ein Apostel der Maharashtra Kirche', in *St. Francis Xavier and following of his mission. Studies in honour of Jesús López-Gay S.J.*, Roma, Pontificia Università Gregoriana, 2006, 105-144.

Kircher, Athanasius (1601-1680)

1044. T. Billings, 'Jesuit fish in Chinese nets: Athanasius Kircher and the translation of the Nestorian tablet', *Representations* 87 (2004), 1-42.
1045. C. Garcés Manau, 'Diez cartas de Vincencio Juan de Lastanosa y Diego Vincencio Vidania a Athanasius Kircher, conservadas en la Universidad Pontificia Gregoriana de Roma', *Argensola* 115 (2005), 187-199.
1046. A. Hamilton, 'Athanasius Kircher and his shadow', in *The Copts and the West, 1439-1822. The European discovery of the Egyptian Church*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2006, 195-228.
1047. D. Sacré, 'An unpublished and unknown autograph letter by Athanasius Kircher (1601/02-1680) to Alexander VII, 1666. A new element in the dossier on the obelisk of the Piazza della Minerva in Rome', *Lias* 33 (2006), 275-290.
1048. G.F. Strasser, 'Sic transit gloria mundi: Die Rezeption von Athanasius Kirchers Werken durch das Leserpublikum der Herzog August Bibliothek von 1664 bis etwa 1800', *Wolfenbütteler Notizen zur Buchgeschichte* 31 (2006), 79-86.
1049. M.A. Waddell, 'The world, as it might be: Iconography and probabilism in the Mundus subterraneus of Athanasius Kircher', *Centaurus* 48 (2006), 3-22.
1050. M. Wald, *Welterkenntnis aus Musik: Athanasius Kirchers "Musurgia universalis" und die Universalwissenschaft im 17. Jahrhundert*, Kassel etc., Bärenreiter, 2006, 225 p.
1051. L. Brancaccio, 'In uno omnia: Athanasius Kircher, SJ (1602-1680) und sein 'Chinabild'', *Literaturstraße. Chinesisch-deutsches Jahrbuch für Sprache, Literatur und Kultur* 8 (2007), 25-39.

1052. H. Hirai, 'Interpretation chymique de la création et origine corpusculaire de la vie chez Athanasius Kircher', *Annals of Science* 64 (2007), 217-234.

Kögler, Ignaz (1680-1746)

1053. X. Sun, 'Bedeutung und Rolle des Jesuitenmissionars Ignaz Kögler (1680-1746)' in *China. Aus chinesischer Sicht*, Frankfurt am Main [etc.], Peter Lang, 2007, 367 p.

Kreihing, Johan (1595-1660)

1054. G.R. Dimler, 'Johann Kreihing's Emblemata ethico-politica (Antwerp 1661)', in his *Studies in the Jesuit emblem*, New York, AMS Press, 2007, 323-342.

Kritzraedt, Jacob (1602-1672)

1055. L. Spronck, 'Jacob Kritzraedt en de zin van heemkunde', *Historisch Jaarboek voor het Land van Zwentibold* 28 (2007), 38-40.

Kun, Josephus van der (1899-1981), Jesuit until 1941

1056. L. Fijen & M. Bolsius, 'Hoe een jezuïet trappist werd', in *Goudzoekers. Portretten uit Abdij Koningshoeven*, Vught, Skandalon, 2006, 234-235.

Labadie, Jean de (1610-1674), Jesuit until 1639

1057. A. Joblin, 'Jean de Labadie (1610-1674): un dissident au XVIIe siècle?', *Mélanges de Science Religieuse* 61 (2004), 33-44.

Lafitau, Joseph-François (1681-1746)

1058. A. Motsch, *Lafitau et l'émergence du discours ethnographique*, Québec / Paris, Éditions du Septentrion / Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 2001, 295 p.

Laínez, Diego (1512-1565)

1059. L. Lies, 'Jakob Laynez SJ und andere Jesuiten in der Ordo-Diskussion von Trient', *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie* 128 (2006), 205-236.

Lapide (van den Steen), Cornelius a (1567-1637)

1060. R. Noll, *Die mariologischen Grundlinien im exegetischen Werk des Cornelius a Lapide SJ (1567-1637)*, Regensburg, Verlag Friedrich Pustet, 2003, 296 p.
1061. R. Osculati, 'Lege vitas sanctorum': Cornelio a Lapide, il Nuovo Testamento e il martirio spirituale', in T. Sardella & G. Zito (ed.), *Esplora e Lucia 304-2004. Agiografia e tradizioni culturali in Sicilia*, Catana, Studio Teologico S. Paolo, 2006, 343-363.

Larraz, Blas (1721-1796)

1062. J.M. Benítez i Riera, 'El destierro de los jesuitas de la "Provincia de

Aragón” bajo el reinado de Carlos III. Crónica inédita del P. Blas Larráz, S.I.’, *Anthologica Annua* 48-49 (2001-2002), 341-606.

Laterna, Marcin (1522-1598)

1063. S. Cieślak, *Marcin Laterna SJ (1552-1598), działacz kontrreformacyjny [M.L. ein Vertreter der Gegenreformation]*, Kraków, Wydawnictwo Apostolstwa Modlitwy, 2003, 400 p.

Ledesma, Diego (1519-1575)

1064. H. Smolinsky, ‘Sprachenstreit in der Theologie? Latein oder Deutsch für Bibel und Liturgie – ein Problem der katholischen Kontroverstheologen des 16. Jahrhunderts’, in K.H. Braun a.o. (eds.), *Im Zeichen von Kirchenreform und Reformation. Gesammelte Studien zur Kirchengeschichte in Spätmittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, Münster, Aschendorff, 2005, 381-400.

Lefeuve, Jean (1922-)

1065. T. Meynard (ed.), *Jean Lefeuve, jésuite et sinologue*, Paris, Cerf, 2007, 146 p.

Léon, Pedro De (1545-1632)

1066. C.A. González Sánchez & A. González Polvillo, ‘Entre nobles y privilegiados: los comentarios del Padre Pedro De León’, in A. Molinié a.o., *Les jésuites en Espagne et en Amérique: jeux et enjeux du pouvoir (XVIe-XVIIIe siècles)*, Paris, Université Sorbonne, 2007, 285-317.

Lessius, Leonard (1554-1623)

1067. G. Erreygers, ‘Een moderne economist gevangen in de scholastieke traditie? Leonardus Lessius in de geschiedenis van het economisch denken’, in M. Rotsaert & B. Segaert (red.), *Markante jezuiten uit de Lage Landen: Canisius, Verbiest, Lessius, Regout*, Leuven, Peeters, 2007, 54-69.
1068. T. Van Houdt, ‘Bekommerd om het meeste heil. Leonardus Lessius als handelsethicus’, in M. Rotsaert & B. Segaert (red.), *Markante jezuiten uit de Lage Landen: Canisius, Verbiest, Lessius, Regout*, Leuven, Peeters, 2007, 38-52.
1069. J. De Roeck, ‘Het gebeente van Leonardus Lessius (1554-1623) in de Sint-Michielskerk te Leuven’, in *Leuven Sint Michielskerk 30 september 2007*, Leuven, Peeters, 2007, 5-25.

Li, Wu (1632-1718)

1070. W. Yushanji Jianzhu, *Notes and commentary on the collection of Wu Yushan (Wuli) writings, authored by Zhang Wenqing [in Chinese]*, Beijing, Zhonghuashuju, 2007.
1071. N. Yao, ‘Wu Li de ‘Jing shen qiu xiao tu’ yu you wu xifa zhi zheng’ [‘A tranquil autumn morning’ of Wu Li and the question of the Western influence on Wu Li’s art], *Meishu yanjiu* 1 (2007), 62-68.

Lima Vaz, Henrique de (1921-2002)

1072. C. Mendes a.o., *Padre Henrique de Lima Vaz (1921-2002)*, Rio de Janeiro, EDUCAM, 2002, 32 p.

Loneragan, Bernard (1904-1984)

See also 920, 1013, 1116, 1232, 1247, 1467.

1073. R. Cassidy, 'The conversions of Paul in the light of Bernard Lonergan's theory of religious and moral conversion', *Loneragan Workshop* 17 (2002), 67-84.
1074. F.E. Crowe, 'The future: charting the unknown with Lonergan', *Loneragan Workshop* 17 (2002), 1-21.
1075. J. Fitzpatrick, 'Bernard Lonergan: educationist and philosopher', *Loneragan Workshop* 17 (2002), 85-94.
1076. D. Teevan, 'Einstein and Lonergan on empirical method', *Zygon: Journal of Religion and Science* 37 (2002), 873-890.
1077. D. Teevan, 'Tradition and innovation at Catholic universities. Ideas from Bernard Lonergan', *Catholic Education: A Journal of Inquiry and Practice* 10 (2004), 308-319.
1078. F.E. Crowe, *Christ and history: the Christology of Bernard Lonergan from 1935 to 1982*, Ottawa, Novalis, 2005, 280 p.
1079. J.D. Dadosky, 'The sacred as real. Eliade's ontology of the sacred and Lonergan's philosophy of God', *Loneragan Workshop* 18 (2005), 63-86.
1080. C. Jamieson, 'To begin anew. Reflections on freedom, destiny and ethics in the work of Bernard Lonergan and Julia Kristeva', *Loneragan Workshop* 18 (2005), 121-137.
1081. P. Kidder, 'Derrida and Lonergan on the gift', *Loneragan Workshop* 18 (2005), 139-153.
1082. M.P. Maxwell, 'Lonergan's critique of Aristoteles' notion of science', *Loneragan Workshop* 18 (2005), 155-187.
1083. P. St. Amour, 'Kierkegaard and Lonergan on the prospect of cognitional-existential integration', *Loneragan Workshop* 18 (2005), 1-62.
1084. J.L. Connor, *The dynamism of desire. Bernard J. F. Lonergan, S.J. on the spiritual exercises of Saint Ignatius of Loyola*, Saint Louis MO, The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 2006, 503 p.
1085. R.M. Doran, 'Ignatian themes in the thought of Bernard Lonergan', *Toronto Journal of Theology* 22 (2006), 39-54.

1086. F. Bajada, 'The sacraments as symbols: Their constitutive, communicative and redemptive role in the Church's mission according to Bernard Lonergan', in H. Scerri, *Living Theology. Studies on Karl Rahner, Yves Congar, Bernard Lonergan and Hans Urs von Balthasar*, Città del Vaticano, Libreria Editrice del Vaticano, 2007, 259-282.
1087. A.M. Benders, 'Renewing the identity of Catholic colleges. Implementing Lonergan's method for education', *Teaching Theology and Religion* 10 (2007), 215-222.
1088. R.M. Doran, 'Ignatian themes in the thought of Bernard Lonergan. Revisiting a topic that deserves further reflection', *Lonergan Workshop* 19 (2007), 83-106.
1089. J.S.B. Garcia, 'Lonergan on interdisciplinarity in theology', *Hapág* 4 (2007), 175-194.
1090. G. Gugliemi, 'La questione de Dio in Bernard Lonergan', *Rassegna di Teologia* 48 (2007), 19-38.
1091. A. Jaramillo, 'Aquinas and Lonergan on the necessity of raising the question of God', *The Thomist* 71 (2007), 221-267.
1092. F. Kerr, 'Bernard Lonergan', in *Twentieth-century Catholic theologians*, Malden MA, Blackwell Publishing, 2007, 105-120.
1093. C. Maloney, 'Ignatian discernment from Lonergan's perspective', *Lonergan Workshop* 19 (2007), 149-196.
1094. R.C. Miner, 'Collingwood and Lonergan on historical knowledge', *Lonergan Workshop* 19 (2007), 197-209.
1095. G. Mongeau, 'Trivium pursuit. Lonergan on Aquinas', *Lonergan Workshop* 19 (2007), 211-223.

López-Gay, Jesús (1929-)

1096. J.A. Barreda, 'El prof. Jesús López-Gay S.J., un misionológico al servicio de la misión "Ad gentes"', in *St. Francis Xavier and following of his mission. Studies in honour of Jesús López-Gay S.J.*, Roma, Pontificia Università Gregoriana, 2006, 145-164.

Lubac, Henri de (1896-1991)

1097. G. Chantraine, 'Le surnaturel. Discernement de la pensée catholique selon Henri de Lubac', *Revue Thomiste* 101 (2001), 31-51.
1098. H. Vorgrimler, 'Henri de Lubac SJ und Hans Urs von Balthasar: Biographische Korrespondenzen', in A.R. Batlogg a.o. (eds.), *Was den Glauben in Bewegung bringt. Fundamentaltheologie in der Spur Jesu Christi. Festschrift für Karl H. Neufeld SJ*, Freiburg / Basel / Wien, Herder, 2004, 132-146.

1099. V. Franco Gomez, *Le paradoxe du désir de Dieu. Étude sur le rapport de l'homme à Dieu selon Henri de Lubac*, Paris, Cerf, 2005, 468 p.
1100. J.D. Durand (ed.), Henri de Lubac. *La rencontre au coeur de l'Église*, Paris, Les éditions du Cerf, 2006, 325 p.
1101. E. Guibert, *Le mystère du Christ d'après Henri de Lubac*, Paris, Éditions du Cerf, 2006, 503 p.
1102. J. Prévotat (ed.), *Cardinal Henri de Lubac, Résistance chrétienne au nazisme*, Paris, Les éditions du Cerf, 2006, 773 p.
1103. G. Chantraine, 'Présentation de Henri de Lubac (1896-1991)', *Nouvelle Revue Théologique* 129 (2007), 212-234.
1104. F. Kerr, 'Henri de Lubac', in *Twentieth-century Catholic theologians*, Malden MA, Blackwell Publishing, 2007, 67-86.
1105. G. Chantraine, *Henri de Lubac. t. I. De la naissance à la démobilisation (1896-1919)*, Paris, Cerf, 2007, 746 p.
1106. N. O'Sullivan, 'Henri de Lubac's Surnaturel: an emerging christology', *Irish Theological Quarterly* 72 (2007), 3-31.

Luengo, Manuel (1735-1816)

1107. I. Fernández de Arrillaga (ed.), *El retorno de un jesuita desterrado. Viaje del P. Luengo desde Bolonia a Nava del Rey (1798)*, San Vicente del Raspeig, Publicaciones de la Universidad de Alicante, 2004, 274 p.

Lugo, Juan de (1583-1660)

1108. F. Monsalve, 'Aproximación al pensamiento economico de la escolástica tardía a través del cardinal Juan de Lugo, S.J.', *Revista de Fomento Social* 58 (2003), 283-316.

Machek, Antonín (1705-1760)

1109. K. Bobková & A. Bočková, 'Antonín Machek – Angelus ad aras D. Joannes Nepomucenus. Jezuitská školská hra k oslavě sv. Jana Nepomuckého' [The Jesuit school play celebrating St. John of Nepomuk], in O. Fejtová a.o. (eds.), *Barokní Praha – barokní Čechie 1620-1740*, Praha, Scriptorium, 2004, 955-974.

Magnis-Suseno, Franz (1936-)

1110. F. Magnis-Suseno, 'Missionar in Indonesien. Erfahrungen, Reflexionen, Ausblicke', *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft* 90 (2006), 262-274.

Mailleux, Paul (1905-1983)

1111. C. Simon, 'I rapporti tra cattolici e ortodossi russi nell'impegno del gesuita Paul Mailleux', *La Civiltà Cattolica* 157 (2006), 437-447.

Makó, Pál (1724-1793)

1112. L. Wirth, 'Makó Pál élete és fizikusi munkája' [Life of P.M. and his physical activity], in *A magyarországi fizika klasszikus évszázadai 1590-1890 [The classical centuries of Hungarian physics, 1590-1890]*, Piliscsaba, PPKE, 2000, 161-175.

Malagrida, Gabriel (1689-1761)

1113. R. Barbieri, 'Malagrida: um humanista radical. Observações sobre um documentário', in M.C. Luchetti Bingemer a.o. (eds.), *A globalização e os Jesuítas: origens, história e impactos*, II, São Paulo, 2007, 243-245.

Mannock, George (-1787)

1114. G. Holt, 'Sir George Mannock (SJ) of Gifford's Hall, ninth and last baronet', *Family History* 22 (2006), 335-338.

Maréchal, Joseph (1878-1944)

1115. J.B. Lotz, 'Joseph Maréchal (1878-1944)', in P. Secretan (ed.), *La philosophie chrétienne d'inspiration catholique. Constats et controverses - positions actuelles*, Fribourg, Academic Press, 2006, 222-234.

1116. M. Vertin, 'The finality of human spirit: from Maréchal to Lonergan', *Lonergan Workshop* 19 (2007), 267-285.

Mariana, Juan de (1536-1624)

1117. F.J. Fuente Fernández, 'El padre Mariana y los libros prohibidos de los rabinos', in J. F. Domínguez (ed.), *Humanæ Litterae*, León, Universidad, 2004, 200-230.

1118. J.L. Suárez (ed.), *Juan de Mariana. Tratado contra los juegos públicos*, Granada, Universidad de Granada, 2004, 331 p.

1119. H.E. Braun, *Juan de Mariana and early modern Spanish political thought*, Aldershot-Burlington, Ashgate, 2007, 200 p.

1120. F. Gabriel, 'Réalisme politique et rationalité: Juan de Mariana entre Royauté et Respublica', in A. Molinié a.o., *Les jésuites en Espagne et en Amérique: jeux et enjeux du pouvoir (XVI^e-XVIII^e siècles)*, Paris, Université Sorbonne, 2007, 141-159.

1121. R. Saez, 'Débats et conflits au sein de la Compagnie de Jésus. Étude du De Reformatione Societatis discursus du père Juan de Mariana', in A. Molinié

a.o., *Les jésuites en Espagne et en Amérique : jeux et enjeux du pouvoir (XVIe-XVIIIe siècles)*, Paris, Université Sorbonne, 2007, 411-432.

Marquette, Jacques (1637-1675)

1122. J.P. Donnelly & I. Echániz, 'Jacques Marquette, descubridor del Mississippi', in J. Plazaola (ed.), *Jesuitas exploradores, pioneros y geógrafos*, San Sebastián, Instituto Ignacio de Loyola / Bilbao, Ediciones Mensajero, 2006, 133-157.

Martin, James (1960-)

1123. J. Martin, *A Jesuit off-Broadway. Center stage with Jesus, Judas and life's big questions*, Chicago, Loyola Press, 2007, 272 p.

Martini, Carlo Maria (1927-)

1124. G. Bianchi, *Martini "politico" e la laicità dei cristiani*, Cinisello Balsamo, Edizioni San Paolo, 2007, 130 p.

Martini, Martino (1614-1661)

1125. K. Unno, '[Materials: four editions of M. Martini's Novus Atlas Sinensis kept at the Toyo Bunko (Oriental Library), Tokyo; in Japanese]', *Tōzai chirizubunka kōshōshi kenkyū*. [Monographs [sic] on the history of cartographical exchange between the East and the West], Osaka, Seibundo, 2003, 628-643.
1126. R. Scartezzini, 'Martino Martini: un misionero y científico entre dos grandes culturas', in J. Plazaola (ed.), *Jesuitas exploradores, pioneros y geógrafos*, San Sebastián, Instituto Ignacio de Loyola / Bilbao, Ediciones Mensajero, 2006, 75-90.
1127. G. Bertuccioli & B. Hua, 'Martino Martini's Chinese grammar' [in Chinese], *Guoji hanxue* 15 (2007), 220-231.

Masen, Jacob (1606-1681)

See also 869.

1128. G. Tüskés & E. Knapp, 'Zur Rezeption der literaturtheoretischen Werke Jacob Masens in Ungarn', in J. Jankovics & S.K. Németh (eds.), *Die Ideologie der Formen. Rhetorik und Ideologie in der frühen Neuzeit unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des deutschen Sprachraums und seiner Ausstrahlung nach Ungarn*, Budapest, Balassi Kiadó, 2006, 161-179.
1129. G.R. Dimler, 'Jakob Masen's Imago figurata: from theory to practice', in his *Studies in the Jesuit emblem*, New York, AMS Press, 2007, 96-112.
1130. G.R. Dimler, 'The Emblematum Liber of Andrea Alciato and Jakob Masen's theory of the Imago figurata', in his *Studies in the Jesuit emblem*, New York, AMS Press, 2007, 113-125.

1131. G.R. Dimler, 'Jakob Masen's critique of the Imago primi saeculi', in his *Studies in the Jesuit emblem*, New York, AMS Press, 2007, 126-143.

Mateos Álvarez, Juan José (1917-2003)

1132. R.F. Taft, 'Recovering the message of Jesus. In memory of Juan José Mateos Álvarez, S.J. 15 January 1917-23 September 2003, *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 71 (2005), 265-297.

Mayer, Rupert (1876-1945)

1133. R. Haub, "'Es fordert den ganzen Menschen" - Zeugen des Glaubens: P. Rupert Mayer SJ (1876-1945) und P. Alfred Delp SJ (1907-1945)', *Münchener Theologische Zeitschrift* 57 (2006), 305-319.

Maza, Francisco de la (1629-1688)

1134. M. Salas Olivari, 'Acciones para el cambio: el jesuita Francisco de la Maza en la historia del obraje de Cacamarca, siglos XVI-XVIII', in S. Negro & M.M. Marzal (eds.), *Esclavitud, economía y evangelización: la haciendas jesuitas en la América virreinal*, Lima, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú. Fondo editorial, 2005, 299-331.

Meissner, William (1931-)

1135. P. Andrews, 'Jesuit life after Meissner', *Studies* 92 (2003), 378-385.

Mello, Anthony de (1931-1987)

1136. A. Nayak, *Anthony de Mello: His life and his spirituality*, Dublin, The Columba Press, 2007, 211 p.
1137. A. Nayak, *Le faiseur de feu. La vie et les enseignements spirituels d'Anthony de Mello*, Vannes, Sully, 2006, 263 p.

Menestrier, Claude-François (1631-1705)

1138. J. Loach, 'In the eye of the beholder', in R. Dekoninck & A. Guiderdoni-Bruslé (eds), *Emblemata sacra. Rhétorique et herméneutique du discours sacré dans la littérature en images. The rhetoric and hermeneutics of illustrated sacred discourse*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2007, 65-82.

Mercurian, Éverard (1514-1580)

See also 1206.

1139. P. Grendler, 'Italian schools and university dreams during Mercurian's generalate', in his *Renaissance education between religion and politics*, Ashgate, Burlington, 2006, 483-522.

Miralles, Pedro (1550-1627)

1140. A. Ventura Rius, 'El testamento de don Pedro Miralles "El Antigo" (1550-1627), fundador del colegio de jesuitas de Segorbe y otras instituciones religiosas en Caudiel', *Anales Valentinianos* 32 (2006), 123-141.

Molina, Luis de (1535-1600)

See also 239, 886.

1141. J.A. Hevia Echevarría (ed.), Domingo Bañez, *Apología de los hermanos dominicos contra la Concordia de Luis de Molina*, Oviedo, Fundación Gustavo Bueno / Pentalfa Ediciones, 2002, 347 p.

Molnár, János (1728-1804)

1142. K. Fehér, 'Molnár János SJ életműve' [Lifework of J.M. SJ], *Tárlatok* 67 (2005), 84-90.

Monteiro, Diogo (1561-1634)

1143. A. Canvarro, 'O padre Diogo Monteiro, a sua Arte de Orar e os Exercícios de Santo Inácio de Loiola', in J.A. de Freitas Carvalho (ed.), *A Companhia de Jesus na Península Ibérica nos sécs. XVI e XVII. Espiritualidade e cultura*, Porto, Centro Inter-Universitário da História da Espiritualidade da Universidade do Porto, 2005, 31-65.

Monteiro, Inácio (1724-1812)

1144. M.M. Santos Corrêa Monteiro, *Inácio Monteiro (1724-1812). Um jesuíta português na dispersão*, Lisboa, Centro de História da Universidade de Lisboa, 2004, 562 p.

Monteiro, José (1646-1720)

1146. L.M. Brockey & A. Dudink, 'A missionary confessional manual: José Monteiro's Vera et Unica Praxis breviter ediscendi, ac expeditissime loquendi Sinicum idioma', in N. Standaert & A. Dudink (eds.), *Forgive us our sins: confession in late Ming and early Qing China*, Sankt Augustin, Institut Monumenta Serica, 2006, 183-239.

Monteiro da Rocha, José (1734-1819)

1147. C. Ziller Camenietzki, & F. Mendonça Pedrosa, 'O retorno do cometa de 1682 e os trabalhos de juventude de José Monteiro da Rocha', in L. Saraiva & H. Leitão (eds.), *The practice of mathematics in Portugal*, Coimbra, Acta Universitatis Conimbrigensis, 2004, 467-491.

Montserrat, Antoni de (1536-1600)

1148. J.L. Alay (ed.), *Antoni de Montserrat. Embajador en la corte del Gran Mogol*.

Viajes de un jesuita catalán del siglo XVI por la India, Paquistán, Afganistán y el Himalaya, Lleida, Editorial Milenio, 2006, 325 p.

Moyne, Pierre Le (1602-1671)

1149. S.M. Morgain, 'La Gallerie des Femmes Fortes (1647) du p. Pierre Le Moyne', in G. Bedouelle a.o. (eds.), *La Tradition rassemblée*, Fribourg, Academic Press, 2007, 343-365.

Munzihirwa Mwene Ngabo, Christophe (1926-1996)

1150. G. Malulu Lock, 'Un profil spirituel de Mgr Christophe Munzihirwa Mwene Ngabu', *Nouvelle Revue Théologique* 129 (2007), 620-625.

Murillo Velarde y Bravo, Pedro (1696-1753)

1151. L. Díaz de la Guarda y López, 'Datos para una biografía del jurista [sic] Pedro Murillo Velarde y Bravo', in *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma, Serie IV, Historia Moderna* 14 (2001), 407-471.

Murin, András (1674-1710)

1152. A. Molnár, 'Murin András jezsuita szerzetes szekszárdi útinaplója 1710-ből' [The Jesuit A.M.'s itinerary of Szekszárd from 1710], *Levéltári közlemények* 77 (2006), 105-139.

Nadal, Jerónimo (1507-1580)

See also 1338.

1153. J. Nadal Cañellas a.o., *Jeroni Nadal Morey, la seva vida i la seva contribució a la cultura europea del s. XVI*, Palma, Promomallorca Edicions, 2002, 178 p.
1154. R. Dekoninck, 'Imagines peregrinantes': the international genesis and fate of two biblical picture books (Barrefelt and Nadal) conceived in Antwerp at the end of the sixteenth century', in A.J. Gelderblom a.o. (eds.), *The Low Countries as a crossroad of religious belief*, Leiden / Boston, Brill, 2004, 49-64.
1155. H. Stroomberg & J. van der Stock, *The Wierix family. Book illustrations*, 2 vols., Ouderkerk aan den IJssel, Sound & Vision Publishers, 2006-2007, 263, 218 p.
1156. G. Lazure, 'Nadal au Nouveau Monde. Une traduction poétique des Evangeliae historiae imagines', in R. Dekoninck & A. Guiderdoni-Bruslé (eds.), *Emblemata sacra. Rhétorique et herméneutique du discours sacré dans la littérature en images. The rhetoric and hermeneutics of illustrated sacred discourse*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2007, 321-331.
1157. J. Nadal Cañellas, *Jerónimo Nadal. Vida e influjo*, Bilbao, Mensajero / Santander, Sal Terrae, 2007, 250 p.

Nakatenus, Wilhelm (1617-1682)

1158. G.C.A.M. van Gemert, 'Zur katholischen Gebetsliteratur der Barockzeit. Stellenwert und Funktion der Verseinlagen in Nakatenus' Himmlisch Palm-Gärtlein', in F. van Ingen & C. Niekus Moore (eds.), *Gebetsliteratur der frühen Neuzeit als Hausfrömmigkeit. Funktionen und Formen in Deutschland und den Niederlanden*, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz Verlag, 2001, 77-92.

Nell-Breuning, Oswald von (1890-1991)

1159. J. Arnold (ed.), *Oswald von Nell-Breuning SJ: Anekdoten – Erinnerungen – Originaltexte*, Trier, Paulinus, 2007, 295 p.

Neufeld, Karl Heinz (1939-)

1160. C. Geiler, 'Theologische Bibliographie Karl H. Neufeld SJ 1964-2003', in A.R. Batlogg a.o. (eds.), *Was den Glauben in Bewegung bringt. Fundamentaltheologie in der Spur Jesu Christi. Festschrift für Karl H. Neufeld SJ*, Freiburg / Basel / Wien, Herder, 2004, 533-559.
1161. B. Groth, 'Karl H. Neufeld SJ: Leben und Werk', in A.R. Batlogg a.o. (eds.), *Was den Glauben in Bewegung bringt. Fundamentaltheologie in der Spur Jesu Christi. Festschrift für Karl H. Neufeld SJ*, Freiburg / Basel / Wien, Herder, 2004, 519-532.

Nieremberg, Juan Eusebio (1595-1658)

1162. D. Ledezma, 'Una legitimación imaginativa del Nuevo Mundo: La Historia naturae, maxime peregrinae del gesuita Juan Eusebio Nieremberg', in L. Millones Figuera & D. Ledezma (eds.), *El saber de los jesuitas, historia naturales y el Nuevo Mundo*, Madrid, Iberoamericana / Frankfurt am Main, Vervuert, 2005, 53-83.
1163. A. Oiffer-Bomse, 'Vision de la nature et de l'homme dans la Curiosa y oculta filosofia (1643) de Juan Eusebio Nieremberg', in N. Fourtané & M. Guiraud (eds.), *L'identité culturelle dans le monde luso-hispanophone*, Nancy, Presses universitaires de Nancy, 2006, 383-396.
1164. W.M. Mathes, *The earliest report of the protomartyrs of Paraguaría. The Historia panegirica of Juan Eusebio Nieremberg, Lyon, France: 1631*, Tecate, CAREM, 2007, 166 p.

Nigido, Placido (1570?-1640)

1165. S. De Fiores, 'Placido Nigido, primo mariologo, nelle fonti inedite dell'Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu', *Marianum: Ephemerides Mariologiae* 68 (2006), 207-237.

Nithard, Johann Eberhard (1607-1681)

1166. J.J. Lozano Navarro, 'Los inicios de la regencia de Mariana de Austria y

el ascenso del Padre Nithard al poder desde el punto de vista de la Compañía de Jesús', in A. Molinié a.o., *Les jésuites en Espagne et en Amérique : jeux et enjeux du pouvoir (XVIIe-XVIIIe siècles)*, Paris, Université Sorbonne, 2007, 63-82.

Nobile, Salvatore (1916-1990)

1167. N. Giordano, *Salvatore Nobile S.I. Il nobile cuore di un missionario nell'India dei "Santals Parganas"*, Roma, AdP, 2006, 136 p.

Nobili, Roberto de (1577-1656)

1168. C.C. Lorange, 'Cultural relevance and doctrinal soundness. The mission of Roberto de Nobili', *Missiology* 33 (2005), 415-424.
1169. N. Tornese, 'Alcuni casi di adattamento ai tempi di p. Roberto de Nobili (Malabar-India, sec. XVI)', in L. Vaccaro (ed.), *L'Europa e l'evangelizzazione delle Indie orientali*, Milano, Centro Ambrosiano, 2005, 249-276.
1170. A. Amaladass, 'Mission der Kirche definiert von der Kultur eines Missionslandes. Am Beispiel eines missverstandenen Genies in der Missionsgeschichte Indiens: Roberto de Nobili (1577-1656)', in T. Franz & H. Sauer (eds.), *Glaube in der Welt von heute. Theologie und Kirche nach dem Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil. Band 2. Diskursfelder*, Würzburg, Echter, 2006, 306-318.

Nóbrega, Manuel da (1517-1570)

See also 750.

1171. T. Pinheiro, 'Alteridade cultural e reflexão antropológica nos escritos de Manuel da Nóbrega S.J.', *Broéria* 163 (2006), 263-278.
1172. A. Tomassini, 'Manuel da Nobrega (1517-1570) e l'adattamento gesuita: Un missionario in Brasile nella seconda metà del cinquecento', *Archivio Italiano per la Storia della Pietà* 19 (2006), 187- 234.

Noghera, Giovan Battista (1719-1784)

1173. M.L. Antonini, *La questione dell'infallibilità nel pensiero di G.B. Noghera (1719-1784)*, Milano, Università degli Studi, 2006, 182 p.

Noppel, Constantin (1883-1945)

1174. T.F. O'Meara, 'A pioneer in pastoral ecclesiology: Constantin Noppel, S.J.', in M.S. Attridge a.o. (eds.), *In God's hands. Essays on the church and ecumenism in honour of Michael A. Fahey, S.J.*, Leuven, Peeters, 2006, 75-88.
1175. M. Quisinsky, 'Die Pfarrei zwischen Ekklesiologie und Gesellschaft: Historische und theologische Perspektiven auf das Werk von Constantin Noppel SJ (1883-1945)', *Freiburger Diözesan-Archiv* 126 (2006), 163-194.

Och, Joseph (1725-1773)

1176. J. Meier, 'Ein Leben zwischen Alter und Neuer Welt. P. Joseph Och (1725-1773), Jesuit aus Würzburg und Missionar in Mexiko', *Würzburger Diözesangeschichtsblätter* 69 (2007), 377-386.

Oliva, Gian Paolo (1600-1681)

1177. B. Joassart, 'Jean-Paul Oliva, Charles de Noyelle et les Bollandistes d'après les archives bollandiennes', *Analecta Bollandiana* 125 (2007), 139-197.

Ong, Walter J. (1912-2003)

1178. J.J. Vila-Chã, 'The transformation of consciousness. Walter J. Ong and the presence of the word in the making of culture', *Loneragan Workshop* 19 (2007), 287-323.

Oosterhuis, Huub (1933-), Jesuit until 1969

1179. M. Gielis, 'De contrafactuur, trouwe leverancier van kerkliederen. Huub Oosterhuis en zijn contacten met Bernard Huijbers en Jop Pollmann', in M. Hoondert [a.o.] (eds.), *Door mensen gezongen. Liturgische muziek in portretten*, Kampen, Gooi & Sticht, 2005, 257-271.

Orosz, László (1697-1773)

1180. T. Lacza, 'Orosz László. Magyar jezsuiták Latin Amerikában' [L.O. Hungarian Jesuits in Latin America], *Fórum* 2 (2000), 125-144.
1181. S. Rostás, 'Orosz László a paraguayi misszióért' [L.O. for the Paraguayan missions], *Miscellanea Ecclesiae Strogoniensis*, Budapest, Esztorgom-budapesti Főegyházmegye, 2001, 161-164.

Ortigue, Edmond (1917-2005)

1182. J. Rabain, 'Edmond Ortigue (1917-2005)', *L'Homme. Revue française d'Anthropologie* 175-176 (2004), 451-454.

Oviedo, Andrés de (ca. 1518-1577)

1183. E.J. Alonso Romo, 'Andrés de Oviedo, patriarca de Etiopía', *Península* 3 (2006), 215-231.

Páez, Pedro (1564-1622)

1184. J. Reverte, 'Pedro Páez: desde Etiopía a las fuentes del Nilo azul', in J. Plazaola (ed.), *Jesuitas exploradores, pioneros y geógrafos*, San Sebastián, Instituto Ignacio de Loyola / Bilbao, Ediciones Mensajero, 2006, 91-110.
1185. M.W. Aregay a.o., *Conmemoración del IV centenario de la llegada del sacerdote español Pedro Páez a Etiopía*, Madrid, Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional, 2007, 167 p.

Pallavicino, Sforza Pietro (1607-1667)

1186. M. Delbeke, 'The pope, the bust, the sculptor and the fly. An ethical perspective on the work of Gianlorenzo Bernini in the writings of Sforza Pallavicino', *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome / Bulletin van het Belgisch Historisch Instituut te Rome* 70 (2000), 179-223.
1187. M. Delbeke, *La fenice degl'ingegni. Een alternatief perspectief op Gianlorenzo Bernini en zijn werk in de geschriften van Sforza Pallavicino*, Ghent, Ghent Architectural and Engineering Press, 2002, 408 p.
1188. M. Delbeke, 'A poem, a collection of antiquities and a Saviour by Raphael. A case-study in the visualization of sacred history in early seventeenth-century Rome', *Word & Image* 20 (2004), 87-104.
1189. M. Delbeke, 'Gianlorenzo Bernini as la fenice degl'ingegni, or the history of an epithet', *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 32 (2005), 245-253.
1190. S. Verhulst, 'L'insegnator di scienze dans le "Trattato dello stile e del dialogo" de Sforza Pallavicino', in F. Hallin & L. Roveda (eds.), *La rhétorique des textes scientifiques au XVIIe siècle*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2005, 115-126.
1191. M. Delbeke a.o. (eds.) *Bernini's biographies. Critical essays*, University Park (Pa.), Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006, 376 p.

Pálos, Antal (1914-2005)

1192. K. Hetényi Varga, 'P. Pálos Antal', in *Szerzetesek a horogkereszt és a vörös csillag árnyékában. II [Monks in shadow of the swastika and the red star]*, Abaliget, Lámpás, 2002, 271-292.

Parrenin, Dominique (1665-1741)

1193. B. Leibundgut, *La rhubarbe et la pivoine. Dominique Parrenin 1665-1741, missionnaire jésuite à la cour des empereurs mandchous*, Mortean, Comtois illustres, 2007, 174 p.

Parreño, José Julián (1728-1785)

1194. M.D. González-Ripoll (ed.), *Andres Cavo, Via de José Julián Parreño, un jesuita habanero*, Madrid, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2007, 162 p.

Paucke, Florian (1719-1779)

1195. L. Müller, 'Drei deutsche Jesuitenmissionare begegnen im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert in Südamerika Land und Leuten', in R. Decot (ed.), *Expansion und Gefährdung. Amerikanische Mission und Europäische Krise der Jesuiten im 18. Jahrhundert*, Mainz, Philipp von Zabern, 2004, 209-213. [The other two are: Heinrich Peschke (1674-1729), Franz Wolff (1707-1767)]

Pázmány, Péter (1570-1637)

1196. P. Ács, 'Historischer Skeptizismus und Frömmigkeit. Die Revision protestantischer Geschichtsvorstellungen in den Predigten des ungarischen Jesuiten Péter Pázmány', in A. Ohlidal & S. Samerski (eds.), *Jesuitische Frömmigkeitskulturen. Konfessionelle Interaktion in Ostmitteleuropa 1570-1700*, Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag, 2006, 279-294.

Pereira, Tomás (1645-1708)

1197. A. Vasconcelos de Saldanha, 'Fr. Tomás Pereira, S.J.: An exercise on intellect, loyalty and moral authority', *Daxiyangguo* 9 (2006), 109-118.

Persons, Robert (1580-1610)

See also 723.

1198. V. Houliston, *Catholic resistance in Elizabethan England: Robert Person's Jesuit polemic, 1580-1610*, Hampshire, Ashgate / Roma, Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 2007, 212 p.

Peters, Jan (1940-)

1199. P. Sars & J. van de Woestijne, *Jan Peters – Drijfveren van een bevlogen bestuurder*, Nijmegen, Radboud Universiteit, 2005, 55 p.

Pezenas, Esprit (1692-1776)

See also 837.

1200. G. Boistel, 'Inventaire chronologique des oeuvres imprimées et manuscrites du père Esprit Pezenas (1692-1776), jésuite, astronome et hydrographe marseillais', *Revue d'histoire des sciences* 56 (2003), 221-245.

Pies, Otto (1901-1960)

1201. H.K. Seeger a.o. (eds.), *Otto Pies und Karl Leisner: Freundschaft in der Hölle des KZ Dachau*, Vorder-hundsrück, Dr. Eike Pies, 2007, 692 p.

Pietrasanta, Silvestro (1590-1647)

1202. M.A. Asiain, 'El P. Pietrasanta y sus relaciones a la comisión especial cardenalicia', *Analecta Calasactiana* 62 (2007), 55-78.

Pintus, Salvatore Ignatius (1714-1768)

1203. F. Heiduk, 'Salvatore Ignatius Pintus. Vita minutatim', *Archiv für schlesische Kirchengeschichte* 64 (2006), 191-199.

Pongrácz, István (1582-1619)

1204. G. Jakubinyi, 'Pongrácz Szent István, jezsuita pap, kassai vértanú. 1582-

1619 [Saint I.P. , Jesuit priest, martyr of Kosice], in *A Szentek nyomában Erdélyben*, Gyulafehérvár, Glória, 2000, 107-112.

Pontanus, Jakob (1542-1626)

1205. U.G. Leinsle, 'Dichtungen Jakob Pontanus' in der Handschrift Studienbibliothek Dillingen XV 399', *Jahrbuch des Historischen Vereins Dillingen* 107 (2006), 259-321.

Possevino, Antonio (1533-1611)

1206. T. Cohen, 'Nation, lineage, and Jesuit unity in Antonio Possevino's memorial to Everard Mercurian (1576)', in J.A. de Freitas Carvalho (ed.), *A Companhia de Jesus na Península Ibérica nos sécs. XVI e XVII. Espiritualidade e cultura*, Porto, Centro Inter-Universitário da História da Espiritualidade da Universidade do Porto, 2005, 543-561.

1207. L. Balsamo, *Antonio Possevino S.I., bibliografo della Controriforma e diffusione della suo opera in area Anglicana*, Firenze, Leo S. Olschki, 2006, 228 p.

Pozzo, Andrea (1642-1709)

1208. P. Vignau Wilberg, *Perspektive und Projektion: Andrea Pozzo Architekturtheorie und ihre Praxis*, München, Scaneg, 2005, 63-[56] p.

Prado, Jerónimo de (1547-1595)

1209. F. Lecercle, 'L'oeil de l'exégète. A propos des In Ezechielem Explanations des pères Prado et Villalpando, S.J. (1596-1604)', in R. Dekoninck & A. Guiderdoni-Bruslé (eds.), *Emblemata sacra. Rhétorique et herméneutique du discours sacré dans la littérature en images. The rhetoric and hermeneutics of illustrated sacred discourse*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2007, 129-145.

Prakash, Cedric (1951-)

1210. J.Marangattu, 'Fr. Cedric Prakash SJ. Champion of human right', *Third Millennium* 8 (2005), 73-80.

Przywara, Erich (1889-1972)

1211. T.F. O'Meara, *Erich Przywara, S.J. His theology and his world*, Notre Dame, University Press, 2002, 254 p.

1212. M. Zechmeister, "'Beziehungen zwischen anders und anders". Analogia entis als Schlüsselbegriff Erich Przywaras', in A.R. Batlogg a.o. (eds.), *Was den Glauben in Bewegung bringt. Fundamentaltheologie in der Spur Jesu Christi. Festschrift für Karl H. Neufeld SJ*, Freiburg / Basel / Wien, Herder, 2004, 147-160.

1213. T.F. O'Meara, 'Paul Tillich and Erich Przywara at Davos', *Gregorianum* 87 (2006), 227-238.

1214. M. Schneider, 'Zur geschichtstheologischen Ausdeutung der ignatianischen Exerzitien bei Erich Przywara und Karl Rahner', in T. Gertler a.o. (eds.), *Zur grösseren Ehre Gottes: Ignatius von Loyola neu entdeckt für die Theologie der Gegenwart*, Freiburg, Herder, 2006, 368-388.

Querck, Ignaz (1660-1743)

1215. G.R. Dimler, 'Ignaz Querck's ignatian emblem book', in his *Studies in the Jesuit emblem*, New York, AMS Press, 2007, 248-271.

Rahner, Hugo (1900-1968)

1216. J. Kettel, 'Exerzitien. Hinführung Hugo Rahners', *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie* 128 (2006), 237-252.

Rahner, Karl (1904-1984)

See also 789, 1214.

1217. K. Kreutzer, 'Subjektivität als Beisichsein. Zur philosophischen und theologischen Tragweite und Problematik von Karl Rahners (frühem) Subjektverständnis', in A.R. Batlogg a.o. (eds.), *Was den Glauben in Bewegung bringt. Fundamentaltheologie in der Spur Jesu Christi. Festschrift für Karl H. Neufeld SJ*, Freiburg / Basel / Wien, Herder, 2004, 34-49.
1218. A. Puskas, 'Karl Rahner oder Hans Urs von Balthasar. Alternative für die ungarische Theologie?', *Folia Theologica* 15 (2004), 109-130.
1219. A. Raffelt, 'Rahner und Blondel', in A.R. Batlogg a.o. (eds.), *Was den Glauben in Bewegung bringt. Fundamentaltheologie in der Spur Jesu Christi. Festschrift für Karl H. Neufeld SJ*, Freiburg / Basel / Wien, Herder, 2004, 17-33.
1220. A. Raffelt & H. Verweyen, *Leggere Karl Rahner*, Brescia, Quiriniana, 2004, 202 p.
1221. P. Rulands, 'Umkehr als Gnade Christi. Zum Verhältnis von Gnaden- und Bußtheologie und deren Christusformatiertheit im Frühwerk Karl Rahners', in A.R. Batlogg a.o. (eds.), *Was den Glauben in Bewegung bringt. Fundamentaltheologie in der Spur Jesu Christi. Festschrift für Karl H. Neufeld SJ*, Freiburg / Basel / Wien, Herder, 2004, 79-94.
1222. W. Schmolly, 'Vom letzten Wagnis des Geistes und des Herzens. Zu Karl Rahners Theologie der Ostererfahrung', in A.R. Batlogg a.o. (eds.), *Was den Glauben in Bewegung bringt. Fundamentaltheologie in der Spur Jesu Christi. Festschrift für Karl H. Neufeld SJ*, Freiburg / Basel / Wien, Herder, 2004, 63-78.
1223. A. Zulauer, '"Was bisher nicht gegeben war": Neuheit als Kategorie im Denken Karl Rahners', in A.R. Batlogg a.o. (eds.), *Was den Glauben in Bewegung bringt. Fundamentaltheologie in der Spur Jesu Christi. Festschrift für Karl H. Neufeld SJ*, Freiburg / Basel / Wien, Herder, 2004, 50-62.

1224. T.P. Fössel, 'Warum ein Existential übernatürlich ist. Anmerkungen zur kontroversen Diskussion um Karl Rahners Theologumenon vom "übernatürlichen Existential"', *Theologie und Philosophie* 80 (2005), 389-411.
1225. D. Marmion & M.E. Hines (eds.), *The Cambridge companion to Karl Rahner*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2005, 318 p.
1226. P.R. de Oliveira & F. Taborda (eds.), *Karl Rahner, 100 anos. Teologia, filosofia e experiência espiritual*, São Paulo, Edições Loyola, 2005, 119 p.
1227. O. Putz, 'Evolutionary biology in the theology of Karl Rahner', *Philosophy & Theology* 17 (2005), 85-105.
1228. G. De Schrijver, 'Karl Rahner. A theologian of open modernity', *Hapág. A Journal of Interdisciplinary Theological Research* 2 (2005), 149-168.
1229. G. Vass, *The sacrament of the future. An evaluation of Karl Rahner's concept of the sacraments and the end of time*, Leominster, Gracewing, 2005, 271 p.
1230. M. Altrichter, 'Die Rahner-Rezeption in Böhmen', *Stimmen der Zeit* 224 (2006), 196-201.
1231. A.R. Batlogg, 'Karl Rahners Projekt einer Theologie der Mysterien des Lebens Jesu: Systematisches Denken als Ausdruck ignatianischer Spiritualität', in T. Gertler a.o. (eds.), *Zur grösseren Ehre Gottes: Ignatius von Loyola neu entdeckt für die Theologie der Gegenwart*, Freiburg, Herder, 2006, 349-367.
1232. A. Beards, 'Rahner's philosophy. A Lonerganian critique', *Gregorianum* 87 (2006), 262-283.
1233. F.J. van Beeck, 'Rahner on Sprachregelung: Regulation of language? of speech?', in *Driven under the influence. Essays in Theology, 1974-2004*, Fairfield CT, Sacred Heart University Press, 2006, 246-259.
1234. D.W. Jowers, 'A test of Karl Rahner's axiom, "the economic trinity is the immanent trinity and vice-versa"', *The Thomist* 70 (2006), 421-455.
1235. F. Schüssler-Fiorenza, 'Karl Rahner: a theologian for a cosmopolitan twenty-first century', in M.S. Attridge a.o. (eds.), *In God's hands. Essays on the church and ecumenism in honour of Michael A. Fahey, S.J.*, Leuven, Peeters, 2006, 109-135.
1236. J. Wissink, 'Karl Rahner, een visionair denker', in J.B.M. Wissink (red.), *Toptheologen. Hoofdfiguren uit de theologie van vandaag*, Tiel, Lannoo, 2006, 51-65.
1237. G. Zasche, 'Von der Frömmigkeit des Denkens. Bausteine zum Verständnis von Karl Rahners Grundkonzeption', in T. Franz & H. Sauer (eds.), *Glaube in der Welt von heute. Theologie und Kirche nach dem Zweiten*

- Vatikanischen Konzil*. Band 1. Profilierungen, Würzburg, Echter, 2006, 456-474.
1238. A.R. Batlogg, 'Karl Rahner in Innsbruck. Aus der Wissenschaftsbiographie eines Jesuitengelehrten - zugleich ein Stück Fakultäts-geschichte', *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie* 129 (2007), 397-422.
1239. J.C. Carvalho, 'Thinking love and loving its thought in Karl Rahner and Hans Urs von Balthasar', in H. Scerri, *Living Theology. Studies on Karl Rahner, Yves Congar, Bernard Lonergan and Hans Urs von Balthasar*, Città del Vaticano, Libreria Editrice del Vaticano, 2007, 121-140.
1240. K. Dermutz a.o. (eds.), *Über die Möglichkeit des Glaubens heute – vierzig Jahre nach Karl Rahner*, Graz, schnider's offene gesellschaft, 2007, 316 p.
1241. E.G. Farrugia, 'Karl Rahner's understanding of and for the Church. The proof is in his pedagogy', in H. Scerri, *Living Theology. Studies on Karl Rahner, Yves Congar, Bernard Lonergan and Hans Urs von Balthasar*, Città del Vaticano, Libreria Editrice del Vaticano, 2007, 37-70.
1242. G.M. Hoff, 'Der fremde Ort des eigenen Gottes. Karl Rahners Theorie von den anonymen Christen als Grammatik theologischer Fremdsprachen', *Salzburger Theologische Zeitschrift* 11 (2007), 201-216.
1243. F. Kerr, 'Karl Rahner', in *Twentieth-century Catholic theologians*, Malden MA, Blackwell Publishing, 2007, 87-104.
1244. F. Millán Romeral, 'La teología penitencial de Karl Rahner y sus conexiones con Bartolomé Xiberta', in H. Scerri, *Living Theology. Studies on Karl Rahner, Yves Congar, Bernard Lonergan and Hans Urs von Balthasar*, Città del Vaticano, Libreria Editrice del Vaticano, 2007, 71-120.
1245. F. Nasini, 'La teologia sacramentaria di K. Rahner e Tommaso d'Aquino tra prima e seconda svolta antropologica', *Angelicum* 84 (2007), 293-315.
1246. M. O'Gara, 'Openness and gift. Themes from Rahner's theology', *Science et Esprit* 59 (2007), 373-386.
1247. H. Scerri, *Living Theology. Studies on Karl Rahner, Yves Congar, Bernard Lonergan and Hans Urs von Balthasar*, Città del Vaticano, Libreria Editrice del Vaticano, 2007, 291 p.
1248. R.A. Siebenrock, 'Gratia Christi, the heart of the theology of Karl Rahner. Ignatian influences in the codex De gratia Christi (1937/38) and its importance for the development of his work', *Lonergan Workshop* 19 (2007), 251-265.
1249. M. Sultana, 'Karl Rahner and Hans Urs von Balthasar on salvific truth', in H. Scerri, *Living Theology. Studies on Karl Rahner, Yves Congar, Bernard Lonergan*

and Hans Urs von Balthasar, Città del Vaticano, Libreria Editrice del Vaticano, 2007, 141-184.

Râle, Sébastien (1652-1724)

1250. W.A. Clark, 'The Church at Nanrantouk: Sébastien Râle, S.J., and the Abenaki of the Kennebec River', *The Catholic Historical Review* 92 (2006), 225-251.

Rávago, Francisco de (1685-1763)

1251. T. Egidio López, 'Epílogo: la caída del P. Rávago', in his *Opinión pública y oposición al poder en la España del Siglo XVIII (1713-1759)*, Valladolid, Universidad de Valladolid / Secretariado de Publicaciones e Intercambio editorial, [2002], 224-230.

Regout, Robert (1896-1942)

1252. M. Lindeijer, 'Over de grenzen van verdrukking. Robert Regout: zielzorger in gevangenschap', in M. Rotsaert & B. Segart (red.), *Markante jezuieten uit de Lage Landen: Canisius, Verbiest, Lessius, Regout*, Leuven, Peeters, 2007, 84-95.
1253. H. de Waele, 'Over de grenzen van het volkenrecht. Robert Regout, zijn tijd en de rechtsgeleerdheid', in M. Rotsaert & B. Segart (red.), *Markante jezuieten uit de Lage Landen: Canisius, Verbiest, Lessius, Regout*, Leuven, Peeters, 2007, 70-83.

Retzek, Erhard (1914-1993)

1254. S. Gerber, 'Katholische Subgesellschaft an der sozialistischen Universität: Pater Erhard Retzek und die Katholische Studenten-gemeinde Jena in den fünfziger und sechziger Jahren', in U. Hopfeld a.o. (eds.), *Hochschule im Sozialismus: Studien zur Geschichte der Friederich-Schiller-Universität Jena (1945-1990)*. I, Köln etc., Böhlau, 2007, 901-929.

Rhodes, Alexandre de (1593-1660)

1255. J. Ruiz de Medina, 'Il gesuita Alexandre de Rhodes in Cocincina e Tonchino (1591-1660)', in L. Vaccaro (ed.), *L'Europa e l'evangelizzazione delle Indie orientali*, Milano, Centro Ambrosiano, 2005, 277-326.

Ribadeneyra, Pedro de (1526-1611)

1256. A. Merle, 'Un aspect de l'antimachiavélisme des jésuites: le Prince Chrétien de Pedro de Ribadeneyra entre simulation et dissimulation', in A. Molinié a.o., *Les jésuites en Espagne et en Amérique : jeux et enjeux du pouvoir (XVIe-XVIIIe siècles)*, Paris, Université Sorbonne, 2007, 111-140.

Ricci, Lorenzo (1703-1775)

1257. F. Coralli (ed.), 'La vita del P. Lorenzo Ricci generale della Compagnia di Gesù. Biografia inedita del P. Tommaso Termanini S.J.', *Archivum Historiae Pontificae* 44 (2006), 35-139.

Ricci, Matteo (1552-1610)

See also 726.

1258. P. Corradini, 'Il gesuita Matteo Ricci in China (1583-1610)', in L. Vaccaro (ed.), *L'Europa e l'evangelizzazione delle Indie orientali*, Milano, Centro Ambrosiano, 2005, 163-187.
1259. K. Unno, '[Chinese world maps of the Ming and Ch'ing Dynasties derived from the work of Matteo Ricci: an examination of new and neglected materials]', in *Tōzai chirubunka kōshōshi kenkyū* [Monographs [sic] on the history of cartographical exchange between the East and the West], Osaka, Seibundo, 2003, 33-92.
1260. G. Criveller, 'La controversia cristologica nella missione moderna in Cina (I)', *Archivio Teologico Torinese* 10 (2004), 111-129.
1261. C. Soetens, 'Mission chrétienne en Chine selon Ricci et méthode de Tientsin (Vincent Lebbe)', in J. Comby (ed.), *Diffusion et acculturation du christianisme (XIXe-XXe siècle). Vingt-cinq ans de recherches missiologiques par le CREDIC*, Paris, Karthala, 2005, 99-119.
1262. C. von Collani, 'Did Jesus Christ really come to China?', in T. Storch (ed.), *Religions and missionaries around the Pacific, 1500-1900*, Aldershot-Burlington, Ashgate, 2006, 73-89.
1263. Y.K. Lo, 'My second self: Mateo Ricci's friendship in China', *Monumenta Serica* 54 (2006), 221-241.
1264. N. Suzuki, 'On Matteo Ricci's the 'Yangwihyeonrando' introduced to Korea' [in Japanese], *Chosen gakuho* 201 (2006), 1-30.
1265. G. Andreotti, *Matteo Ricci. Jezuita v Číně (1552 – 1610) / Matteo Ricci: Rozprava o přátelství*, Olomouc, Refugium, 2007, 111 p.
1266. H. Butz, 'Matteo Ricci – Europa am Hofe der Ming' im Berliner Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst. Zu einer Ausstellung und einem Symposium in Dahlem', in H. Butz & R. Cristin (eds.), *Philosophie und Spiritualität bei Matteo Ricci*, Berlin, Parerga Verlag, 2007, 9-12.
1267. H. Butz & R. Cristin (eds.), *Philosophie und Spiritualität bei Matteo Ricci*, Berlin, Parerga Verlag, 2007, 82 p.

1268. R. Cristin, 'Matteo Ricci. Die Antwort des christlichen Westens auf die Frage der Interkulturalität', in H. Butz & R. Cristin (eds.), *Philosophie und Spiritualität bei Matteo Ricci*, Berlin, Parerga Verlag, 2007, 13-19.
1269. M. Fontana, *Matteo Ricci*, Milano, Mondadori, 2007, 347 p.
1270. E. von Mende, 'Individuelle Bekehrung oder Bekehrungsklima', in H. Butz & R. Cristin (eds.), *Philosophie und Spiritualität bei Matteo Ricci*, Berlin, Parerga Verlag, 2007, 41-53.
1271. K. Mertens, 'Christentum und nicht-christliche Religion – Theologische Überlegungen zu Matteo Ricci', in H. Butz & R. Cristin (eds.), *Philosophie und Spiritualität bei Matteo Ricci*, Berlin, Parerga Verlag, 2007, 55-60.
1272. F. Mignini, 'Matteo Ricci als Philosoph. Anmerkung zu einer Forschungsarbeit', in H. Butz & R. Cristin (eds.), *Philosophie und Spiritualität bei Matteo Ricci*, Berlin, Parerga Verlag, 2007, 21-39.
1273. H. Poser, 'Von Matteo Ricci zu Joachim Bouvet: Leibnizens Novissima Sinica', in H. Butz & R. Cristin (eds.), *Philosophie und Spiritualität bei Matteo Ricci*, Berlin, Parerga Verlag, 2007, 61-72.
1274. M. Redaelli, *Il mappamondo con la Cina al centro. Fonti antiche e mediazione culturale nell'opera di Matteo Ricci S.J.*, Pisa, Edizioni ETS, 2007, 182 p.
1275. G. Ricciardolo, *Oriente e Occidente negli scritti di Matteo Ricci*, Napoli, Chirico, 2007, 272 p.
1276. X. Huang & X. Cao, 'Li Madou yu 'Nanchang chuanjiao moshi'chutan', *Jiangxi shehui kexue* 3 (2007), 110-116.

Richardson, William J. (1920-)

1277. P. Kidder, 'Thinking with Fr. Richardson', *Lonergan Workshop* 19 (2007), 137-147.

Rick, João Evangelista (1869-1946)

1278. A. Rabuske, *Nosso padre João Rick, S.J. Personalidade e cientista*, São Leopoldo, Unisinos, 2001, 50 p.
1279. A. Rabuske & A. Rambo (eds.), *P. João Evangelista Rick, SJ. Cientista, colonizador, apóstolo social, professor*, São Leopoldo, Unisinos, 2004, 224 p.

Riesco, Mauricio (1908-1991)

1280. M.J. Ugarte Godoy, *El padre Mauricio Riesco. Apóstol de la divina misericordia*, Santiago de Chile, Cholchagua, 2004, 589 p.

Rimaud, Didier (1922-2003)

1281. *Autour de l'oeuvre de Didier Rimaud. Au service du chant et de la liturgie*, [Paris], Médiasèvres, 2005, 115 p.

Rodrigues, Simão (1510-1579)

1282. J.F. Conwell (ed.), *A brief and exact account. The recollections of Simão Rodrigues on the origin and progress of the Society of Jesus*, Saint Louis, The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 2004, 104 p.

1283. E.J. Alonso Romo (ed.), *Simón Rodrigues: origen y progreso de la Compañía de Jesús*, Bilbao, Ediciones Mensajero / Santander, Editorial Sal Terrae, 2005, 156 p.

Roppelt, Theodor (1740-?)

1284. M. Müller, 'Ein Mainzer Ex-Jesuit in Paris: Theodor Roppelt', *Archiv für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte* 52 (2000), 231-237.

Rosweyde, Heribert (1569-1629)

1285. R. Godding, 'Héribert Rosweyde et les Fasti Sanctorum', in R. Godding a.o., *Bollandistes, saints et legends*, Bruxelles, Société des Bollandistes, 2007, 23-33.

Rougemont, François de (1624-1676)

1286. N. Golvers, *Qingchu Yesubuisi Luriman changshu zhangben ji lingxiubiji yanjiu* [François Rougemont S.J., missionary in Ch'ang-Shu (Chiang-Nan). A study of the account book (1674-1676) and the elogium], Zhengzhou, Daxiangchubanshe, 2007, 605 p.

Rubio, José María (1864-1929)

1287. 'San José María Rubio el misterioso atractivo de un santo sencillo. Entrevista con el P. Paolo Molinari, postulador de la causa de canonización', *Razón y Fe* 252 (2003), 549-557.

Ruland, Vernon (1931-)

1288. V. Ruland, *Living out the question: a Jesuit confession*, San Francisco, University Press, 2006, 324 p.

Sa, Manuel de (1529-1596)

1289. P.D. Guenzi, 'Emanuele Sa (1529-1596) e gli aphorismi confessoriorum: Un episodio di storia della teologia morale in età moderna', *Archivio Teologico Torinese* 8 (2002), 144-182.

Sachsen, Georg von (1893-1943)

1290. J. Sembdner, *Georg von Sachsen: Kronprinz – Oberstleutnant – Tertiärer O.F.M. – Pater S.J.*, Heiligenstadt, F.W. Cordier, 2006, 150 p.

Sailly, Thomas (1558-1623)

1291. Y. Desplenter, 'Lofzangen overghesedt en gheprent. Van Die duytsche souter (1480) tot Sailly's Verscheyden Litanien (1595)', *Trajecta* 16 (2007), 5-29.

Sambiasi, Francesco (1582-1649)

1292. K. Unno, '[The world maps by F. Sambiasi SJ; in Japanese]', in *Tōzai chizubunka kōshōshi kenkyū. [Monographs [sic] on the history of cartographical exchange between the East and the West]*, Osaka, Seibundo, 2003, 93-100.

Sánchez, Alonso (1547-1593)

1293. J.P. Doyle, 'Two sixteenth-century Jesuits and a plan to conquer China: Alonso Sanchez and José de Acosta. An outrageous proposal and its rejection', in H. Holz & K. Wegmann (eds.), *Rechtsdenken: Schnittpunkte West und Ost. Recht in den gesellschafts- und staatstragenden Institutionen Europas und Chinas*, Münster, LIT Verlag, 2005, 253-273.

1294. M. Delgado, 'Alonso Sánchez SJ und José de Acosta SJ in der Kontroverse über die Conquista und Evangelisation Chinas am Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts', *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft* 90 (2006), 196-209.

1295. P.A. Fabre, 'Saggio di geopolitica delle correnti spirituali. Alonso Sánchez tra Madrid, il Messico, le Filippine, le coste della Cina e Roma (1579-1593)', in P. Broggio a.o. (eds.), *I gesuiti ai tempi di Claudio Acquaviva. Strategie politiche, religiose e culturali tra Cinque e Seicento*, Brescia, Morcelliana, 2007, 185-203.

Sánchez, Tomás (1550-1610)

1296. C. Carrodegas, *La sacramentalidad del matrimonio. Doctrina de Tomás Sánchez*, Madrid, Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 2003, 210 p.

Sandoval, Alonso de (1576-1652)

1297. J. Andrés-Gallego & J.M. García Añoveros, 'Los negros y sus problemas de conciencia: el muestrario de Sandoval', in their *La iglesia y la esclavitud de los negros*, Pamplona, EUNSA, 2002, 132-139.

Sandt, Maximiliaan van der (1578-1656)

1298. C. Belin, 'La métaphore iconoclaste chez Sandaeus', in R. Dekoninck & A. Guiderdoni-Bruslé, *Emblemata sacra. Rhétorique et herméneutique du discours sacré dans la littérature en images. The rhetoric and hermeneutics of illustrated sacred discourse*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2007, 267-275.

Santi, Leone (1585-1651/52)

1299. B. Filippi, 'L'emblème dans l'action dramatique. Les drames sacrés de Leone Santi S.J. (1632-1648)', in R. Dekoninck & A. Guiderdoni-Bruslé, *Emblemata sacra. Rhétorique et herméneutique du discours sacré dans la littérature en images. The rhetoric and hermeneutics of illustrated sacred discourse*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2007, 381-394.

Sanz y López, Alejandro (1604-1655)

1300. J.P. Juanín Esteban, *Alejandro Sanz y López. Jesuita martirizado en la corte del rey moro Cachil Sultán Corralat. Precursor de la lengua chabacana en las Islas Filipinas*, Jaca, Fundación Carolina Juanín Garcés, 2004, 117 p.

Sarbiewski, Maciej Kazimierz (1595-1640)

1301. O. Dauksienė, 'Odes to the blessed Virgin Mary by M. K. Sarbievijus. Reflections of the development of Christian poetry (Stella Maris)', *Ancient Lithuanian Literature* 18 (2004), 169-187.

Schabel, Michael (1622-?), Jesuit until 1715

1302. P. Štípánek, 'El jesuita Miguel Sabel (Schabel), misionero checo en Venezuela y la iconografía del cristal en Bohemia', in S. Negro & M.M. Marzal (eds.), *Esclavitud, economía y evangelización: la haciendas jesuitas en la América virreinal*, Lima, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú. Fondo editorial, 2005, 215-241.

Schall von Bell, Johann Adam (1592-1666)

1303. S.P. Chung, 'Sin Yunbok's amorous themes and their possible relationship to 17th-century Chinese Christian engravings', *Oriental Art* 46/4 (2000), 31-42.
1304. K. Unno, '[The world map by J. Adam Schall von Bell and one by M. Benoist; in Japanese]', in *Tôzai chizubunka kôshôshi kenkyû. [Monographs [sic] on the history of cartographical exchange between the East and the West]*, Osaka, Seibundo, 2003, 101-114.
1305. N. Standaert, *An illustrated life of Christ presented to the Chinese emperor. The history of Jincheng shuxiang (1640)*, Sankt Augustin, Monumenta Serica Institute / Nettetal, Steyler Verlag, 2007, 333 p.

Scheiner, Christoph (1575-1650)

1306. L. Ingalliso, *Filosofia e cosmologia in Christoph Scheiner*, Soveria Mannelli, Rubettino, 2005, 293 p.

Scherer, Heinrich (1628-1704)

1307. J. Greene, 'Map with a message. Categorizing the works of Heinrich Scherer', *The Portolan* 52 (2001), 34-44.

Schmitz, Hermann (1878-1960)

1308. G. Weber, 'In memoriam Father Hermann Schmitz S.J.', *Studia dipterologica* 8 (2000), 277-288.

Schott, André (1552-1629)

1309. P. Nelles, 'The measure of Rome. Justus Lipsius, André Schott, and the reception of the *Res gestae divi Augusti*', in C. Ligota & J.L. Quantin (eds.), *History of scholarship*, Oxford, University Press, 2006, 113-134.

Schreck, Johannes (1576-1630)

1310. E. Zettl, *Johannes Schreck Terrentius Constantinus, Wissenschaftler und China-Missionar (1576-1630)*, Konstanz, Fachhochschule, 2001, 17 p.
1311. I. Iannaccone, *L'amico di Galileo*, Milano, Sonzogno, 2006, 411 p.
1312. I. Iannaccone, *L'ami de Galilée*, Paris, Stock, 2006, 453 p.
1313. R.K. Langner, *Kopernikus in der Verbotenen Stadt. Wie der Jesuit Johannes Schreck das Wissen der Ketzler nach China brachte*, Frankfurt/Main, S. Fischer Verlag, 2007, 314 p.

Schurhammer, Georg (1882-1971)

1314. R. Fernández Gracia, *El fondo iconográfico del P. Schurhammer. La memoria de Javier en imágenes*, Pamplona, Cátedra de Patrimonio y Arte Navarro, 2006, 147 p.

Schwager, Raymund (1935-2004)

1315. N. Wandinger, 'Raymund Schwager, S.J. Dramatic theology', *Loneragan Workshop* 19 (2007), 325-346.

Scribani, Carlo (1561-1629)

1316. B. Segaert, 'Een vijfde markante jezuïet: Carolus Scribani. Inspirator van een nieuw Europees jezuïetennetwerk', in M. Rotsaert & B. Segaert (red.), *Markante jezuïeten uit de Lage Landen: Canisius, Verbiest, Lessius, Regout*, Leuven, Peeters, 2007, 100-110.

Seghers, Daniel (1590-1661)

1317. I. Broekman, 'Huygens en het werk van Daniel Seghers', in her *De rol van de schilderkunst in het leven van Constantijn Huygens (1596-1687)*, Hilversum, Verloren, 2005, 44-51.

Segundo, Juan Luis (1925-)

1318. J. Wilcken, 'Christological method: Juan Luis Segundo and Mother Teresa of Calcutta', *The Australian Catholic Record* 84 (2007), 330-338.

Sepp, Anton (1655-1733)

1319. C.J. Griebeler, 'Representações das Reduções em Viagem à missões jesuíticas a trabalhos apostólicos de Antônio Sepp', in M.C. Luchetti Bingemer a.o. (eds.), *A globalização e os Jesuítas: origens, história e impactos*, II, São Paulo, 2007, 271-283.

Sieben, Hermann Josef (1934-)

1320. C. Feld, 'Hermann Josef Sieben SJ: Schriften', in J. Arnold a.o. (eds.), *Kirchenväter. Ekklesiales Denken von den Anfängen bis in die Neuzeit*, Paderborn [etc.], Ferdinand Schöningh, 2004, 1101-1146.

Sinnott, Edward (1791-after 1842)

1321. K. Laheen, 'The letters of an Irish brother, Edward Sinnott, S.J., from Calcutta. Part 2. 1837-1843', *Collectanea Hibernica* 48 (2006), 129-166.

Slavicek, Karel (1678-1735)

1322. J. Kolmas, 'Father Karel (Carolus) Slavicek, S.J. (1678-1735)', *Monumenta Serica* 54 (2006), 243-251.

Smet, Pieter Jan de (1801-1873)

1323. I. Echaniz, 'Peter John de Smet, apóstol de los pieles rojas en las Montaña Rocosas', in J. Plazaola (ed.), *Jesuítas exploradores, pioneros y geógrafos*, San Sebastián, Instituto Ignacio de Loyola / Bilbao, Ediciones Mensajero, 2006, 177-197.

Smogulenski, Jean-Nicolas (1611-1656)

1324. S. Yunli, 'Tianbu zhenyuan de shenmi xuwen' [The mysterious preface to the True Principles of the Pacing of the Heavens], *Guangxi minzu xueyuan xuebao xiran kexue ban* [Bulletin of the Guangxi Nationality University, Edition of Natural Sciences] 12 (2006), 23-26.

Sobrino, Jon (1938-)

1325. G. Turner, 'Spiritual identification with Christ. Jon Sobrino, the CDF and St Paul', *New Blackfriars* 88 (2007), 539-548.

Soeiro, João (1566-1607)

1326. G. King, 'For the instruction of those aspiring to be Christians: João Soeiro's Tianzhu shengjiao yueyan', *Sino-Western Cultural Relations Journal* 29 (2004), 59-67.

Sommervogel, Carlos (1834-1902)

1327. R. Danieluk, *La Bibliothèque de Carlos Sommervogel: le sommet de l'oeuvre bibliographique de la Compagnie de Jésus (1890-1932)*, Roma, Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 2006, 651 p.

Southwell, Robert (1560-1595)

1328. A. Sweeney, *Robert Southwell: snow in Arcadia: redrawing the English lyric landscape, 1586-95*, Manchester / New York, Manchester University Press, 2006, 316 p.
1329. G.M. Bouchard, 'The Roman steps to the temple. An examination of the influence of Robert Southwell, SJ, upon George Herbert', *Logos. A Journal of Catholic Thought and Culture* 10 (2007), 131-150.

Spee, Friedrich (1591-1635)

1330. F. Pohle, 'Friedrich Spee und Franz Xaver. Poetische Reaktionen eines Daheimgebliebenen', in J. Meier (ed.), "... usque at ultimum terrae". *Die Jesuiten und die transkontinentale Ausbreitung des Christentums 1540-1773*, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000, 13-37.
1331. C. Holzmann, "'Reiß doch den Himmel auf und steig herab!'" Theologie und Poesie – Biblisch beten lernen von Friedrich von Spee SJ', *Korrespondenz zur Spiritualität der Exerzitien* 53 (2003), 55-66.
1332. C. Böhr, *Friedrich Spee und Christian Thomasius. Über Vernunft und Vorurteil. Zur Geschichte eines Stabswechsels im Übergang vom 17. zum 18. Jahrhundert*, Trier, Paulinus Verlag, 2006, 84 p.
1333. D. Breuer, 'Spees Liebestheologie. Lied 29 der Trutz-Nachtigal vom "Geheymnuß der Hochheyligen Dreyfältigkeit"', *Spee-Jahrbuch* 13 (2006), 129-144.
1334. A. Nooijen, 'Friedrich Spee und die spanische Karmelmystik', *Spee-Jahrbuch* 13 (2006), 67-86.
1335. I. Scheitler, 'Frömmigkeit ohne Konfessionsgrenzen. Spee-Rezeption in der protestantischen Erbauungsliteratur', *Spee-Jahrbuch* 13 (2006), 87-112.
1336. M. Sievernich, 'Friedrich Spee als Gesellschafts- und Kirchenkritiker', *Spee-Jahrbuch* 13 (2006), 11-29.
1337. K.H. Weiers, 'Der gute Hirt sucht das verlorene Schaf. Interpretation des Liedes Nr. 37 "Der Euangelisch Guter Hirt sucht das Verlohren Schäfflein" in Friedrich Spees Trutz-Nachtigall', *Spee-Jahrbuch* 13 (2006), 159-168.
1338. G.R. Dimler, 'Friedrich Spee, Hieronymus Nadal, and the early Jesuit emblem tradition', in his *Studies in the Jesuit emblem*, New York, AMS Press, 2007, 85-95.

Spohn, William C. (1944-2005), Jesuit until 1996

1339. T.B. Leininger, 'The moral theology of William C. Spohn', *The Catholic Theological Society of America. Proceedings* 61 (2006), 101-103.

Steen, Cornelis van den, see Lapide**Stefonio, Bernardino (1560-1625)**

See also 869.

1340. M. Saulini, "'Il gran piacere que io sento in ragionare con gli'amici.' Lettere di Bernardino Stefonio S.J. (1560-1625) a Valentino Mangioni S.J.', *AHSI* 76 (2007), 243-360.

Stein, Johan (1871-1951)

1341. D. Daling, 'De tweede Gouden Eeuw: pater Stein S.J. (1871-1951)', *Gewina* 26 (2003), 96-114.

Suárez, Francisco (1548-1617)

See also 1394.

1342. J.A. de la Torre Rangel, 'Democracia y ley natural desde el iusnaturalismo católico de Suárez', *Revista de investigaciones jurídicas* 24 (2000), 413-426.
1343. A.M. López Molina, 'Causalidad y libertad en Suárez y en la polémica "de auxiliis"', *Logos* 34 (2001), 67-100.
1344. M. Forlivesi, 'La distinction entre concept formel et concept objectif: Suárez, Pasqualigo, Mastri', *Les Études Philosophiques* 61 (2002), 3-30.
1345. J.B. South, 'Singular and universal in Suárez's account of cognition', *The Review of Metaphysic* 55 (2002), 785-823.
1346. F.T. Baciero, 'El "De legibus" de Suárez y Locke', *Revista Española de Filosofía Medieval* 10 (2003), 387-393.
1347. K.O. Charamsa, 'La teología del Dio che si rivela immutabile. L'approccio di Francesco Suárez (1548-1617)', in E.B. Vidal & I. Morali (eds.), *Sentire cum Ecclesia. Homenaje al Padre Karl Jozef Becker S.J.*, Valencia, Facultad de Teología San Vicente Ferrer, 2003, 139-167.
1348. G. Burlando, 'Suárez on intrinsic representationalism', *Revista Portuguesa de Filosofia* 60 (2004), 31-46.
1349. R. Flórez, 'La metafísica de Suárez en la "Historia del ser" de Heidegger', *Cuadernos de Pensamiento* 16 (2004), 159-168.
1350. F. Ricken, 'Die Disputation des Francisco Suárez über die Kirche', in J. Arnold a.o. (eds.), *Kirchenväter. Ekklesiales Denken von den Anfängen bis in die Neuzeit*, Paderborn [etc.], Ferdinand Schöningh, 2004, 1011-1032.

1351. C. Esposito, 'La fondazione dei diritti umani in Francisco Suárez', *Civiltà del Mediterraneo* 8-9 (2005-2006), 167-202.
1352. S. De Fiores, 'L'inedito De Deipara et Christ ut eius Filio, primo trattato sulla Beata Vergine Maria di Francisco Suárez', *Gregorianum* 86 (2005), 463-495.
1353. G. Pistacchini, 'A unidade do intelecto e a inteligência da unidades no De Anima de Francisco Suárez', *Broteria* 161 (2005), 243-255, 367-385.
1354. M.A. Rodrigues, 'A espiritualidade na obra filosófico-teológica de Francisco Suarez', in J.A. de Freitas Carvalho (ed.), *A Companhia de Jesus na Península Ibérica nos sécs. XVI e XVII. Espiritualidade e cultura*, Porto, Centro Inter-Universitário da História da Espiritualidade da Universidade do Porto, 2005, 417-431.
1355. R. de Scorraille, *El P. Francisco Suárez de la Compañía de Jesús según sus cartas, sus demás escritos inéditos y crecido número de documentos nuevos*, Pamplona, Analecta editorial, 2005, 525 p.
1356. O. Barroso, 'Suárez, filósofo de encrucijada o del nacimiento de la ontología', *Pensamiento* 62 (2006), 121-138.
1357. P. Lorenz, "'Christall mirrors". Analogy and onto-theology in Shakespeare and Francisco Suárez', *Religion & Literature* 38 (2006), 101-119.
1358. L. Prieto, 'Suárez, crocevia nella filosofia tra medioevo e modernità', *Alpha Omega* 9 (2006), 3-38.
1359. L. Prieto, 'Vida y pensamiento del padre Francisco Suarez', *Ecclesia* 20 (2006), 187-210.
1360. S. Filippi, 'Francisco Suárez y la transformación del vínculo entre razón y fe. Su repercusión en la filosofía heideggeriana', *Studium. Filosofía y Teología* 19 (2007), 255-268.
1361. E. Marquer, 'La controverse entre Francisco Suárez et Jacques 1er d'Angleterre', in A. Molinié a.o., *Les jésuites en Espagne et en Amérique: jeux et enjeux du pouvoir (XVIe-XVIIIe siècles)*, Paris, Université Sorbonne, 2007, 161-178.
1362. A. Oïffer-Bomsel, 'Système politico-juridique, philosophie et théologie dans le ius de legibus ac Deo Legislatore de Francisco Suárez', in A. Molinié a.o., *Les jésuites en Espagne et en Amérique : jeux et enjeux du pouvoir (XVIe-XVIIIe siècles)*, Paris, Université Sorbonne, 2007, 179-203.
1363. P. Pace, 'Immutable yet inadequately formulated: the natural law in Francisco Suárez (1548-1617)', *Studia Moralia* 45 (2007), 217-255.

1364. A. Poncela González, 'Del bien trascendental al bien material: Análisis del concepto de bondad en la teoría metafísica de Francisco Suárez', *Cauriensia* 2 (2007), 237-257.

Sucquet, Antoine (1574-1627)

1365. A. Catellani, 'Pour une sémiotique de l'“image dirigée” dans la littérature jésuite. Syncrétisme, narrativité, énonciation dans le Chemin de la vie éternelle d'Antoine Sucquet S.J.', in R. Dekoninck & A. Guiderdoni-Bruslé (eds.), *Emblemata sacra. Rhétorique et herméneutique du discours sacré dans la littérature en images. The rhetoric and hermeneutics of illustrated sacred discourse*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2007, 109-125.

Sveinsson, Jón (1857-1944)

1366. G.F. Gudmundsson, 'Jón Sveinsson og ætt – jörðin í bréfum', *Merki krossins: Kapólska Kirkjan á Íslandi* (2003/12), 21-25.
1367. G.F. Gudmundsson, 'Manni og Nonni: Helgisaga um braedur tvo', *Merki krossins: Kapólska Kirkjan á Íslandi* (2007/1), 24-52..
1368. G.F. Gudmundsson, 'Nonni fer til náms: Um skólanám rithöfundarins Jón Sveinssonar í Frakklandi 1871-1878', *Merki krossins: Kapólska Kirkjan á Íslandi* (2007/1), 49-67.

Szilás, László (1927-)

1369. A. Szerkesztők Molnár a.o. (eds.), *Historicus Societatis Iesu Szilás László Emlékkönyv*, Budapest, METEM, 2007, 408 p.

Tachard, Guy (1651-1712)

1370. M. Peña, 'En nombre de san Francisco Javier: El viaje del padre Tachard y los Jesuitas al Reino de Siam', in I. Arellano a.o. (eds.), *San Francisco Javier entre dos continentes*, Madrid, Iberoamericana / Frankfurt am Main, Vervuert, 2007, 177-187.

Tarnóczy, István (1626-1689)

1371. L. Szörenyi, 'Tarnóczy István Szent Istvánéletrajza, a “lapidáris stílus” remekműve' [Die Biographie des hl. Stephan von I.T., ein Meisterwerk des “lapidaren Stils”], in his *Philologica hungarolatina. Tanulmányok a magyarországi neolatin irodalomról*, Budapest, Kortárs, 2002, 101-110.

Teilhard de Chardin, Pierre (1881-1955)

1372. L. Galleni, 'Pierre Teilhard de Chardin: Scienza e teologia nella prospettiva del terzo millennio', *Revista Portuguesa de Filosofia* 61 (2005), 159-184.

1373. R. Gibellini, *Teilhard de Chardin. L'opera e le interpretazioni*, Brescia, Queriniana, 2005, 302 p.
1374. M.C. Groessens-van Dyck, 'Teilhard de Chardin e de Dorlodot: Conciliando a teoria de Darwin e a cultura bíblica', *Revista Portuguesa de Filosofia* 61 (2005), 203-210.
1375. D. Grumett, *Teilhard de Chardin. Theology, humanity and cosmos*, Leuven, Peeters, 2005, 314 p.
1376. E. Laszlo, 'The spirit of Einstein and Teilhard in 21st century science: The emergence of transdisciplinary unified theory', *Revista Portuguesa de Filosofia* 61 (2005), 129-136.
1377. F. Marty, 'Teilhard de Chardin et Kant: L'avancée de la science et l'homme voyageur en un monde convergent', *Revista Portuguesa de Filosofia* 61 (2005), 1027-1037.
1378. J.F. Salmon, 'Teilhard's law of complexity-consciousness', *Revista Portuguesa de Filosofia* 61 (2005), 185-202.
1379. H.C.d.L. Vaz, 'Teilhard de Chardin e a questão de Deus', *Revista Portuguesa de Filosofia* 61 (2005), 137-158.
1380. J.J. Vila-Chã, 'Relatividade e integração: Homenagem à visão filosófica e científica de Albert Einstein e Pierre Teilhard de Chardin 50 anos depois da sua morte', *Revista Portuguesa de Filosofia* 61 (2005), 3-15.
1381. R. de Bont, 'Le réseau louvaniste de Pierre Teilhard de Chardin', *Revue d'Histoire Ecclesiastique* 101 (2006), 1071-1092.
1382. F. Mantovani, *Dizionario delle opere di Teilhard de Chardin*, Negarine di S. Pietro in Cariano, Il segno dei Gabrielli editori, 2006, 379 p.
1383. T. Meynard (ed.), *Teilhard and the future of humanity*, New York, Fordham University Press, 2006, 185 p.
1384. R. Tambwe, 'For more living the eucharist. A reading of Pierre Teilhard de Chardin's Mass on the world', *Hekima Review* 36/12 (2006), 35-50.
1385. A.D. Aczel, *The Jesuit and the skull: Teilhard de Chardin, evolution, and the search for Peking man*, New York, Riverhead Books, 2007, 288 p.
1386. V. D'Ascenzi, *Teilhard de Chardin a fronte della globalizzazione*, Bologna, Pades Edizioni, 2007, 147 p.
1387. G. De Mori, 'Teilhard de Chardin: Visionário da globalização?', in M.C. Luchetti Bingemer a.o. (eds.), *A globalização e os Jesuítas: origens, história e impactos*, II, São Paulo, 2007, 115-145.

1388. M.E. Tucker, 'The ecological spirituality of Pierre Teilhard de Chardin', *Spiritus. A Journal of Christian Spirituality* 7 (2007), 1-19.

Teixeira, Manuel (1536-1590)

1389. J.M. Garcia, 'Manuel Texeira, a historiografia sobre S. Francisco Xavier e o tema da chegada do seu corpo a Goa', *Review of Culture. International Edition* 19 (2007), 80-99.

Thenen, Heinrich (1607-1696)

1390. D. Breuer, 'Die Karlsbiographie des Aachener Jesuiten Heinrich Thenen', in *Geschichte im Bistum Aachen*, 5, Neustadt a.d. Aisch, Schmidt, 2000, 135-161.

Thomas, Antoine (1644-1709)

1391. J.W. Witek, 'The role of Antoine Thomas, SJ, (1644-1709) in determining the terrestrial meridian line in eighteenth-century China', in W.F. Vande Walle & N. Golvers (eds.), *The history of the relationship between the Low Countries and China in the Qing era (1644-1911)*, Leuven, Leuven University Press, 2003, 89-103.

Thorpe, John (1726-1792)

1392. G. Holt, 'The letters from Rome of John Thorpe S.J. to Charles Plowden, S.J. 1784-92', *Recusant History* 28 (2006), 434-457.

Toledo, Francisco de (1532-1596)

1393. G.J. McAleer, 'Jesuit sensuality and feminist bodies', *Modern Theology* 18 (2002), 395-405.
1394. I. Morali, 'Gratia ed infidelitas. Nella teologia di Francisco de Toledo e Francisco Suarez al tempo delle grandi missioni gesuitiche', *Studia Missionalia* 55 (2006), 99-150.

Tüll, Alajos (1897-1987)

1395. K. Hetényi Varga, 'P. Tüll Alajos', in *Szerzetesek a horogkereszt és a vörös csillag árnyékában. II [Monks in the shadow of the swastika and the red star]*, Abaliget, Lámpás, 2002, 350-361.

Tyrrell, George (1861-1909), Jesuit until 1906

1396. E.M. Leonard, 'The church & the future. George Tyrrell revisited', in M. Attridge a.o. (eds.), *In God's hands. Essays on the church and ecumenism in honour of Michael A. Fahey, S.J.*, Leuven, Peeters, 2006, 55-73.

Valdés, Rodrigo de (1609-1682)

1397. P. Guibovich Pérez, 'Identidad criolla y proyecto político en el Poema

Hispano-latino de Rodrigo de Valdés', in M. Marzal & L. Bacigalupo (eds.), *Los jesuitas y la modernidad en Iberoamérica 1549-1773*, Lima, Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú [etc.], 2007, 356-367.

Valignano, Alessandro (1539-1606)

1398. J. López-Gay, 'Il gesuita Alessandro Valignano e la missione in Giappone (1579-1606). L'inculturazione della Chiesa in Giappone', in L. Vaccaro (ed.), *L'Europa e l'evangelizzazione delle Indie orientali*, Milano, Centro Ambrosiano, 2005, 89-140.

1399. P. Lage Correia, 'A apologia de Valignano e a defesa do padroado e dos direitos a coroa portuguesa na Ásia Oriental', *Review of Culture. International Edition* 19 (2007), 171-188.

1400. R.M. Loureiro, 'Kirishitan Bunko Alessandro Valignano and the Christian press in Japan', *Review of Culture. International Edition* 19 (2007), 134-153.

1401. F.R. de Oliveira, 'Terra, costumes e ritos chineses segundo a historia del principio y progressio de la Compañía de Jesús en las Indias Orientales de Alessandro Valignano', *Review of Culture. International Edition* 19 (2007), 154-170.

Vanzan, Piersandro (1934-)

1402. M. Giusti a.o., 'Omaggio a Vanzan S.J.', *Prospettiva persona* 57-58 (2006), 78-81.

Varillon, François (1905-1978)

1403. M. Rondet, 'François Varillon. Il y a cent ans naissait...', *Études* 403 (2005), 193-202.

1404. D. Salin, 'François Varillon à l'école de Fénelon', *Christus* 52 (2005), 373-382.

Vasconcelos, Simão de (1596-1671)

1405. C. Ziller Camenietzki, 'O paraíso proibido. A censura à Cronica de Simão de Vasconcelos em 1663', in L. Millones Figuera & D. Ledezma (eds.), *El saber de los jesuitas, historia naturales y el Nuevo Mundo*, Madrid, Iberoamericana / Frankfurt am Main, Vervuert, 2005, 109-134.

Vaz, António (ab. 1517-1599/1600)

1406. A. Rodrigues Baptista, 'Entre Xavier e Valignano. A missão do padre António Vaz', *Review of Culture. International Edition* 19 (2007), 124-133.

Vega, Cristóbal de (1595-1672)

1407. J.A. Riestra, 'María y la Eucaristía en Cristóbal de Vega', *Scripta Theologica* 38 (2006), 753-776.

Velasco, Juan de (1727-1792)

See also 886.

1408. E. Willingham, 'Locating Utopia: promise and patria in Juan de Velasco's Historia del Reino de Quito', in L. Millones Figuera & D. Ledezma (eds.), *El saber de los jesuitas, historia naturales y el Nuevo Mundo*, Madrid, Iberoamericana / Frankfurt am Main, Vervuert, 2005, 251-277.

Verbiest, Ferdinand (1623-1688)

1409. N. Golvers, 'De Astronomia Europea (1687) van Ferdinand Verbiest, S.J.: de prestaties van de Europese mechanica in China', in D. Sacré & M. De Schepper (eds.), *Et scholae et vitae'. Acta selecta van twee colloquia van Orbis Neolatinus*, Amersfoort, Florivallis, 2004, 185-194.
1410. S.M. Hong-Schunka, 'The Korean world map in St. Ottilien. A note on Verbiest's cartographical work', in Y. Camus (ed.), *Religion and culture. Past approaches - present globalisation - future challenges*, Macau, Macau Ricci Institute, 2004, 89-111.
1411. R. Ptak, 'Maritime southeast Asia in the world. Map of Ferdinand Verbiest and its Korean version', in Y. Camus (ed.), *Religion and culture. Past approaches - present globalisation - future challenges*, Macau, Macau Ricci Institute, 2004, 61-88.
1412. N. Golvers, 'Liever met arme christenen dan met grote mandarijnen'. Ferdinand Verbiest als astronoom, ingenieur en missionaris', in M. Rotsaert & B. Segaert (red.), *Markante jezuitien uit de Lage Landen: Canisius, Verbiest, Lessius, Regout*, Leuven, Peeters, 2007, 20-37.
1413. G. Song & P. Demattè, 'Mapping an acentric world. Ferdinand Verbiest' Kunyu quantu', in M. Reed & P. Demattè (eds.), *China on paper. European and Chinese works from the late sixteenth to the early nineteenth century*, Los Angeles, Getty Publications, 2007, 71-87.

Veres, Ferenc (1620-1665)

1414. C. Fekete, 'Apáczai utolsó vitája Veres Ferenc jezsuitával' [The last polemic of Apáczai with the Jesuit F.V.], *Irodalomtörténet* 14 (2003), 130-139.

Vieira, Antônio (1608-1697)

1415. L.M. Carolino, 'História, natureza e conhecimento na cosmvisão profética de Antonio Vieira', in L. Millones Figuera & D. Ledezma (eds.), *El saber de los jesuitas, historia naturales y el Nuevo Mundo*, Madrid, Iberoamericana / Frankfurt am Main, Vervuert, 2005, 85-107.
1416. A. Ferrand de Almeida, 'The organization of the Jesuit mission of

Maranhão in the seventeenth century: António Vieira and the shaping of a missionary project', *AHSI* 74 (2005), 91-118.

1417. J.E. Franco, 'Uma utopia católica sob suspeita. Censura romana à Clavis Prophetarum do Padre Antonio Viera', *Brotéria* 164 (2007), 75-88.

1418. M.A. Motta, 'Há-de haver esta nova e nunca ouvida história de Antônio Vieira', in M.C. Luchetti Bingemer a.o. (eds.), *A globalização e os Jesuítas: origens, história e impactos*, I, São Paulo, 2007, 267-295.

Vinci, Alfio (1546-1592)

1419. N. Aricò, *Libro di architettura: da L.B. Alberti ad anonimo gesuita siciliano del tardo secolo XVI*, 2 vols., Messina, GBM, 2005, 319, 278 p.

Walle, Jozef Van de (1666-1711)

1420. H. Callewier, 'Een 17de-eeuwse Jezuïetenstreek: de vlucht van Jozef Van de Walle uit Brugge en zijn toetreding tot de Sociëteit', *Vlaamse Stam* 42 (2006), 398-401.

Wangnereck, Heinrich (1595-1664)

1421. H. Stauder, 'Aus Liebe zu alten warheit: Die Standhaffte Rettung und Beweysung des vermeintlich karolingischen Freiheitsbriefes für das Damenstift Lindau durch den Jesuiten Heinrich Wangnereck', in N. Schnetzer (ed.), *freye khunst: Die Anfänge des Buchdrucks in Vorarlberg*, Feldkirch, Neugebauer, 2005, 238-267.

Wilmers, Wilhelm (1817-1899)

1422. K. Schatz, 'P. Wilhelm Wilmers und die päpstliche Unfehlbarkeit auf dem 1. Vatikanum. Neue Quellen', in J. Arnold a.o. (eds), *Kirchenväter. Ekklesiales Denken von den Anfängen bis in die Neuzeit*, Paderborn [etc.], Ferdinand Schöningh, 2004, 1067-1086.

Wiltheim, Joannes Wilhelmus (1594-1636)

1423. J.C. Muller & G. Dansart, *Joannes Wilhelmus Wiltheim S.J. (1594-1636) "Mansfeldici apud Luxemburgense Palatii Epitoma". Édition du texte latin et traduction française par Othon Scholer*, Luxembourg, Les Amis de l'Histoire, 2006, 200 p.

Xavier, Francis (1506-1552)

See also 46-48, 53, 60, 408, 676, 1314, 1330, 1389.

1424. X. Añoberos, 'Cartas y documentos escritos por San Francisco Javier', *Príncipe de Viana* 64 (2003), 587-612.

1425. A. Núñez, 'San Francesco Saverio a 450 anni dalla morte', *La Civiltà cattolica* (2003/3), 27-40.

1426. X. Añoberos, 'Breve historia de la bibliografía javierana', *Retablo de escritos javerianos*, Pamplona, Gobierno de Navarra, 2005, 765-778.
1427. G. Arana, 'El cristo de la sonrisa y la sonrisa de Javier', *Misiones Extranjeras* 208 (2005), 484-498.
1428. A. de Brito a.o., *S. Francisco Xavier. 450 anos da sua morte (1552-2002)*, Braga, Editorial A. O., 2005, 189 p.
1429. E. Bueno de la Fuente, 'Francisco de Javier a la luz del contexto teológico y misionológico', *Misiones Extranjeras* 208 (2005), 419-437.
1430. C. Collantes Díez, 'Francisco Javier, peregrino del Evangelio', *Misiones Extranjeras* 208 (2005), 438-453.
1431. H. Didier, 'L'azione missionaria del gesuita Francesco Saverio in India e Giappone (1542-1552)', in L. Vaccaro (ed.), *L'Europa e l'evangelizzazione delle Indie orientali*, Milano, Centro Ambrosiano, 2005, 75-88.
1432. L. Fernando, 'Daring and exemplary missionary Francis Xavier (1506-1552)', *Indian Church History Review* 39 (2005), 75-90.
1433. J.A. Izco, 'El método misionero de Javier en su contexto', *Misiones Extranjeras* 208 (2005), 454-475.
1434. C. Mata Induráin, 'San Francisco Javier y la inculturación: Notas históricas y literarias', *Anuario del Instituto Ignacio de Loyola* (2005), 103-123.
1435. G. De Rosa, '"Aprire vie nuove al Vangelo". San Francesco Saverio, missionario in Oriente', *La Civiltà Cattolica* 156 (2005), 541-554.
1436. M.J. Tojeira, 'San Francisco Javier y el deseo', *Misiones Extranjeras* 208 (2005), 476-483.
1437. M.A. Aragón, 'Claves de la misión (ad gentes) para nuestro momento actual. En torno a Francisco Javier', *Cauriensia* 1 (2006), 219-226.
1438. A. Blanch, 'Un poema de Chesterton en honor de San Francisco Javier', *Razón y Fe* 253 (2006), 483-492.
1439. I. Carneiro de Sousa, 'St. Francis Xavier in Southeast Asia. Missionary work, solitude and charitable endeavour', *Review of Culture. International Edition* 19 (2006), 34-52.
1440. M.d.D. Beites Manso, 'St. Francis Xavier and the Society of Jesus in India', *Review of Culture. International Edition* 19 (2006), 12-33.
1441. J. Ehrat, 'St. Francis Xavier, a pioneer in communication', in *St. Francis Xavier and following of his mission. Studies in honour of Jesús López-Gay S.J.*, Roma, Pontifica Università Gregoriana, 2006, 213-230.

1442. E. Farahian, 'Saint François Xavier, catéchète', in *St. Francis Xavier and following of his mission. Studies in honour of Jesús López-Gay S.J.*, Roma, Pontifica Università Gregoriana, 2006, 53-88.
1443. L.J. Fortún Pérez de Círiz, *Los señores de Javier. Un linaje en torno a un santo*, Pamplona, Gobierno de Navarra, 2006, 120 p.
1444. F. García Gutiérrez, 'Europa descubre el Extremo Oriente: los viajes de Francisco Javier (1506-1552)', in J. Plazaola (ed.), *Jesuitas exploradores, pioneros y geógrafos*, San Sebastián, Instituto Ignacio de Loyola / Bilbao, Ediciones Mensajero, 2006, 19-35.
1445. R. García Mateo, 'S. Francisco Javier y S. Pablo', in *St. Francis Xavier and following of his mission. Studies in honour of Jesús López-Gay S.J.*, Roma, Pontifica Università Gregoriana, 2006, 1-26.
1446. R. Haub, 'Franz Xaver – Die ganze Welt gewinnen', in *St. Francis Xavier and following of his mission. Studies in honour of Jesús López-Gay S.J.*, Roma, Pontifica Università Gregoriana, 2006, 89-104.
1447. R.Z. Leirissa, 'St. Francis Xavier and the Jesuits in Ambon (1546-1580)', *Review of Culture. International Edition* 19 (2006), 53-63.
1448. J. López-Gay, 'San Francisco Javier, diálogo y discusiones con los bonzos budistas del Japón', in *St. Francis Xavier and following of his mission. Studies in honour of Jesús López-Gay S.J.*, Roma, Pontifica Università Gregoriana, 2006, 27-52.
1449. V. Lousa, *Vida de San Francisco Javier*, Burgos, Monte Carmelo, 2006, 320 p.
1450. C. Mata Induráin, 'Un baile de las merindades de Navarra (y otras alusiones a Sangüesa) en el poema Xaveriadas de Bernardo Monzón', *Zangotzarra* 10 (2006), 161-169.
1451. J. Melloni, 'Die Innerlichkeit Franz Xavers. Zum 500. Geburtstag des Francisco de Javier', *Geist und Leben* 79 (2006), 423-439.
1452. M.M. Morales, 'San Francesco Saverio. Le lettere, la conversazione, il sogno', *La Civiltà Cattolica* 157/2 (2006), 14-24.
1453. C. Núñez, 'Actualidad de Francisco Javier en su quinto centenario', *Razón y Fe* 254 (2006), 289-305.
1454. V. Pastor Abaigar, 'Miguel de Araiz. Un ensamblador navarro en tierras leonesas en el siglo XV ¿Primer donante para una imagen de San Francisco Javier?', *Príncipe de Viana* 67 (2006), 775-789.

1455. R. Planas, 'Los dos años y tres meses de Javier en Japón', *Boletín de la Asociación Española de Orientalistas* 42 (2006), 271-296.
1456. J.E. Ruiz de Galarreta, 'Francisco de Javier: Mucho menos y mucho más', *Razón y Fe* 253 (2006), 111-124.
1457. R. Sada, 'La novena de la gracia y las Javeriadas: Un poco de historia', *Manresa* 78 (2006), 155-162.
1458. M. de Santiago, 'Francisco Javier: El poder de la imagen', *Razón y Fe* 253 (2006), 493-504.
1459. J.I. Saranyana, 'El proceso de aprendizaje cultural de San Francisco Javier (1542-1552)', *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft* 90 (2006), 299-306.
1460. M. Sievernich (ed.), *Franz Xaver Briefe und Dokumente 1535-1552*, Regensburg, Schnell und Steiner, 2006, 502 p.
1461. G.M. Verd Conradi, 'El soneto "No me mueve, mi Dios, para quererte" y su versión Latina en los Países Bajos', *Archivo Teológico Granadino* 69 (2006), 49-70.
1462. I. Arellano, 'San Francisco Javier y Las glorias del mayor siglo, comedia Jesuítica del P. Céspedes', in I. Arellano a.o. (eds.), *San Francisco Javier entre dos continentes*, Madrid, Iberoamericana / Frankfurt am Main, Vervuert, 2007, 11-33.
1463. I. Arellano a.o. (eds.), *San Francisco Javier entre dos continentes*, Madrid, Iberoamericana / Frankfurt am Main, Vervuert, 2007, 269 p.
1464. P. Begheyne, 'Franciscus Xaverius doopt de Indiërs. Een onbekend schilderij van Cornelis Schut bij de jezuïeten in Brugge', *Vlaanderen* 56 (2007), 98-99.
1465. I. Carneiro de Sousa, 'S. Francis Xavier no Sudeste Asiático evangelização, soldão e obras de misericórdia', *Review of Culture. International Edition* 19 (2007), 34-52.
1466. I. Carneiro de Sousa, 'St. Francis Xavier's letters from China (1552)', *Review of Culture. International Edition* 19 (2007), 64-79.
1467. I. Coelho, 'Francis Xavier, Lonergan, and the problem of missions today', *Lonergan Workshop* 19 (2007), 61-82.
1468. M.d.D. Beites Manso, 'St. Francis Xavier and the Society of Jesus in India', *Review of Culture. International Edition* 19 (2007), 12-33.
1469. J.M. Garcia, 'Manuel Texeira, a historiografia sobre S. Francisco Xavier e o tema da chegada do seu corpo a Goa', *Review of Culture. International Edition*

- 19 (2007), 80-99.
1470. C.C. García Valdés, 'La conquista espiritual del Japón, comedia Jesuítica Javeriana, y la perspectiva paulina de la evangelización', in I. Arellano a.o. (eds.), *San Francisco Javier entre dos continentes*, Madrid, Iberoamericana / Frankfurt am Main, Vervuert, 2007, 35-57.
1471. J.J. Gómez Fregoso, 'La vida de los universitarios de París en los años de San Francisco Javier', in I. Arellano a.o. (eds.), *San Francisco Javier entre dos continentes*, Madrid, Iberoamericana / Frankfurt am Main, Vervuert, 2007, 59-69.
1472. J. Gonçalves Guimarães, 'Entre a hagiografia e a crónica a história da vida do padre Francisco de Xavier de João de Lucena', *Review of Culture. International Edition* 19 (2007), 100-112.
1473. A. González Acosta, 'Ecos xaverianos en la Nueva España: Festejos a san Ignacio y san Francisco Xavier en México (1622) y Puebla (1623)', in I. Arellano a.o. (eds.), *San Francisco Javier entre dos continentes*, Madrid, Iberoamericana / Frankfurt am Main, Vervuert, 2007, 89-99.
1474. J.E. González Magaña, 'Del triunfo del mundo y la alegría del servicio. Itinerario de Francisco Javier hacia la santidad', in I. Arellano a.o. (eds.), *San Francisco Javier entre dos continentes*, Madrid, Iberoamericana / Frankfurt am Main, Vervuert, 2007, 101-122.
1475. A. Herrera, 'Un avatar de san Francisco Xavier en su autoría del soneto "No me mueve, mi Dios, para quererte"', in I. Arellano a.o. (eds.), *San Francisco Javier entre dos continentes*, Madrid, Iberoamericana / Frankfurt am Main, Vervuert, 2007, 123-132.
1476. S. Iwai, 'An analysis of Francis Xavier's letters from Kagoshima, Japan (1549). His approaches and views of ministry', *Asia Journal of Theology* 21 (2007), 6-18.
1477. P.M. Lamet, 'Perfil humano y gesta apostólica de Francisco Javier', *Estudios Eclesiásticos* 82 (2007), 339-358.
1478. R.Z. Leirissa, 'St. Francis Xavier and the Jesuits in Ambon (1546-1580)', *Review of Culture. International Edition* 19 (2007), 53-63.
1479. L. Luis Luis, 'Javier y Teresita: Dos místicos patronos de las misiones', *Monte Carmelo* 115 (2007), 87-101.
1480. J. Madeira, 'A construção hagiográfica de S. Francisco Xavier e a ideologia missionária portuguesa na Ásia', *Review of Culture. International Edition* 19 (2007), 113-123.
1481. C. Mata Induráin, 'San Francisco Javier en el teatro español del siglo XX:

- Volcán de amor (1922) de Vallejos y El divino impaciente (1933) de Péman', in I. Arellano a.o. (eds.), *San Francisco Javier entre dos continentes*, Madrid, Iberoamericana / Frankfurt am Main, Vervuert, 2007, 133-150.
1482. C. Miller, 'Francis Xavier: the figure of exile and holiness', *International Journal for the Study of the Christian Church* 7 (2007), 134-156.
1483. M.C. Osswald, 'Culto e iconografía de san Francisco Javier en Portugal en los siglos XVI y XVII', in I. Arellano a.o. (eds.), *San Francisco Javier entre dos continentes*, Madrid, Iberoamericana / Frankfurt am Main, Vervuert, 2007, 151-176.
1484. G. Prado Galán, 'San Francisco Javier en la obra de Baltasar Gracián', in I. Arellano a.o. (eds.), *San Francisco Javier entre dos continentes*, Madrid, Iberoamericana / Frankfurt am Main, Vervuert, 2007, 189-195.
1485. E.H. Quesada Aldana, 'De Xavier a Kino: La "inculturación" en el arte', in I. Arellano a.o. (eds.), *San Francisco Javier entre dos continentes*, Madrid, Iberoamericana / Frankfurt am Main, Vervuert, 2007, 197-216.
1486. R. Ruiz Gomar, 'San Francisco Xavier en la pintura de la Nueva España', in I. Arellano a.o. (eds.), *San Francisco Javier entre dos continentes*, Madrid, Iberoamericana / Frankfurt am Main, Vervuert, 2007, 217-237.
1487. R. Schreiter, 'The legacy of St. Francis Xavier. Inculturation of the gospel then and now', *East Asian Pastoral Review* 44 (2007), 17-31.
1488. P. Suess, 'Francisco Xavier. 500 anos de desafio com o diálogo inter-religioso', *Perspectiva Teológica* 39 (2007), 49-66.
1489. M.G. Torres Olleta, 'Vidas ilustradas de san Francisco Javier', in I. Arellano a.o. (eds.), *San Francisco Javier entre dos continentes*, Madrid, Iberoamericana / Frankfurt am Main, Vervuert, 2007, 239-257.
1490. A.P. Zatyryka Pacheco, 'El "modo nuestro de proceder" en la práctica misionera de Francisco Xavier. Una impronta al método jesuítico de mission Ad Gentes', in I. Arellano a.o. (eds.), *San Francisco Javier entre dos continentes*, Madrid, Iberoamericana / Frankfurt am Main, Vervuert, 2007, 259-269.

Žužek, Ivan (1924-2004)

1491. W.F. Rothe, "Ut varietas in ecclesia nedum eisdem noceat unitati, eam potius declaret". In memoriam p. prof. dr. iur. can. Ivan Žužek SJ', *Archiv für Katholisches Kirchenrecht* 17 (2004), 146-148.

COMPLEMENTARY LIST OF PERSONS

- Avancini, Nikolaus (1611-1686): 868.
 Bouvet, Joachim (1656-1730): 1273.
 Cardiel, José (1704-1781): 354.
 Céspedes, Valentín de (1595-1668): 1462.
 Hernando, brother (fl. 1616): 701.
 Huijbers, Bernard (1922-2003), Jesuit until 1974: 1179.
 Mangioni, Valentino (1573-1660): 1340.
 Pallas, Gerónymo (1594-1670): 369.
 Papebroch, Daniel (1628-1714): 999.
 Peschke, Heinrich (1674-1729): 1195.
 Plowden, Charles (1743-1821): 1392.
 Termanini, Tommaso (1730-1797): 1257.
 Villalpando, Juan Bautista (1552-1608): 1209.
 Wolff, Franz (1707-1767): 1195.

INDEX OF AUTHORS

- | | |
|---|----------------------------------|
| Ács, P. 1196 | Andreotti, G. 1265 |
| Aczel, A.D. 1385 | Andrés-Gallego, J. 12, 239, 1297 |
| Adam, J. 575 | Andrews, P. 1135 |
| Akker, D. van den 18, 618 | Andriotti, D. 302 |
| Alaperrine-Bouyer, M. 255 | Añoveros, X. 1424, 1426 |
| Alay, J.L. 1148 | Antonini, M.L. 1173 |
| Albanese, A. 409 | Appuhn-Radtke, S. 559 |
| Albi de la Cuesta, J. 1016 | Aragón, M.A. 1437 |
| Albrecht, C. 935 | Arana, G. 1427 |
| Alcalá, L.E. 338 | Aregay, M.W. 1185 |
| Alcina Franch, J. 725 | Arellano, I. 1462, 1463 |
| Alden, D. 453 | Aricò, N. 1419 |
| Alonso Romo, E.J. 290, 680, 1183, 1283 | Arkins, B. 1007 |
| Alrichter, M. 1230 | Arnold, J. 1159 |
| Alvero, L.A. 245 | Arrochellas, M.H. 741 |
| Alvim, M.L. 101 | Artiach Camacho, S. 150 |
| Amaladass, A. 1170 | Arumairaj, M. 434 |
| Amaladoss, M. 131 | Ascenzi, V. D' 1386 |
| Anderson, R.B. 956 | Asiain, M.A. 1202 |
| Andrada Pacheco, P.R. de 299 | Astorgano, A. 1001 |
| Andrade Cáceres Nogueira, M.E. de 301 | Avalos, C.D. 269 |
| Andrade, F.E. de 300 | Avenati de Palumbo, C.I. 782 |
| | Azevedo, F. 294 |
| | Baatz, U. 933 |

- Baciero, F.T. 1346
 Bacigalupo, L. 261
 Baêta Neves Flores, L.F. 303
 Bailey, G.A. 322, 326
 Bajada, F. 1086
 Baker, D. 452
 Baldus, M. 555
 Balsamo, L. 1207
 Banchig, G. 802
 Barbara-Pons, B. 698
 Barbieri, R. 1113
 Bardi, T. 584
 Bargiacchi, E.G. 913, 914
 Barlai, K. 410
 Barnett, R. 791
 Barreda, J.A. 1096
 Barrios Aguilera, M. 862
 Barrios Moneo, A. 900, 901
 Barrios, M. 221
 Barroso, O. 1356
 Barzazi, A. 594
 Basilotta, N. 746
 Bastenier, A. 877
 Batlogg, A.R. 907, 1231, 1238
 Baumgarten, J. 211, 648
 Baumstark, R. 556
 Beards, A. 1232
 Bedini, S.A. 1038
 Beeck, B. Op de 492
 Beeck, F.J. van 1008, 1233
 Begheyne, P. 5, 616, 619, 622, 626,
 627, 634, 855-857, 952, 1464
 Beites Manso, M.d.D 1440, 1468
 Belin, C. 1298
 Bella, G. La 756
 Bellot, C. 549, 557
 Belmans, E. 502
 Bénassy, M.C. 378
 Benders, A.M. 1087
 Benítez i Riera, J.M. 1062
 Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, R. 861
 Benke, C. 816
 Benoist, J.R. de 344
 Benso, G. de las M. 275
 Berezhnaya, L. 649
 Bertrand, D. 85, 111, 125, 942,
 953
 Bertuccioli, G. 1127
 Biacsi, D. 444
 Bianchi, G. 1124
 Biemans, W. 136
 Bikfalvi, G. 585
 Billings, T. 1044
 Binasco, M. 320
 Bíró, V. 989
 Bisson, P. 86
 Blanch, A. 1438
 Blanco Conde, M. 347
 Blätter, P. 776
 Blinder, O. 348
 Blöchlinger, A. 466
 Block, E. 792
 Blom, F. 894
 Bobková, K. 1109
 Bočková, A. 1109
 Böhr, C. 1332
 Boiko, M. 613
 Boistel, G. 837, 1200
 Bökö, P. 586
 Bolsius, M. 1056
 Bolton, H.E. 1039
 Bonacci, L.A. 37
 Bont, R. de 1381
 Borrás Feliu, A. 681
 Bösel, R. 600
 Bots, J. 19
 Bouchard, G.M. 1329
 Boxel, P. van 818
 Brading, D. 256
 Bradley, B. 588
 Branca Savini, S. 590
 Brancaccio, L. 421, 1051
 Braun, H.E. 1119
 Bravo Acevedo, G. 323, 327
 Bravo, M. 1027
 Bredemeier, S.M. 257

- Breemen, P. van 76
 Breuer, D. 188, 542, 543, 1333, 1390
 Breukel, T. 623
 Brisacier, M. 527
 Brito, A. de 1428
 Brockey, L.M. 411, 415, 422, 442, 1146
 Brodkorb, C. 566, 919
 Broekman, I. 1317
 Broggio, P. 454, 699, 733
 Brownlow, F.W. 715
 Brückner, W. 154
 Bueno de la Fuente, E. 1429
 Bujko, P. 1009
 Bunker, M. 215
 Burke, K. 929
 Burlando, G. 1348
 Burrell, D. 903
 Burrieza Sánchez, J. 31, 258, 700
 Butterworth, R. 847
 Büttner, F. 545
 Butz, H. 1266, 1267
 Buzzi, F. 157
 Cacciavillani, C.A. 246
 Cacho Nazabal, I. 45, 754
 Calainho, D.B. 291
 Calarco, D. 1040, 1041
 Callewier, H. 503, 628, 1420
 Calvez, J.Y. 77, 145, 757
 Cantù, F. 370
 Canvarro, A. 1143
 Cao, X. 1276
 Caramelle, F. 465
 Cariou-Charton, S. 46
 Carmeliet, H. 843
 Carneiro de Sousa, I. 1439, 1465, 1466
 Carneiro Zachariades, G. 170
 Carolino, L.M. 1415
 Carrasco, R. 701
 Carrodegua, C. 1296
 Caruana, S. 793
 Carvalhais, J. 654
 Carvalho, J.C. 1239
 Casaldáliga, P. 846
 Cassidy, R. 920, 1073
 Castañeda, F. 728
 Castellón, J. 1021
 Catellani, A. 193, 1365
 Catto, M. 146
 Ceccucci, P. 298
 Černý, K. 508
 Cervós, J.M. 833
 Chambouleyron, R. 304
 Chantraine, G. 1097, 1103, 1105
 Chapelle, A. 880
 Charamsa, K.O. 1347
 Charpentier de Beauvillé, P. 783
 Chaves, J. 737
 Chen, H. 423
 Chen, M.S. 402
 Chiavazza, H. 276
 Chinchilla Pawling, P. 242
 Choudhury, M. 535
 Chung, S.P. 1303
 Ciccía, M.N. 655
 Čičo, M. 467
 Cieślak, S. 807, 1063
 Clark, W.A. 1250
 Clément, J.P. 354
 Cock, J. De 1
 Codina, M.E. 361
 Coelho, I. 1467
 Coello de la Rosa, A. 740
 Cohen, T. 1206
 Collani, C. von 416, 1262
 Collantes Díez, C. 1430
 Colombo, E. 979
 Colon, D. 530
 Comte, S. Le 349
 Conde Sangenis, L.F. 289, 305
 Connor, J.L. 1084
 Conte, S. 871
 Conwell, J.F. 1282
 Copete, M.L. 674

- Coralli, F. 1257
 Cordelier, J. 879
 Córdoba Salmerón, M. 682
 Coronel, V. 259
 Corradini, P. 1258
 Correia Fernandes, M.d.L. 766
 Costa Pinto, R.M. da 235
 Costa, G. 758
 Coupeau, C. 943
 Courel, F. 64
 Crăciun, M. 666
 Creary, N.M. 236
 Cristin, R. 1267, 1268
 Criveller, G. 735, 1260
 Crowe, F.E. 1074, 1078
 Cruz Correia, F.A. da 234
 Cser, L. 399
 Cunha Rossi, V. 596
 Curto, D.R. 403
 Cushner, N.P. 829
 Cuttica, C. 223
 Dadosky, J.D. 1079
 Dael, P. van 635, 636
 Dailey, A. 849
 Daling, D. 1341
 Dally-Starna, C. 384
 Daly, P.M. 194, 202
 Dandelet, T.J. 591
 Danieluk, R. 1327
 Dansart, G. 1423
 Darmanin, A. 112
 Dauksienė, O. 1301
 David, C. 713
 Daxecker, F. 983
 Decloux, S. 94
 Decot, R. 464, 567
 Degrez, E.N. 47
 Dekoninck, R. 106, 113, 114, 126,
 597, 872, 1154
 Delbeke, M. 1186-1189, 1191
 Delgado, M. 1294
 Demattè, P. 424, 1413
 Deneire, T. 911
 Derks, M. 971
 Dermutz, K. 1240
 Desos, C. 904
 Desplenter, Y. 1291
 Deuer, W. 468
 Dhiraviam, A. 440
 Díaz de la Guarda y López, L.
 1151
 Díaz Gárriz, M. 441
 Didier, H. 17, 32, 751, 975, 1431
 Dijkgraaf, H. 714
 Dimler, G.R. 194, 198-204, 835,
 836, 1017, 1018, 1054, 1129-
 1131, 1215, 1338
 Dinjens, J. 629
 Doležalová, E. 507, 513
 Dolinar, F.M. 670
 Domej, T. 987
 Domingues, B.H. 295, 331, 887
 Dominguez Morano, C. 65
 Dominic, A.P. 102
 Donnelly, J.P. 1122
 Doran, R.M. 1085, 1088
 Dorrestein, A. 637
 Downes, P. 329
 Doyle, J.P. 1293
 Drobesch, W. 462, 469-471, 484
 Drumond Mendes Barros, M.C.
 243
 Duarte Burró, R. 355
 Dudink, A. 2, 3, 1146
 Dumortier, F.X. 179
 Dunk, T.H. von der 617
 Durand, J.D. 1100
 Durkin, M.C. 20
 Duviols, J.P. 356
 Echániz, E. 21
 Echániz, I. 1122, 1323
 Edwards, F. 716
 Egido López, T. 831, 1251
 Ehrat, J. 1441
 El Alaoui, Y. 729
 Elman, B. 425

- Emonet, P. 38, 48
 Endean, P. 49
 Erlach, T. 195
 Erreygers, G. 1067
 Espírito Santo, A. do 218
 Esposito, C. 1351
 Esquivel Coronado, J. 362
 Estela-Guillemont, M. 357
 Étienvre, F. 1030
 Ettel, R. 50
 Ewalt, M.R. 985
 Extremera Tapia, N. 748, 750
 Fabre, P.A. 66, 161, 1295
 Fabri, W. 495
 Faesen, R. 127, 499
 Fafié, A. 918
 Farahian, E. 1442
 Farrar, C.P. 1010
 Farrugia, E.G. 1241
 Fatica, M. 601
 Fazekas, I. 472
 Fechtnerová, A. 518
 Feeney, J. 1002
 Fehér, K. 1142
 Feiler, A.F. 171
 Feingold, M. 176
 Fejér, J. 1
 Fekete, C. 1414
 Feld, C. 1320
 Fennell, F. 1003
 Fens, K. 814, 994
 Ferlan, C. 602
 Fernández de Arillaga, I. 1107
 Fernández Gracia, R. 676, 1314
 Fernandez-Rodriguez, A. 730
 Fernando, L. 1432
 Ferrand de Almeida, A. 1416
 Ferrari, A. 981
 Fijen, L. 1056
 Filippi, B. 1299
 Filippi, S. 1360
 Filippo Bareggi, C. Di 852
 Fiores, S. De 1165, 1352
 Fitzpatrick, J. 1075
 Fleck, E.C.D. 285, 286
 Fleming, D.L. 91, 128
 Flórez, R. 1349
 Fonck, B. 702
 Fonseca Gadelha, R.M.A. 306
 Fontaine, J. 902
 Fontana, M. 1269
 Foresta, P. 14
 Forlivesi, M. 1344
 Fortún Pérez de Círiz, L.J. 1443
 Fössel, T.P. 1224
 Fouilleron, J. 528
 Franceschi, S.H. De 821
 Francesco, A. Di 1029
 Franco Gomez, V. 1099
 Franco, J.E. 214, 216, 656, 662, 663, 1147
 François, W. 227
 Frankl, K.H. 473
 Fraschina, A. 271
 Freitas Carvalho, J.A. de 455
 Friedrich, M. 205
 Fuente Fernández, F.J. 1117
 Fuentes Sepúlveda, G. 321
 Fumagalli, A. 777
 Gaasbeek, F. 615
 Gábor, C. 1033
 Gabriel, F. 1120
 Galimberti, S. 752
 Galleni, L. 1372
 Gallistl, B. 568
 Gallo, A. 590
 Gálvez-Peña, C. 703
 Gang, S. 736
 Ganson, B. 273
 Garcés Manau, C. 1045
 García Añoveros, J.M. 239, 1297
 García Arenas, M. 653
 García Cárcel, R. 677
 García de Castro, J. 22, 36, 944, 954
 García Gutiérrez, F. 1444

- García Hernán, F. 834
 García Mateo, R. 52, 67, 945, 1445
 García Valdés, G.C. 1470
 García, J.A. 51, 759
 Garcia, J.M. 1389, 1469
 Garcia, J.S.B. 1089
 García-Garrido, M.A. 704
 Gasnault, P. 1000
 Gatto, R. 889
 Gay, J.P. 158
 Geiler, C. 1160
 Geissler, H. 92
 Gemert, G.C.A.M. van 771, 1158
 Genilo, E.M.O. 957
 Gennip, J. van 993
 Gerber, S. 1254
 Gergely, J. 803
 Gervais, P. 68
 Giard, L. 149
 Gibellini, R. 1373
 Gielis, M. 1179
 Gill, R.D. 960
 Giordano, N. 1167
 Giraud, P.H. 339
 Giusti, M. 1402
 Glüsenkamp, U. 808, 809
 Godding, R. 493, 496, 504, 1285
 Godó, M. 973
 Golvers 426, 1286, 1409, 1412
 Gomes, S.d.S. 163
 Gómez Díez, F.J. 253, 451
 Gómez Fregoso, J.J. 1471
 Gómez Padilla, G. 1042
 Gómez Zorraquino, J.I. 980
 Gonçalves Guimarães, J. 1472
 Gonneaud, D. 783
 González Acosta, A. 254, 1473
 González Faus, J.I. 95
 González Magaña, J.E. 39, 53, 90, 1474
 González Mora, F. 328
 González Polvillo, A. 1066
 González Sánchez, C.A. 1066
 González-Ripoll, M.D. 1194
 Gonzalo Aizpuru, P. 260
 Gouraud, J.L. 863
 Graffius, J. 717
 Greene, J. 1307
 Greer, A. 318
 Grendler, P. 603, 1139
 Griebeler, C.J. 1319
 Groessens-van Dyck, M.C. 1374
 Gross, S.J. 379
 Groth, B. 1161
 Grumett, D. 1375
 Grünzweig, D. 1011
 Grzebien, L. 646
 Guasti, N. 683, 684
 Gudmundsson, G.F. 1366-1368
 Guenzi, P.D. 1289
 Guerra, A. 731
 Gugliemi, G. 1090
 Guibert, E. 1101
 Guibovich Pérez, P. 1397
 Guiderdoni-Bruslé, A. 992
 Guillaume-Alonso, A. 705
 Gutiérrez, A. 885
 Gutiérrez, A.M.N. 946
 Hachaïme, C. 196
 Hall, G. 923
 Hamilton, A. 228, 229, 1046
 Hart, K. 1006
 Hartmann, P.C. 474
 Haub, R. 33, 546, 560, 569, 772, 908, 1133, 1446
 Havlík, J. 509
 Heiduk, F. 1203
 Heiss, G. 514
 Helm, F. 726
 Henrici, P. 784, 947
 Heredia, J. 969
 Heredia, R.C. 760
 Hernández Asensio, R. 283
 Hernández Palomo, J.J. 369
 Hernán-Gómez Prieto, B. 337
 Herrera, A. 1475

- Herzstein, R. 395
 Hesz, I. 54
 Hetényi Varga, K. 974, 1019, 1192, 1395
 Heuser, P.A. 910
 Hevia Echevarría, J.A. 1141
 Heyberger, B. 115
 Hicks, P. 189
 Higashibaba, I. 448
 Hillenbrand, K. 858
 Hines, M.E. 1225
 Hirai, H. 1052
 Höfer, R.K. 475
 Hoff, G.M. 1242
 Holt, G. 1114, 1392
 Holubová, M. 518
 Holzer, V. 794
 Holzmann, C. 1331
 Hong-Schunka, S.M. 1410
 Horváth, E. 827
 Hostetler, L. 417
 Houdt, T. Van 1068
 Houliston, V. 723, 1198
 Hsia, R.P. 734
 Hua, B. 1127
 Huang, X. 1276
 Huffine, K. 345
 Hughes, B. 217
 Hughes, G. 1013
 Hughes, G.W. 1015
 Hunink, V. 634
 Iannaccone, I. 1311, 1312
 Imberechts, H. 23
 Ingaliso, L. 984, 1306
 Inglot, M. 644
 Irusta Cerro, M. 891
 Iwai, S. 1476
 Izco, J.A. 1433
 Jackson, T.F. 1012
 Jakubinyi, G. 1204
 Jamieson, C. 1080
 Janssen, A.M.P.P. 639
 Jaramillo, A. 1091
 Joassart, B. 497, 498, 883, 999, 1177
 Joblin, A. 1057
 Johnson, T. 116
 Johnston, W. 1031
 Joos, L. 129
 Joseph, J. 761
 Jowers, D.W. 1234
 Juanín Esteban, J.P. 1300
 Kamp, V. 870
 Kang, Z. 427
 Kapp, V. 774
 Kasper, W. 786
 Kehl, M. 164
 Kelter, I.A. 162
 Kendall, D. 925
 Kerr, F. 795, 1092, 1104, 1243
 Keszthelyi, S. 997
 Kettel, J. 1216
 Kidder, P. 1081, 1277
 Kiechle, S. 55, 117, 118
 Kilián, I. 580
 Kilroy, G. 848
 King, G. 1326
 Kishimoto, E. 449
 Kittel, J. 119
 Klaiber, J. 358
 Klein, N. 896, 962
 Klemm, N. 1020
 Klever, W. 930, 931
 Kluger, R. 476
 Knapp, E. 573, 582, 770, 988, 1128
 Knauer, P. 44, 89
 Knobloch, E. 888
 Knoll, A. 159, 172
 Koenot, J. 212
 Kogler, C. 478
 Kołacz, J. 650
 Kolmas, J. 1322
 Kolvenbach, P.H. 34, 1036
 Koncz, A. 1032
 Kovács, E. 519

- Kovács, P. 581
 Kovács, S.I. 937
 Krämer, B.M. 810, 811
 Kreins, J.M. 899
 Kreis, K.M. 380, 381
 Kreutzer, K. 1217
 Krizsán, L. 225, 232
 Kulcsár, A. 824
 Kuret, P. 668
 Labrador Herraiz, J.J. 706
 Lacza, T. 841, 842, 927, 1180
 Lage Correia, P. 1399
 Laheen, K. 1321
 Lalla, S. 819
 Lamalle, E. 4
 Lamet, P.M. 1477
 Lamotte, S. 972
 Langner, R.K. 1313
 Laszlo, E. 1376
 Laurencich-Minelli, L. 359
 Lavallé, B. 371
 LaVerle, B. 231
 Lavin, A. 1023
 Lazar, L.G. 598
 Lazure, G. 1156
 Lecercle, F. 1209
 Lécrivain, P. 56, 137, 394, 878
 Ledezma, D. 1162
 Leeuwen, H. van 78
 Leibundgut, B. 1193
 Leininger, T.B. 1339
 Leinsle, U.G. 1205
 Leirissa, R.Z. 1447, 1478
 Leitner, S. 485
 Lemos, N.T. de 948
 Leonard, E.M. 1396
 Lequeux, X. 494
 Li, S. 738
 Li, T. 400
 Libanio, J.B. 664, 742
 Libois, C. 1037
 Lies, L. 991, 1059
 Limpas Ortiz, V.H. 280
 Lindeijer, M. 24, 630, 631, 640, 1252
 Lindenburg, M.A. 621
 Linka, J. 955
 Livi Bacci, M. 346
 Lo, Y.K. 1263
 Loach, J. 1138
 Locher, R. 477
 Lokhande, A. 437
 Lopes Júnior, O. 312
 López Gay, J. 132, 1398, 1448
 López Molina, A.M. 1343
 López, C. 376
 Lorange, C.C. 1168
 Lorenz, P. 1357
 Löser, W. 561, 778, 779, 787
 Loskoutoff, Y. 922
 Lotz, J.B. 1115
 Loureiro, R.M. 396, 1400
 Lousa, V. 1449
 Lowney, C. 74, 87
 Lozano Navarro, J.J. 8, 675, 678, 685, 718, 1166
 Luchetti Bingemer, M.C. 182
 Luis Luis, L. 1479
 Mac Dowell, J.A.A.A. 183
 Madeira, J. 1480
 Madelin, H. 532
 Madrigal, S. 138, 169, 949
 Maeseneer, Y. De 775
 Magnet, A. 1022
 Magnis-Suseno, F. 443, 1110
 Magnuson, T. 604
 Magriña, L. 133
 Maher, M.W. 104
 Maia, M. 257
 Maier, H. 909
 Maier, M. 165, 762, 763
 Majorana, B. 130, 142
 Makwanda, H.M. 319
 Maloney, C. 1093
 Malulu Lock, G. 1150
 Mantovani, F. 1382

- Marangattu, J. 1210
 Marchesi, G. 780
 Marchini, M.P. 531
 Mardones A., T. 96
 Márfi, A. 583
 Margry, P.J. 624
 Marín Sevilla, J.M. 57
 Marmion, D. 1225
 Marquardt, F. 206
 Marquer, E. 1361
 Martin, J. 1123
 Martin, P. 882
 Martínez de la Escalera, J. 108
 Martínez Millán, J. 707
 Martínez Naranjo, F.J. 107, 109
 Martini, C.M. 25, 120
 Marty, F. 184, 1377
 Maruyama, T. 445
 Marxer, F. 840
 Marzal, M.M. 247, 250, 261, 372
 Massa, M.S. 921
 Massimi, M. 284
 Mat'a, P. 121, 458
 Mata Induráin, C. 1450, 1434, 1481
 Mathes, W.M. 1164
 Matienzo Castillo, W.J. 272
 Matthei Puttkamer, M. 324
 Matthei, M.R. 238
 Matušíková, L. 516
 Maxwell, M.P. 1082
 Mayeur, J.M. 179
 McAleer, G.J. 1393
 McCoog, T. 851
 McKevitt, G. 385
 Medeiros Rodrigues, L.F. 296
 Medina Rojas, F.d.B. 248, 281, 611
 Meganck, T. 505
 Meier, J. 249, 262, 828, 1176
 Melià, B. 307, 342
 Melloni, J. 1451
 Mende, E. von 1270
 Mendes, C. 1072
 Méndez-Bonito, S.N. 886
 Mendirichaga Dalzell, J.R. 340
 Mendonça Pedrosa, F. 1147
 Mennekes, F. 551
 Merle, A. 1256
 Merrigan, T. 926
 Mersch, B. 638
 Mertens, J. 500
 Mertens, K. 1271
 Mészáros, A. 520
 Mészáros, G. 576
 Mészáros, K. 916
 Mészárosová, K. 577
 Meures, F. 79
 Meynard, T. 418, 1065, 1383
 Mifsud, T. 1024
 Mignini, F. 1272
 Milhou, A. 105
 Millán Romeral, F. 1244
 Millefiorini, P. 13
 Miller, C. 1482
 Miner, R.C. 1094
 Molina, D. 160
 Molinié, A. 69, 708
 Molnár, A. 1152
 Mongeau, G. 1095
 Mongrain, K. 796, 797
 Moniz, A.I. 665
 Monostori, A. 330
 Monsalve, F. 1108
 Monteiro de Carvalho, A.M. 308
 Monteiro Oliveira, M.A. 309
 Montel-Gléniisson, C. 317
 Monterroso, G. 341
 Morales, M.M. 263, 1452
 Morali, I. 1394
 Morel, G. 208
 Moreno Jeria, R. 325
 Moreno Rejón, F. 264
 Moreno Valero, M. 686
 Morgain, S.M. 873, 1149
 Mori, G. De 1387
 Mörner, M. 274
 Morra, S. 876

- Mostaccio, S. 732
 Motsch, A. 1058
 Motta, F. 75
 Motta, M.A. 1418
 Moura Sobral, L. de 657
 Mucci, G. 224
 Muck, O. 895
 Muller, J.C. 1423
 Müller, L. 1195
 Müller, M. 1284
 Müller, R. 907
 Munitiz, J.A. 978
 Mycek, S. 781
 Nadal Cañellas, J. 1153, 1157
 Najjar, R. 292
 Nardo, A. Lo 866
 Nascimento, M.T. 665
 Nasini, F. 1245
 Natal Álvarez, D. 982
 Natal Martínez, R. 982
 Natonski, B. 645
 Navas Gutierrez, A.M. 950
 Nayak, A. 1136, 1137
 Nebgen, C. 570
 Negro, S. 250, 363
 Nelles, P. 35, 155, 1309
 Nemeshegyi, P. 404
 Neufeld, K.H. 166, 486
 Nevimová, P. 210, 510, 517
 Niederbacher, B. 487
 Niewiadomski, J. 488
 Noldus, J.W. 209
 Noll, R. 1060
 Nooijen, A. 1334
 Noordegraaf, J. 970
 Numhauser, P. 359
 Núñez, A. 1425
 Núñez, C. 1453
 O'Callaghan, P. 798
 O'Collins, G. 925
 O'Gara, M. 1246
 O'Leary, B. 951
 O'Leary, D.M. 961
 O'Malley, J. 26
 O'Meara, T.F. 1174, 1211, 1213
 O'Phelan Godoy, S. 709
 O'Sullivan, N. 1106
 Obermeier, F. 277, 350
 Ohlidal, A. 459, 521
 Oïffer-Bomse, A. 1163, 1362
 Oldenhof, H. 620
 Olin, J.C. 9
 Olivares, M. de 278
 Oliveira Dinis, A. de 185
 Oliveira e Costa, J.P. 446
 Oliveira, F.R. de 1401
 Oliveira, P.R. de 1226
 Olza Zubiri, J. 288
 Orella Unzué, J.L. 27
 Ortega Noriega, S. 332
 Osculati, R. 1061
 Osowski, C.I. 156
 Osswald, M.C. 658, 1483
 Oswald, J. 773
 Otto, H. 812
 Oviedo Torró, L. 80
 Paal, B. 562
 Pace, P. 1363
 Pacheco Albalade, M. 687
 Pacheco Rojas, J.d.l.C. 334
 Padberg, J.W. 81
 Pagano, S. 915
 Page, C. 270
 Palmer, M. 58
 Palomo, F. 456, 659
 Paniagua Pérez, J. 222
 Paradiso, M. 788
 Paramore, K. 990
 Pastor Abaigar, V. 1454
 Pastore, S. 671
 Pattery, G. 82
 Pavone, S. 73, 219
 Payne, C.H. 438
 Pearson, H. 1014
 Pego Puigbó, A. 110
 Pena Catão, L. 310

- Peña, M. 1370
 Pennec, H. 230
 Penz, H. 479
 Pereira, Z. 233
 Pérez Martín, S. 832
 Petracchi, G. 15
 Pettorru, M.G. 605
 Peyronnin, P. 267
 Philippot, P. 1028
 Picanço Favacho, A.M. 311
 Picard, F. 744
 Picó, M.A. 936
 Piéjus, A. 539
 Pieris, A. 167
 Pietà, I. Dalla 207
 Pinedo, I. 710
 Pinheiro, T. 1171
 Pirazzoli-T'Serstevens, M. 864
 Pirotte, J. 881
 Pistacchini, G. 1353
 Pizzorusso, G. 88
 Planas, R. 1455
 Plazaola, J. 28
 Plongeron, B. 7
 Pohle, F. 544, 547, 558, 739, 1330
 Poli, D. 592
 Polvarini de Reyes, A. 364
 Poncela González, A. 1364
 Pons i Llinas, N. 688
 Poser, H. 1273
 Potay, C. 525
 Pozaic, V. 506
 Praag, P. Van 838
 Prado Galán, G. 1484
 Prano, M. 606
 Prévotat, J. 1102
 Prieto, L. 1358, 1359
 Proot, G. 500
 Ptak, R. 1411
 Puskas, A. 1218
 Putz, O. 1227
 Quaghebeur, T. 820, 917
 Quarantotto, A. 1029
 Quesada Aldana, E.H. 1485
 Quisinsky, M. 1175
 Raassen, M. 635, 636
 Rabain, J. 1182
 Rabuske, A. 1278, 1279
 Rädle, F. 822
 Raffelt, A. 789, 1219
 Raffo, G. 912
 Rahner, H. 70, 93
 Rahner, K. 97
 Rajšp, V. 480
 Rambla Blanch, J.M. 844
 Rambo, A. 1279
 Ramos, L. 747
 Rastoin, M. 29
 Ravier, A. 16
 Redaelli, M. 1274
 Rees, W. 489
 Regeniter, H. 966
 Reichardt, R. 672
 Reinhardt, N. 540
 Renau, J. 890
 Resina Rodrigues, M.I. 679
 Restrepo, L.F. 251
 Reverte, J. 1184
 Revuelta González, M. 30, 59, 139,
 151, 152, 237, 351, 352, 419,
 541, 689-694
 Rey Fajardo, J. del 389, 390, 392,
 393, 986
 Ricciardolo, G. 1275
 Richardt, A. 817
 Richau, M. 928
 Richter, K.P. 571
 Richterová, A. 769
 Ricken, F. 1350
 Ricupero, R. 186
 Riestra, J.A. 1407
 Rinaldi, B.M. 460
 Río, I. del 335
 Robion, C.M. 457
 Rodrigues Baptista, A. 1406
 Rodrigues da Silva, L. 312

- Rodrigues, M.A. 1354
 Rodríguez Caparrini, B. 695, 721, 801
 Rodríguez Domingo, J.M. 696
 Rodríguez O., H.P. 60
 Rodríguez, D. 365
 Rodríguez, H. 41
 Rodriguez-Delafond, M.I. 143
 Roeck, J. De 1069
 Romano, A. 147, 148, 175, 180, 187, 265, 526
 Róna, J. 190
 Rondet, M. 1403
 Ros, B. 853
 Rosa, G. De 536, 1435
 Rosa, M. 607
 Rosas Moscoso, F. 313
 Rostás, S. 1181
 Rothe, W.F. 1491
 Ruiz de Galarreta, J.E. 963, 964, 1456
 Ruiz de Medina, J. 1255
 Ruiz Gomar, R. 1486
 Ruiz Jurado, M. 134
 Ruland, V. 1288
 Rulands, P. 1221
 Rumpler, H. 481
 Rurale, F. 10
 Sacré, D. 1047
 Sada, R. 1457
 Saez, R. 1121
 Salas Olivari, M. 1134
 Salazar-Soler, C. 366, 373, 374
 Saldanha, N. 40
 Sale, G. 612
 Salin, D. 42, 867, 1404
 Salmon, J.F. 1378
 Salvarani, R. 595
 Samerski, S. 459, 522
 Samudio A., E.O.
 Samy, A. 98
 Sanches Martins, F. 660
 Sánchez C., E. 1025
 Sánchez Carazo, J.I. 976
 Sanjosé Del Campo, J. 892, 934
 Santiago, M. de 1458
 Santos Corrêa Monteiro, M.M. 1144
 Santos de Andrade Freitas, M. 309
 Santos Gomes, S. dos 83
 Santos Rocha, A.J. dos 315
 Santos, C.A. dos 314
 Saranyana, J.I. 375, 1459
 Sárközy, P. 938
 Sars, P. 1199
 Sastre, E. 727
 Saulini, M. 1340
 Scaramelli, F. 388
 Scartezzini, R. 1126
 Scerri, H. 1247
 Schatz, K. 140, 563, 1422
 Scheitler, I. 1335
 Schild, I. 552
 Schippan, M. 428
 Schlatter, F.W. 1004
 Schmalor, H.J. 564
 Schmid, J.J. 244
 Schmidinger, H.M. 537
 Schmitt, M. 614
 Schmitz, I. 213
 Schmolly, W. 1222
 Schneider, M. 1214
 Schönfeld, A. 122
 Schoor, R. van de 854
 Schreiter, R. 1487
 Schrijver, G. De 1228
 Schroth, R.A. 386
 Schubring, G. 177
 Schubring, K. 959
 Schüssler-Fiorenza, F.
 Schutgens, K. 641
 Scorraille, R. de 1355
 Scully, R.E. 719, 850
 Sebastian, S.J. 435
 Seeger, H.K. 1201
 Segart, B. 1316

- Seguí, J. 805
 Seichepine, F. 534
 Seiler, J. 572
 Selwyn, J.D. 593
 Sembdner, J. 1290
 Serangeli, S. 599
 Serracino Inglott, P. 799
 Shelke, C. 1043
 Sher-Shiueh, L. 412
 Shore, P.J. 667
 Sieben, H.J. 173
 Siebenrock, R.A. 1248
 Sievemich, M. 168, 1336, 1460
 Signorile, A.M. 275
 Silva Tavares, C.C. da 436
 Simon, C. 1111
 Singhartinger, J. 697
 Škulj, E. 669
 Smith, R.E. 226
 Smolinsky, H. 1064
 Soetens, C. 1261
 Solá, F. 833
 Solana Pujalte, J. 279, 711
 Soldi, A.M. 367
 Solvencens, J. 806
 Song, G. 1413
 Sorč, C. 785
 Sorge, B. 764
 Sorrentino, D. 815
 Soto Artuñedo, W. 673, 712
 Šotola, J. 553
 South, J.B. 1345
 Spadaro, A. 99
 Spedicato, M. 967
 Spica, A.E. 529, 874
 Spronck, L. 1055
 Šron k, M. 523, 524
 St. Amour, P. 1083
 St. Clair, E.M. 240
 Standaert, N. 3, 405, 1305
 Stasiewicz-Jasiukowej, N.I. 647
 Stauder, H. 1421
 Steggink, O. 43
 Štěpánek, P. 515
 Stets, R. 884
 Štipánek, P. 1302
 Stock, J. van der 1155
 Stols, E. 490
 Strasser, G.F. 1048
 Stroomberg, H. 1155
 Stuyt, J. 141
 Suárez, J.L. 1118
 Suess, P. 1488
 Suller, M. 825
 Sultana, M. 1249
 Sun, X. 1053
 Sustersic, B.D. 839
 Suzuki, N. 1264
 Svatoš, M. 511
 Svobodová, J. 512
 Sweeney, A. 1328
 Sweet, M.J. 958
 Swüste, C. 632
 Szabó, F. 804, 897, 898, 939, 940
 Széll, T. 377
 Szenkovits, F. 995
 Szentmártoni Szabó, G. 941
 Szerkesztők Molnár, A. 1369
 Szilas, L. 859
 Szőrenyi, L. 768, 1371
 Taborda, F. 1226
 Taft, R.F. 1132
 Talar, C.J.T. 906
 Tambwe, R. 1384
 Tampe, E. 860
 Tanturri, A. 589
 Tarble, K. 388
 Tardieu, J.P. 360, 368
 Tarján, B. 724
 Tavano, L. 608
 Teevan, D. 1076, 1077
 Telesca, I. 353
 Telesko, W. 482
 Tellechea Idígoras, I. 71
 Teres, A. 998
 Thelliez, B. 11

- Timmermans, C. 406
 Tojeira, M.J. 1436
 Tomassini, A. 1172
 Torales Pacheco, M.C. 252, 266
 Tornese, N. 1169
 Török, B. 578
 Torre Rangel, J.A. de la 1342
 Torres Londoño, F. 144, 282, 297
 Torres Olleta, M.G. 1489
 Toso, P. Dal 968
 Toubkis, D. 230
 Trias Folch, L. 749
 Triebels, A.V. 642
 Trnek, R. 491
 Troia, P. de 429
 Tropper, P.G. 471, 483
 Truchet, B. 413, 430, 977
 Tuboly, V. 996
 Tucker, M.E. 1388
 Tuer, D. 241, 343
 Turner, G. 1325
 Turrini, M. 609
 Tüskés, G. 573, 587, 1128
 Tutino, S. 720
 Udías Vallina, A. 181
 Ugaglia, M. 965
 Ugarte Godoy, M.J. 1280
 Unno, K. 1125, 1259, 1292, 1304
 Vaeck, M. Van 932
 Valentin, J. 875
 Valentin, J.M. 191, 192, 533, 554,
 823, 845, 868, 869
 Valero, U. 765
 Valkenberg, P. 924
 Vámos, P. 398, 407, 420
 Vance, F. 1005
 Varry, D. 538
 Vásárhelyi, J. 1034
 Vasconcelos de Saldanha, A. 1197
 Vasconcelos Franzen, B. 287, 293
 Vass, G. 1229
 Vaz, H.C.d.L. 1379
 Veale, J. 123
 Vechtel, K. 61
 Veldt, D. van der 84
 Ventura Rius, A. 1140
 Vercruysse, J. 174
 Verd Conradi, G.M. 501, 1461
 Verdeil, C. 115
 Vereb, J.M. 813
 Vergara Aceves, J. 336
 Verheggen, E. 616
 Verhulst, S. 1190
 Vertin, M. 1116
 Verweyen, H. 1220
 Vidal, F. 153
 Vidigal, J.G. 743
 Vieira Leite, J. 103
 Vignau Wilberg, P. 1208
 Vila-Chã, J.J. 1178, 1380
 Vilas Boas, P. 661
 Vlierden, M. van 625
 Voderholzeer, R. 790
 Vogel, C. 216, 220
 Vogel, J.A. 800
 Volpi, V. 447
 Vorgrimler, H. 1098
 Waddell, M.A. 178, 1049
 Waele, H. de 1253
 Wakefield, J.L. 100
 Wald, M. 1050
 Waley-Cohen, J. 414
 Wandinger, N. 1315
 Wasilewska-Dobkowska, J. 651
 Waterschoot, W. 905
 Weber, G. 1308
 Weber, Q.J. 755
 Weiers, K.H. 1337
 Whitehead, M. 722
 Wiesiołowskiego, J. 646
 Wilcken, J. 1318
 Wilkens, G. 62
 Willemsen, J. 633
 Willingham, E. 1408
 Willis, C. 401
 Wimmer, R. 197

- Winde-Schwarz, E. 830
Wirth, E. 387
Wirth, L. 1112
Wiśłocki, M. 565, 652
Wissink, J. 1236
Witek, J.W. 1391
Wittmann, R. 461
Woestijne, J. van de 1199
Wolf, A.F.C.M. 643
Wunder, R. 484
Wynands, D.P.J. 548
Xilin, Y. 408
Yao, N. 1071
Yaoting, W. 865
Yunes, E. 72
Yunli, S. 1324
Yushanji Jianzhu, W. 1070
Zacher, I. 574
Zatyрка Pacheco, A.P. 1490
Zambuto, R. 599
Zas Friz, R. 124
Zasche, G. 1237
Zechmeister, M. 1212
Zeron, C.A. de M.R. 316
Zettl, E. 1310
Zhou, T. 431
Ziller Camenietzki, C. 1147, 1405
Zollner, H. 63, 135, 943
Zombori, I. 463
Zovatto, P. 610
Zsigmond, A. 826
Zulauer, A. 1223
Zunneberg, P. 853
Županov, I.G. 397, 432, 433, 439



BOOK REVIEWS

Collège Saint-Paul Godinne 1927-2002. De [Claude Massart]. (Godinne: Collège Saint-Paul, 2002. Pp. 71. € 10,00. Paperback.)

Cet ouvrage est le résultat d'un travail collectif réalisé principalement par des professeurs et des anciens élèves, historiens et non-historiens, à l'occasion du 75^{ème} anniversaire du collège jésuite Saint-Paul à Godinne (Namur - Belgique). Il traite de l'évolution et retrace les moments forts de la vie pédagogique, religieuse et parascolaire de l'institution, accordant une place particulière au dernier quart de siècle.

Dans l'introduction, je souligne la contribution de Philippe Laoureux, coordinateur général des collèges et instituts jésuites de la province belge méridionale, qui présente les trois lignes de force de la pédagogie ignatienne actuelle: celle-ci se reçoit d'une tradition riche de ses expériences, réussites et échecs. Ensuite, l'éducation jésuite s'est constituée et développée, dès l'origine, en réseau, ce qui en fait son originalité. Aujourd'hui, les collèges jésuites de la Province belge méridionale vivent également en réseau. Enfin, l'éducation jésuite est en lien avec l'expérience spirituelle de saint Ignace. Il s'agit de prendre l'élève là où il est, comme il est et croire en ses potentialités.

La première partie de l'ouvrage, consacrée à l'histoire du collège, est l'œuvre de l'historien, Claude Massart. Celui-ci rappelle brièvement les origines du collège: construit pour accueillir l'internat du collège Notre-Dame de la Paix à Namur dont l'espace devenait trop restreint, l'établissement mis sous la protection de saint Paul et dont la devise est *viriliter* ouvre ses portes en 1927 sur les bords de Meuse à mi-chemin entre Namur et Dinant. Il retrace ensuite les constructions et les transformations qui sont effectuées de 1930 à 1970 et celles réalisées à partir de 1970. Ces dernières sont liées au besoin qu'engendre la mise en place de l'enseignement rénové et de l'augmentation du nombre d'élèves. Enfin, il mentionne quelques changements internes d'importance: l'entrée de laïcs dans le Pouvoir organisateur, d'abord en 1984-1985 avec des anciens et

puis en 1994-1995, par l'arrivée de professeurs, d'éducateurs et de parents; la démocratisation du prix de la pension à partir de 1975 ; l'arrivée de filles en 1998; la fusion avec le collège de Burnot en 1999 qui crée une nouvelle entité le "Collège de Godinne-Burnot."

La deuxième partie s'intéresse à la vie des élèves : évolution de la population scolaire (1960-2001), mixité, vie religieuse, évolution de la pédagogie, activités non-scolaires, et sport. Parmi ces contributions, notons celle de Claude Massart et Claude Scherer qui analysent l'évolution de la population scolaire de 1927 à 2002. Ils délimitent trois phases dans la croissance. La première va des débuts à 1970: les élèves fluctuent entre 300 et 340 et sont quasiment tous des internes. Devant les difficultés financières de la fin des années 60, la question de la fermeture est évoquée. La deuxième couvre les années 1970 à 1990. L'accroissement, qui atteint les 501 unités, est permis par les nouvelles possibilités qu'offre l'enseignement "rénové," et l'ouverture aux externes. La dernière phase voit encore une augmentation, environ 50 unités, liée à l'ouverture du collège à la mixité. La vie religieuse, elle aussi s'est fortement modifiée au cours des trois quarts de siècle. Jean-Marie Schiltz sj retrace les changements et les déplacements qui se sont opérés dans l'animation religieuse et spirituelle, et dans les célébrations liturgiques avant et après le Concile Vatican II.

La troisième partie s'intéresse à quelques figures du collège: jésuites, communauté éducative, personnel de maîtrise, défunts. Enfin, la dernière partie laisse place aux souvenirs: onze rhétoriciens (de 1940 à 2002), une maman d'élève et un ancien professeur, Claude Massart, évoquent quelques événements anecdotiques de leurs années de collège. Ces apports donnent une touche bien vivante au panorama d'ensemble.

L'ouvrage est enrichi par bon nombre d'illustrations anciennes et récentes, par quelques encarts (liste des directeurs, préfets, présidents de l'Association des parents, et défunts) et par des graphiques.

L'ensemble se laisse lire agréablement, alliant histoire et présent.

Université de Notre Dame de la Paix, Namur

Michel Hermans, S.J.

Poeta quasi creator. Estetica e poesia in Mathias Casimir Sarbiewski. Di Anna Li Vigni. [Aesthetica Preprint Supplementa.] (Palermo: Centro Internazionale Studi di Estetica, 2005. Pp. 186. N.p. Paperback.)

Il libro di Anna Li Vigni si inserisce validamente nella ormai significativa bibliografia sul cosiddetto Umanesimo gesuitico, portando l'attenzione su Mathias Casimir Sarbiewski (1595-1640), poeta in lingua latina e teorico la cui fama superò presto i confini della natia Polonia, portandolo a Roma, dove fu

tra gl' intellettuali vicini al papa Urbano VIII Barberini. Novizio della Compagnia di Gesù a Vilna, nel 1612, il Sarbiewski uomo di cultura, puntualizza l'autrice nell'Introduzione, senti forte l'identità gesuitica e la sua idea di poesia non prescinde dalla lezione degli *Esercizi spirituali* di sant'Ignazio di Loyola.

Il saggio è suddiviso in tre parti. Nella prima, dal titolo *Sarbiewski poeta barberinus*, dopo aver brevemente tratteggiato la biografia di quello che fu "certamente il più grande poeta latino della Polonia barocca" (p. 13), nazione che ha una lunga tradizione culturale della quale egli rappresenta il culmine, Anna Li Vigni concentra la propria attenzione sulla Roma della prima metà del Seicento, la Roma del "rinascimento barberiniano," iniziato nel 1623, allorché salì al Soglio Pontificio il cardinale Maffeo Barberini, papa Urbano VIII. Nello stesso anno Mathias Casimir Sarbiewski arrivò in Italia; portava con sé l'esperienza dell'umanesimo liberale di Ladislaw IV, un sovrano che lo aveva voluto accanto nei suoi spostamenti, permettendogli contatti stimolanti e duraturi, quale quello con Galileo Galilei. In patria egli aveva imparato a conoscere l'*Eneide* di Virgilio, poema che forniva alla nobiltà un modello eroico, un vero e proprio ideale nel quale identificarsi; non fu per lui soltanto conoscenza dunque, ma la condivisione di un'esperienza profonda comune a tutta la nazione, la quale nazione aveva allora bisogno di un poeta, di un nuovo Virgilio che ne celebrasse la gloria passata. Per il cantore delle gesta di Enea, Mathias Casimir dimostrò una sorta di venerazione, dedicandogli il suo trattato *De perfecta patri*.

A Roma il gesuita trovò un ambiente culturalmente vivace. Due erano le visioni dell'arte in contrasto: quella barocca, modernista, tendente alla ricerca del meraviglioso, l'altra che guardava alla tradizione classica come a un modello di misura, asciuttezza e compostezza, anche stilistica; la tendenza modernista aveva il proprio centro nell'Accademia romana di San Luca, l'altra nell'Accademia degli Incamminati. Sarbiewski, spiritualista, vicino, come gli altri padri gesuiti, al Neoplatonismo cristiano, pur se non rifugge da contaminazioni aristoteliche, è in linea con la seconda tendenza; a lui, come agli altri "tradizionalisti," si pone pressante il problema del rapporto tra la cultura classica e il Cristianesimo. È un problema fortemente riproposto dall'Umanesimo, ma antico, iniziato con la cultura cristiana delle origini, passato attraverso il rifiuto degli apologeti più intransigenti, attraverso il dramma dell'attrazione espresso nel sogno raccontato da san Girolamo nell'epistola n. 22, attraverso l'atteggiamento sostanzialmente conciliativo di sant'Agostino. Esso, come sappiamo dall'opera di Marc Fumaroli, dovette essere affrontato dall'*Orator christianus* e coinvolse nel dibattito anche i padri del Collegio Romano, prima il padre Francesco Benci poi, soprattutto, il padre Famiano Strada, già maestro di Retorica del futuro papa Urbano VIII; egli, "nelle *Prousiones Academicae*, aveva additato in un'austera prassi classicistica l'arma più adatta a combattere la corruzione del modernismo" (p. 27).

Per quanto concerne specificamente la poesia, papa Barberini, egli stesso poeta, aveva ben chiaro l'intento di "promuovere una nuova poesia che adeguasse agli schemi formali dell'antichità contenuti rigorosamente morali o addirittura sacri" (p. 27). La risposta non è la lirica d'amore, non è il petrarchismo ormai deteriore, non è la ridondanza barocca dell'*Adone* di Gian Battista Marino, ma la poesia epica. Il dibattito sul poema epico non nacque nella Roma barberiniana; esisteva già una ricca trattatistica e la discussione aveva coinvolto a suo tempo anche Torquato Tasso "campione moderno" del genere, come lo erano stati, in antico, Omero e Virgilio. Il trattato *De perfecta pasi* rappresenta la risposta di Sarbiewski al problema della poesia epica cristiana.

La seconda parte del saggio si intitola appunto *De perfecta pasi*. In essa l'autrice analizza il trattato, seguendo passo passo, per così dire, ma riuscendo al contempo a evitare la frammentarietà; ella dimostra, insieme al gesuita polacco, che non solo il poema eroico cristiano è possibile, ma che esso costituisce l'unica risposta valida alla domanda di "nuova poesia"; imprescindibile punto di riferimento, continuamente richiamato da Sarbiewski, è l'*Eneide* di Virgilio. Il criterio che guida il poeta è quello dell'universalità: egli rappresenta l'azione, tanto umana che naturale o divina, ma sempre sollevandola al di sopra della contingenza; il poema epico costituisce un vero e proprio mondo, nel quale si muove l'eroe, uomo che la sua stessa natura solleva al di sopra degli uomini comuni, ma che pure non è esente da cadute (Enea rischia di perdersi con Didone): non deve infatti essere così perfetto da non costituire un esempio, dal momento che la valenza pedagogico-cristiana è componente essenziale della nuova poesia.

La modalità compositiva del poeta è quella che sant'Ignazio suggerisce all'esercitante allorché parla di *compositio loci*: l'attivazione della fantasia produttrice di immagini, allo scopo di avere la visione mentale alla quale segue la scrittura. Presupposto è la sua capacità di osservare la realtà, dalla quale deve attingere per trovare il materiale poetico, un materiale pressoché illimitato che tocca a lui scegliere, con una libertà che non è assoluta, bensì limitata dal criterio di verisimiglianza e necessità. Ma anche Aristotele, nella *Poetica*, parla di imitazione della natura e propone i medesimi criteri; dov'è dunque la differenza? È nell'inserimento di un piano, quello della verità, che per il poeta cristiano è al contempo consapevolezza e dovere. Per lui, infatti, il mondo è creazione di Dio, il quale vi ha 'disseminato' tracce di sé; l'uomo è al centro di quel mondo, il suo intelletto deve porsi in ascolto per cogliere quelle tracce, quella verità, e restituirle nelle figure e nelle allegorie della creazione poetica. Evidenti, nella concezione sarbiewskiana, l'ascendenza neoplatonica e quella della cultura gesuitica: egli fu il primo, dopo Giulio Cesare Scaligero, a parlare di creazione per il poeta, il quale "*de novo creat [...] instar Dei*" (p. 42).

La terza e ultima parte del saggio è intitolata proprio *Peta instar Dei*. Si tratta

di un denso capitolo nel quale Anna Li Vigni colloca Mathias Casimir Sarbiewski all'interno di una tradizione estetica nella quale spicca la lezione del *Naugerius sive de Poetica dialogus* (1555) di Girolamo Fracastoro. Sarbiewski non prescinde dalla sua lezione e in un certo senso la supera: dopo aver riconosciuto la poesia quale *ars liberalis nobilissima*, afferma, tenendo presente Aristotele piuttosto che il Neoplatonismo, "che il poeta è più apprezzabile del filosofo" (p. 124); egli, come aveva già fatto Torquato Tasso, confuta altresì l'accusa di falsità mossa alla poesia.

Tornando alle "contaminazioni" aristoteliche, queste, come abbiamo già sottolineato, non portano Sarbiewski a ripudiare il Neoplatonismo e dunque la sua concezione della poesia, e del poeta, non prescinde dalla lezione di Marsilio Ficino, di Cristoforo Landino, di Giulio Cesare Scaligero, per non riferire che alcuni dei nomi che Anna Li Vigni cita, accompagnandoli spesso, opportunamente, con quelli degli studiosi che più di altri hanno indagato gli aspetti più importanti del loro pensiero e delle loro teorie.

A conclusione di un discorso che è al contempo estetico e letterario, nelle ultime pagine del saggio si sintetizza il motivo del *quasi* presente nel titolo, un *quasi* anello di congiunzione, ma ancor più elemento di separazione, discrimine tra il *pata* e il *creator*. L'unico vero *creator* è infatti Dio, dal momento che crea *ex nihilo*; quella del *pata* è, possiamo dire, una creazione di secondo livello, una rifondazione della materia, una creazione *de novo*, come precisa l'autrice mutuando i termini da Sarbiewski. Non va trascurato il fatto che, nel percorso creativo del poeta, il quale, "in qualche modo, si rende compartecipe dell'ileomorfismo del Dio creatore: è la Parola che immette la forma nelle cose, che le fonda con un atto linguistico. E la poesia è parola pura, immagine della parola di Dio" (p. 152).

Università degli Studi di Roma "La Sapienza"

Mirella Saulini

Sacred Boundaries: Religious Coexistence and Conflict in Early-Modern France. By Keith P. Luria. (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2005. Pp. xxxviii, 357. Hardback. £49.50.)

This is a remarkable book marked by a bold approach and rare insight into the cultures of seventeenth century France. In his introduction Keith Luria clearly presents the scope of his work while engaging the reader in some important reflections on what makes a society tolerant and what combination of individual actors, state interference and community weakness shatters all possibility of confessional co-existence. His commentary on the origins of sectarian violence in the seventeenth century is as germane to today's wars as it is to past struggles.

Keith Luria has written a masterful and successful study of the relationship between Protestants and Catholics in the Poitou region from the signing of the Edict of Nantes in 1598 to its revocation in 1685. Luria examines the process by which French Catholics and Protestants created solutions and defined the boundaries between confessions that permitted them to live together. It includes not only a narrative of political events and the struggles within Poitou, but also incorporates a study of the practical problems faced by communities living under the Edict of Nantes. Luria examines the rituals surrounding the burial of the dead, the marriages between families of different faiths, the baptism and faith of the children of such marriages. In a particularly perceptive chapter he presents different views of the role of women in the battle for confessional definition. The chapter on the act of conversion itself provides a very thoughtful conclusion to the book. Through these points of intrusion into the lives of the Poitivins Luria draws the conclusion that there existed three phases or types of "sacred boundaries" that shaped French society in the seventeenth century.

The first of these boundaries took into account the common interests of community practices that transcended the specific demands of religious affiliation. This "blurred line" or permeable boundary drew on a society's interest in "family alliances, business dealings, and civic affairs" (xxxviii) to overcome the harsh divisions that religious difference could impose. This boundary reflected the "practical rationality" of a community that buried its dead side by side in common cemeteries and where the members of one faith participated in the religious family rituals of baptism, marriage and death of the other. This permeable boundary, however, occurred only when there was "confessional malleability" and strict observance of confessional practices was at its most fluid. This boundary, hard to tease out of the sources because of its very indistinct definition, was vulnerable to the pressures of outsiders—those working for the churches and those working for the state.

The second boundary is one that approximated the vision of the Edict of Nantes and guaranteed the existence of a minority faith within the context of a majority faith. This was a firm and defined boundary that demarcated the lines between the two faiths and was achieved through negotiation and often concession. Differences were clearly recognized and defined and each confession accepted the practices of the other as long as they didn't interfere one with the other. Psalm singing, for instance, could not be heard by those celebrating Catholic Mass and Catholic processions were forbidden to pass by Protestant temples during services. The town council, the town militia, and the town cemetery space were divided into Protestant and Catholic portions that allowed the town to continue working and living together. Difficult and protracted negotiations required royal commissioners, assigned by the Edict of Nantes for this purpose, to bring them to a successful conclusion. This was not

a process that continued to blur distinctions, but rather delineated and firmed up the divisions between confessions. This was the active construction of distinctive religious communities within a larger secular political structure and depended on the desire of townspeople to live together and the willingness of the state to uphold the law.

Luria's third boundary between Protestant and Catholic is the most impermeable and resulted from the decisions taken by communities, individuals and the state under Louis XIV to exclude the minority religion as completely as possible. This boundary was the result of the efforts by both churches to define their interpretation of faith in clear terms and to extract a greater and greater conformity from believers. Protestants were expelled from the shared space of their communities and found themselves on the outside—literally as temples and cemeteries were moved and figuratively as Protestants were subjected to more and more restrictions. Confessionalization—that process whereby religious practices become more uniform and more strictly enforced—demanded such a boundary be drawn. The state became an active agent in these determinations and abandoned the spirit of the Edict.

Luria uses these three types of boundaries as a unifying theme of his book thus pushing the reader to think about the details of specific aspects of community life in terms of spiritual divisions. In each chapter the author leads us further into the heart of the fragility of community cooperation and details how men and women responded to the call of their churches as well as to the economic realities of their everyday lives. His depiction of the Capuchin Missionary campaign, which worked in the Poitou region much like Jesuit and other missionary groups of the seventeenth century worked around the world, is a sobering reminder of the profound impact that one small group of men can have on a community. The move to concretize confessional distinction sent shock waves throughout different communities and injected intensity and increased self-awareness into the debates, both public and private, between Catholics and Protestants.

The work Luria does on community life is remarkable for its sensitivity to both Catholic and Protestant views. His work on the importance of the cemetery to the civic and social bonds of a town or village demonstrates why and how decisions about burial reflected the stages of confessional boundaries in that community. In some places bodies were buried side by side thus honoring the permeable confessional boundary where kinship trumped confessional division. In other communities and other times in the seventeenth century, cemeteries were transformed from collective and inclusive public space into divided fractions that still shared a common cemetery wall. Yet, by the end of the century, Protestants found increasingly that they were forced to bury their dead, and relocate the bodies of their relatives, away from the town's

cemetery and inter them in a separate cemetery designated as Protestant. In those geographic locations where the hard line between confessions removed all possibility of joint burials the Protestants were increasingly minimized in relationship to the majority.

In subsequent chapters Luria pushes his analysis further into the fabric of community life by explaining the significance of religiously mixed marriages, the role of women in the fight for souls, and, finally, the importance of conversion itself. Families used marriages to build economic and social capital and when religion restricted choices then the community could be weakened. Some families circumvented the restrictions by having a spouse—usually the wife—convert before the wedding. Afterwards, however, many returned to their original faith thus creating couples who had to define the boundaries between their faiths within the household structure. This included the difficulties surrounding the faith of the children. The state, particularly under Louis XIV, increasingly intervened to demand that children of mixed marriages be raised Catholic. The interjection of the state into the family unit represented a change in the relationship between the government and the individual. After the discussion of the complexities of marriages, Luria explains how each confession used women to further its own ends. Women could be—and were—belittled for their inconstancy and their willingness to convert, or they could be reviled for their obstinacy for failing to convert. They could be praised by fellow religionists for their steadfast and unshakeable faith. Luria contextualizes the feminization of the accusations between confessions into the presumptions, the written presumptions, about women's "irrationality and deceptiveness." (194) Each religion argued that female dominance of the opposite faith demonstrated a fundamental disorder in the practice of that faith.

Luria concludes his book with a chapter on personal conscience and the relationship between the individual and his or her community. Luria continues to work with his idea of boundaries in this chapter by explaining how churches constructed models for conversion. He approaches conversion from the viewpoint of the church and the community and not the individual. He details how the two churches shared certain characteristics in their models for conversion experience. Each religion emphasized the rejection of the false religion and the turning toward the true, the right religion, but clearly Catholics and Protestants had different methods of encouraging and maintaining the new converts. The triumph of Catholicism and the recognition of the permanence of the third form of "sacred boundary" left little room for confessional co-existence and conversion became forced and formulaic.

Written with careful attention to detail, with imagination and compassion, this book is a model for historians who wish to understand the deeply complex origins of religious warfare and the fragility of a negotiated religious peace.

The Church in the Republic. Gallicanism & Political Ideology in Renaissance France. By Jotham Parsons. (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America, 2004. Pp. xi, 322. Hardback. £42.50.)

The title of this book captures the author's nuanced understanding of the link between the state and the Catholic Church in sixteenth century France. By using the term "republic," which Parsons defines as meaning "any legally governed polity," instead of "monarchy," he simultaneously brings in a humanist's perspective on governance and emphasizes the absence of a clear definition of the institution of monarchy at this time. Parsons sees the emergence of a more clearly defined separation of spheres of influence as the product of the definitional shifts of the 16th century. He illuminates these shifts with detail culled from a wide variety of unusual sources. The breadth of knowledge revealed in this book is impressive.

Parsons sets up his book as an intellectual history of the term Gallicanism and introduces the reader to the complex conflict between the positions of Ultramontanists and Gallicans on the relationship between church and state. The former emphasized the strength of papal authority and the latter saw the French bishops, when meeting in council, to have precise and important rights. But in the 16th century, as Parsons explains, there emerged two interpretations of Gallicanism, one produced by the jurists of France for their purposes of state-building and the other by the bishops for the protection of their control of the Church in France. The book is neither church history nor is it political history, but rather attempts to study the connection between the two institutions within the political boundaries of France.

The book is best understood if one accepts the urgent need for theoretical thinking characteristic of those who aimed to rescue France as a polity from the ravages of religious warfare. The men who took up the challenge were the jurists of France, members of the country's most powerful legal court, the Parlement de Paris. They infused the term with a more humanist resonance during the mid-century and constructed, according to Parsons, a political ideology which formed the basis of their role in the French political transition. Parsons calls this "erudite Gallicanism." His intention is to emphasize how Gallicanism defined by jurists, often called parliamentary or judicial Gallicanism, came into being in the 16th century. Parsons intends to create an intellectual coherence to a political position in order to explain his use of the term ideology. The coherence is strong, but Parsons is not entirely convincing in his attempts to make it into a political ideology.

The jurists transformed the medieval understanding of Gallicanism, which centered on the guarantee of relative French ecclesiastical autonomy and focused on the restriction of the rights of the pope to raise revenue and exercise legal jurisdiction over French subjects, into a definition that promoted

their claim to interpret the jurisdictional boundaries between different institutions. It was directed outwards against legal, political and fiscal claims of the papacy and it rested, in part, on a French sense of moral superiority over the curia. The impact of the methods of humanist teaching, the emphasis on “the philological tools of textual criticism” (48) coincided with the domestic political needs of the day. The jurists recognized the change from the millennial ideas of the medieval times, which emphasized that governance meant bringing a political entity into the good graces of the Church, to the contemporary idea of researching the historical antecedents of the rights of church and state. In other words, the erudite Gallicans took advantage of the crisis in political and religious affairs of the 16th century to define a *raison d'être* for their role as counsel to the king and as prime candidates to regulate the power distribution between monarchy and church. Gallicanism became less a way of thinking about restricting papal power and more about creating a vocabulary for understanding the new rights of the French Church within the political entity. It was the jurists, however, who offered this coherent plan giving themselves jurisdiction over these issues.

Although the erudite Gallicans believed in the need to reform the state of the Catholic Church, and wished to avoid the truly radical solutions proposed by the Protestants, they also desired to justify their unique qualities as wise counselors. The essence of Gallicanism had been the “moral condemnation of Roman ethical, spiritual, and dogmatic corruption.” (113) But as the civil wars raged on, the moral charge was replaced subtly by political necessity. They sought to look back in time to past practices, thereby relying on French custom, to legitimate their particular role as interpreters of French rights. The jurists increased their rhetoric and their legal practices to focus on the definition of custom and fashioned themselves as the necessary disinterested analysts who could come up with an opinion because they had been trained as historical sleuths and legal minds. They continued to conceive of the ecclesiastical and political spheres as interdependent and therefore each of the spheres should be treated with the same sharpened analytical tools in order to bring stability to France. The erudite Gallicans operated under the near-constant threat of chaos from civil war and weakened monarchy.

The erudite Gallican criticism of the Catholic Church did not abandon the original claim to the autonomy of the French ecclesiastical institution and its essential rights in comparison to Roman practices. Indeed, Etienne Pasquier, at the end of the 16th century, focused his work on depicting the Jesuits as the representatives of all that was grasping and invasive about the Roman church. The Society of Jesus promoted the absolute authority of the pope and sought to extend this power throughout Europe regardless of the historical practices of national churches. The Faculty of Theology at the University of Paris concluded, and Pasquier used this to legitimize his position, that the Society of

Jesus was, “perilous to the conduct of the faith, disruptive of the peace of the Church, subversive of monastic observance, and more destructive than constructive.” (115) In this new world of Jesuit interference in the life of national churches, Pasquier argued, it was vital that the king of France rely on learned counsel to define the rights of the French church in relationship to Rome, as well as to demarcate the monarchy from the French church. There were some jurists who saw the supporters of any form of Tridentine reforms as enemies of the Crown. The Jesuits could disturb not just the ecclesiastical order and balance with the monarchy, but also the civil order itself through support of the League faction of the civil war.

The erudite Gallicans under Henri IV had to fight to establish their own political power as jurists and *parlementaires* against the growing power of the Tridentine reformers. Gallicanism was still operating under the understanding that the clergy as a body had minimum political power or experience. It is here that Parsons injects what is perhaps his most important contribution to the history of the French church: his study of the Assemblies of the Clergy and their politicization as well as their political savvy.

The Assemblies of the Clergy represented the national gathering of the clergy of France and thus formed a body capable of responding on a level that went beyond local diocesan affairs. The Assemblies claimed their suitability as counselors to the king, and interpreters of jurisdictional disputes, to be based on their particular relationship to all those with a soul subject to the Church—including the kings of France. The prelates believed that their claim applied to both “the public and the private royal body, both of which were subject to the same divine legislation.” (250) The clergy meeting in assembly asserted that they were also suited to such a significant role because their vows of celibacy ensured that they had no offspring to follow them in any political designs and ambitions they might have. Henri IV’s conversion to Catholicism and his coronation as king of France offered the clergy a chance to assert their jurisdiction in opposition to that of the *parlementaires*. Erudite Gallicanism began to lose its utility and coherence as an ideology.

After the assassination of Henri IV in 1610, however, tempers flared and the tensions between clerics and *parlementaires* increased. Anti-Gallican forces worried loudly that the *parlementaires* could assert themselves in ways that would not only damage the divinely instituted order of the kingdom, but also undermine the Catholic Church itself. The rumored proposal to restrict the secrecy of the confessional, put forward in a new drive to protect political stability, violated conciliar decrees and suggested secular oversight of an act which was, “the forum of conscience in its sacramental expression.” (255) The fierce battle of pamphlets that followed led up to the positions taken in the meeting of the Estates General of 1614.

Parsons explores the decline of the erudite Gallicans' power in the early seventeenth century. With the establishment of venality of office for the Third Estate and the recognition by the First Estate that elections to the major benefices would not return, the need to achieve further definition of the position of "virtuous advisor" intensified. The young king needed counselors. Parsons argues that ultimately the bishops constructed the better argument. Clerics depended on their unique relationship to divine legislation and the natural order of nature rather than on the virtuousness of any one cleric or group of clergy. The *parlementaires* could only offer, on the other hand, their personal expertise as judges and historians. Although they bolstered their position with a nostalgic presentation of the past in which they underscored the importance of civic virtue, they ultimately lost their effectiveness.

Parsons ends his book by giving the reader a quick tour d'horizon of the relationship between these two perceptions of the jurisdiction of the French Catholic Church through the 1760s. He sees the slow demise of the erudite Gallican movement after 1615 when the anti-Jesuit rhetoric ceases to have political resonance as the Society of Jesus established well-respected schools across France. He spends little time discussing the temporary alliance of all factions of Gallicans in 1682 that produced the Gallican Articles under royal direction. Parsons does point out both the continuity and the changes that led to the ultimate decision of Louis XV to side with the jurists after the 1765 Assembly. This followed on the expulsion of the Jesuits from France in 1762 and Parsons sees this as the end of the clerical ultramontanist position as a political force in France and as a short-lived victory for the inheritors of the erudite Gallicanist position. With the collapse of the two hundred year tension between the clerics of the First Estate and the jurists of the Third Estate, Parsons finds fuel for the shifting political positions that presaged the events of 1789.

Parsons' book illuminates a complex power relationship between jurists of the late 16th century France, trained and educated in the humanist tradition, and their increasingly visible, inspired and trained clerical peers. Although at times his argument for an actual ideology of erudite Gallicanism could be defined with greater attention to political organization and his knowledge of the Assemblies of the Clergy more clearly presented, the overall importance of his book is indisputable. Here is an examination of how definitions of political power are arrived at during a time of fluid power dynamics and at a time when both the fabric of the state and the church seemed in peril. Although the jurists could not conceive of a French state without a presence of the Catholic Church, neither could the Church forego the stability that the smooth functioning of the state's sovereign courts provided. Both sides offered the monarchs power—one based on custom, history and corporate identity and the other on "reason, divine revelation, and the personalization of the state." (282)

The kings of France decided how to play one side off the other in order to secure their kingdom.

Loyola College, Baltimore

Katherine S. Brennan

Kuoduo richae. Li Jiubiao's Diary of Oral Admonitions. A Late Ming Christian Journal.

By Li Jiubiao. Trans. and ed. Erik Zürcher. [Monumenta Serica Monograph Series LVI/1-2.] (Sankt Augustin/Brescia: Institut Monumenta Serica/Fondazione Civiltà Bresciana, 2007. 2 vols. Pp. 862. Illus. Maps. Facsimile. € 80,00. Hardback.)

Christian converts in the early 17th century, Li Jiubiao and his brother Li Jiugong came from the province of Fujian on the southeastern coast of China. They had been baptized by the Italian Jesuit Giulio Aleni (1582-1649), who arrived in China in 1611, one year after the death of the founder of the Jesuit Mission, Matteo Ricci. Aleni spent the most fruitful years of his missionary work in Fujian province, where he acquired the reputation as “the most learned Jesuit after Ricci,” and the sobriquet of “Confucius from the West.” Like many, the Li brothers considered themselves Aleni’s disciples. *The Diary of Oral Admonitions* is the record of the teachings of the Jesuit master Aleni (together with some entries on three other Jesuit missionaries Andrzej Rudomina, Bento de Mattos, and Simão da Cunha), compiled primarily by Li Jiubiao, with the collaboration of other Aleni disciples.

Kuoduo richao is a unique and difficult text. It is the only substantive source of the interaction between Chinese converts of the late Ming and European missionaries, covering, in snatches of recording, their conversations and activities just over a period of ten years (1630-40). As such, it offers an invaluable and intimate perspective into the practice of the early Jesuit China Mission. It is, however, also a difficult source to use, not only in the fragmentary and disparate nature of the recordings (Aleni’s different travels, conversational topics ranging from astronomy to confession), but also in the large number of interlocutors present in the work: a total of 98 Chinese interlocutors, of whom 73 were converts and 25 interested or sympathetic non-believers.

This present edition, carefully translated and annotated by the late Erik Zürcher, Professor Emeritus of Sinology at Leiden University, represents an invaluable contribution to scholarship. A long Introduction of 167 pages analyzes formally the text, identifies, to the extent possible, the interlocutors and events recorded, and discusses in insightful details the missionaries, the converts, the outsiders, the doctrines, rituals, and the socio-cultural background of the Fujian mission that formed the background to *Kuoduo richao*. In this endeavour, Zürcher has drawn not only on his knowledge of the Chinese Catholic literature of the 17th century, written by Jesuits and converts, but also

on the latest research by Eugenio Menegon, Ad Dudink, Nicolas Standaert, and Zhang Xianqing. We are all indebted to Monumenta Serica and to the translator for bringing out this handsome edition, with full introduction, notes, translation, reproduction of the original Chinese text, as well as a full scholarly apparatus.

Pennsylvania State University, University Park, Pa.

R. Po-chia Hsia

Jesuiten aus Zentraleuropa in Portugiesisch- und Spanisch- Amerika. Ein bibliographisches Handbuch mit einem Überblick über das außereuropäische Wirken der Gesellschaft Jesu in der frühen Neuzeit. Band 1: Brasilien (1618-1760). Von Johannes Meier (bearbeitet von Fernando Amado Aymoré). (Münster: Aschendorff Verlag, 2006. S. xxxix, 356. € 49.00. Hardback.)

Die Erforschung der interkulturellen Kontakte und des missionarischen Wirkens der "alten" Gesellschaft Jesu, d.h. von ihrer Gründung im Jahr 1540 bis zur Aufhebung im Jahr 1773, hat in der letzten Zeit international einen enormen Aufschwung genommen. Diese interdisziplinäre Erforschung der neuzeitlichen Kultur- und Religionskontakte, welche durch die Jesuitenmissionen vorangetrieben, gestaltet und reflektiert wurden, spiegelt zugleich das Interesse an Austausch und Kommunikation in einer zunehmend globalisierten Welt. Die vorliegende Publikation aus dem Bereich der katholischen Kirchengeschichte fügt sich in dieses Forschungsparadigma ein. Sie ist aus dem von der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG) geförderten Forschungsprojekt *Jesuiten zentraleuropäischer Provenienz in Portugiesisch- und Spanischamerika (17./18. Jahrhundert)* hervorgegangen, das von dem an der Universität Mainz lehrenden Kirchenhistoriker Johannes Meier geleitet wird. Bei dem vorliegenden Buch handelt es sich um den ersten Band eines bio-bibliographischen Handbuchs, dem weitere Bände über Chile, Quito, Neu-Granada, Peru und Paraguay folgen sollen. Für Neu-Spanien (Mexiko) liegt schon (außerhalb des Projekts) eine entsprechende Untersuchung von Bernd Hausberger vor. Das Handbuch fußt auf den Forschungen von Anton Huonder SJ und soll auf der Grundlage gedruckter und archivalischer Quellen alle Jesuiten verzeichnen, die aus den vornehmlich deutschsprachigen zentraleuropäischen Ordensprovinzen in die Mission nach Südamerika entsandt wurden. Bei den entsendenden Provinzen handelt es sich um die Oberdeutsche Provinz (Prov. Germaniae Superioris), die Niederrheinische Provinz (Prov. Rheni Inferioris), die Oberrheinische Provinz (Prov. Rheni Superioris), die Österreichische (Prov. Austriae) und die Böhmisches Provinz (Prov. Bohemiae) der Gesellschaft Jesu, die organisatorisch zur Deutschen Assistenz des Ordens gehörten. Die nach Übersee entsandten Missionare wurden in die dortigen Ordensprovinzen eingegliedert, in diesem Fall in die 1552 gegründete Aufnahmeprovinz Brasilien sowie die zunächst abhängige (1615), dann eigenständige (1727) Vizeprovinz Maranhão im

Amazonasbecken. Der von dem Brasilianer Fernando Amado Aymoré bearbeitete erste Band des Handbuchs behandelt nun die Jesuiten aus den genannten zentraleuropäischen Provinzen, die zwischen 1618 und 1760 gewirkt haben. Insgesamt handelt es sich um 27 Jesuiten (24 Priester und 3 Brüder); dazu kommen vier unsichere Zuschreibungen. Das zum Teil illustrierte Verzeichnis der genannten Personen im achten und letzten Kapitel (S. 231-356) wertet gedruckte und vor allem zahlreiche archivalische Quellen für die biographischen und bibliographischen Daten aus. Dafür hat der Autor nicht weniger als 33 Archive in Brasilien und Europa (Deutschland, Italien, Österreich, Portugal, Schweiz, Tschechien) konsultiert. Die einzelnen prosopographischen Artikel des Verzeichnisses sind gegliedert nach biographischen Daten zur Herkunft und Ausbildung, zum Weg im Orden (Eintritt, Noviziat, Studium, Magisterium, Weißen, Terziat, Gelübde), zur Überfahrt nach Brasilien und zu den dortigen Tätigkeiten, gegebenenfalls auch zur Ausweisung. Dazu kommen Angaben über Briefe und Berichte, Werke und Literatur zu den Personen. Diese Angaben sind besonders wertvoll, weil sie nicht nur Titel des Schriftstücks oder Werks und Auffindungsort nennen, sondern darüber hinaus auch den Inhalt angeben, so daß man sich schon in etwa ein Bild von der Quelle und ihrer Bedeutung machen kann. Die präzise Zusammenstellung der mühsam erhobenen relevanten Grundinformationen bieten eine hervorragende Datenbasis für weitere Forschungen zu den betreffenden Personen, ihren Tätigkeiten und schriftlichen Äußerungen, seien sie privater oder öffentlicher Natur. Herausragende Gestalten dieser Personengruppe sind etwa Johannes Joseph Breuer aus Köln, Anselm Eckart aus Mainz, Rötger Hundt aus Olpe, Laurenz Kaulen aus Köln, Jodocus Perret aus Freiburg (Schweiz), Alois Pfeil aus Konstanz, Valentin Stansel aus Olmütz, sowie Ignaz Szentmartonyi aus Kotiri (Kroatien).

Diesem bio-bibliographischen Verzeichnis hat der Verfasser eine umfangreiche Studie vorgeschaltet, welche die verschiedenen Kontexte sowie das Missionsprojekt zum Thema hat und so die behandelte Epoche und die handelnden Personen zu verstehen hilft. Im ersten Kapitel stellt der Verf. zunächst die Ordensprovinz Brasilien nebst Vizeprovinz Maranhão dar, die ordensmäßig der lusitanischen Assistenz zugeordnet war und politisch dem *Padroado* der portugiesischen Krone unterstand. Dabei kommen vor allem die Kommunikationsweisen innerhalb des Ordens und die einzelnen Territorien (Bahia, Rio de Janeiro, Pernambuco, São Paulo, Espírito Santo sowie die Maranhão-Mission) zur Sprache, aber auch die wirtschaftlichen Grundlagen (Subventionen der Krone, Landwirtschaft, Handel, Almosen) und die Arbeitsfelder unter der kolonialen Bevölkerung (Pastoral, Kollegien). Für das Jahr 1757 kurz vor der Vertreibung nennt die Statistik 476 dort tätige Jesuiten. Eine nützliche Karte zeigt die Jesuitenniederlassungen in Amazonien (S. 36), leider gibt es jedoch keine entsprechende Karte für Brasilien und die Lage der

Niederlassungen des Ordens. Ein weiteres Kapitel bietet eine „historische Ethnologie der indigenen Bevölkerung“ (S. 37), die einerseits auf die soziale Organisation der verschiedenen Hauptsprachgemeinschaften (Tupi, Jê, Karib, Arawak) eingeht und andererseits auf deren Religionen, wobei ein besonderes Augenmerk den Geistern, den Schamanen (pyé) und der rituellen Anthropophagie gilt. Eine Karte der indigenen Siedlungsgebiete Lateinamerikas (S. 74) schließt diese Fragestellung ab. Das dritte Kapitel springt wieder auf die jesuitische Organisation der Mission in der Vizeprovinz Maranhão in Nordbrasilien. Hier kann der Verf. auf reichhaltige Quellen, aber auch auf eine Gesamtdarstellung der brasilianischen Jesuitengeschichte zurückgreifen, die der Nestor dieser Forschung, Serafim Leite, in seiner monumentalen *História da Companhia de Jesu no Brasil* (10 Bde., 1938-50) in den 40er Jahren vorgelegt hatte. Als wichtige Quellen bespricht der Verf. ausführlich die Vorschläge, die P. Antônio Vieira dem König João IV. zur Organisation der Missionen und zur Kompetenzverteilung zwischen Kolonisten und Missionaren 1654 machte, aber auch die Instruktionen, die derselbe Vieira als Missionsoberer („Visita do Padre Vieira à Aldeias Indígenas do Maranhão e Grão-Pará“) um 1658 verfertigte und die eingehend die religiöse Disziplin der Missionare, die Katechese und Verwaltung der Missionsdörfer (aldeias) regeln. Überdies kommt detailliert das Regelwerk „Regimento das Missões do Estado do Maranhão e Grão-Pará“ (1686) zur Sprache, das die aus der deutschen Assistenz stammenden Oberen Johann Philipp Bettendorf und Joducus Perret verfaßt hatten. Nach einem Einblick in Geschichte und Entwicklung der *Aldeias* benennt der Verf. als Arbeitsfelder Linguistik und Katechese, Heilkunde sowie Handwerk und Künste. Hier und auch sonst werden nicht nur die 27 Personen der deutschen Assistenz herangezogen, sondern auch andere dort tätige Jesuiten wie etwa João Daniel mit seinem Kompendium über Amazonien aus dem 18. Jahrhundert. Das vierte Kapitel behandelt nun im engeren Sinn die „Missionare zentral-europäischer Provenienz“ (S. 125) und schildert ihren Werdegang und ihr Wirken in Brasilien. Besondere Betonung finden dabei das „Indiobild“, das nur „im Plural“ (S. 149) zu beschreiben sei und das der Verf. vornehmlich aufgrund der privaten Briefe von Johannes Breuer und der Beschreibungen von Anselm Eckart analysiert. Dabei kommt er zum Schluß, daß die Jesuiten in ihrem Missionsverständnis ein überwiegend pessimistisches Bild gehabt hätten und „infolge ihrer tiefen Kulturbefangenheit in dieser Zeit nicht in der Lage waren, die Indios wirklich zu verstehen“ (S. 173). Auch die „besonderen Leistungen“ in den Bereichen von Wissenschaft (Astronomie, Mathematik), in der Kartographie, der Linguistik sowie in Kunst und Handwerk werden hervorgerufen. Das fünfte Kapitel ändert die Perspektive und fragt nach dem Beitrag der indigenen Völker, insofern diese die Mission zu ihrem „Projekt“ gemacht haben. Die Ausweisung der Jesuiten und ihr weiteres Schicksal (Kap. 6) beschließen die Studie, die in eine Gesamtbewertung der Epoche aus heutiger Sicht mündet (Kap. 7). Hier stellt der Verf. einen „Paradigmenwechsel“ (S. 226)

des wissenschaftlichen Zugangs fest, insofern die Perspektive der Missionierten und die Frage der Interkulturalität stärkeres Gewicht erhielten. In einem gewissen Widerspruch zu den vorherigen Aussagen zum „Indiobild,“ wonach die Jesuiten keine „systematische Anthropologie“ entwickelt hätten (S. 174), bescheinigt der Verf. in der Schlußüberlegung doch die Existenz einer „jesuitischen Anthropologie,“ die „zu den differenzierteren Formen der Wahrnehmung von Fremdheit und den gemäßigten Arten der Behandlung unfreiwillig unterworfenen Menschen“ geführt habe (S. 227).

Der vorliegende erste Band des bio-bibliographischen Handbuchs zu den in Luso- und Hispano-Amerika tätigen Jesuiten zentraleuropäischer Provenienz zeichnet sich auf doppelte Weise aus: Er enthält zum einen eine quellen-gestützte Prosopographie von 27 europäischen und in Brasilien tätigen Jesuiten, die bei nicht wenigen der vorgestellten Gestalten zu weiterer Forschung einlädt und drängt, zum Beispiel zu einer vergleichenden Erforschung der Mitglieder der brasilianischen Provinz, die sich immer mehr internationalisierte, über eine relativ einheitliche spirituelle und theologische Ausbildung nach den höchsten Standards der Zeit verfügte und überdies meist durch weitere wissenschaftliche, künstlerische und handwerkliche Kompetenz qualifiziert war. Zum anderen stellt der Verf. seine Personengruppe in den (kirchen)politischen Kontext der Zeit und diskutiert ihr Wirken anhand der Quellen, nicht ohne auch die Perspektive der Adressaten zu berücksichtigen, wenngleich diese mangels Quellen nur schwer oder aus den vorhandenen Quellen nur implizit zu erheben ist. Überdies behandelt er anhand der Quellen historische Entwicklungen (Ordensprovinz Brasilien und Missionsprovinz Maranhão, Aufhebung des Ordens) sowie zahlreiche Sachfragen wie brasilianische Ethnographie, interkulturellen Wissenstransfer, den Umgang mit Alterität, die Sklavenfrage, die Missionspraxis und -theorie. Die Erörterung dieser Fragen beschränkt sich nicht auf die prosopographische Personengruppe, sondern greift weiter aus und bezieht auch andere Gestalten mit ein, die für die brasilianische Ordensprovinz und das Land nachhaltig wirksam wurden, wie etwa Manoel da Nóbrega, José de Anchieta oder Antônio Vieira. Die quellengesättigte Darstellung gibt ein abgerundetes und verlässliches Bild der brasilianischen Ordensprovinz, deren Gründung noch auf Ignatius von Loyola zurückgeht. Auch neuralgische Punkte wie die Haltung zur Sklaverei, der Paternalismus oder die „fehlende gesellschaftliche Entwicklungsperspektive“ (S. 214) der Indianer werden gut herausgearbeitet, wenngleich das Motiv des „iuvare animas“ und die Bedeutung der Sorge um die „rudes“ in der ignatianischen Spiritualität und Programmatik eine stärkere Berücksichtigung hätten finden können. Überdies liegt ein gewisser „apologetischer“ Hauch über der Darstellung, der das Brasilianische tendentiell verteidigt und das Europäische tendentiell kritisch sieht. Für das Selbstverständnis der Missionare als „piscator“ hätte man sich Hinweise auf Quellen gewünscht (S. 177). Bei der Erwähnung von *Sublimis Deus* (1537) Pauls

III. ist bedeutsam, daß dort nicht nur die Glaubens- und Heilsfähigkeit der Indianer angesprochen wird, sondern auch das Verbot, sie ihrer Freiheit und ihrer Güter zu berauben, was ja ein Sklavereiverbot beinhaltet (S. 176). Luigi Gonzaga war kein „portugiesischer“, sondern ein italienischer Heiliger (S. 255); die Konstitutionen der Gesellschaft Jesu sollte man entweder nach den *Monumenta Historica SI* oder nach der deutschen Standardübersetzung (Ignatius von Loyola, Gründungstexte der Gesellschaft Jesu [Werkauswahl 2], Würzburg 1998) zitieren. Bei der Literaturangabe zu Metzler muß es „Evangelizationis“ heißen (XX). Das Buch verfügt leider nicht über Register. Nach diesem insgesamt gut gelungenen ersten Band des Handbuchs, das auch eine ansprechende verlegerische Ausstattung gefunden hat, darf man auf die angekündigten Folgebände gespannt sein.

Universität Mainz

Michael Sievernich, S.J.

Misioneros Franciscanos Españoles en China. Siglos XVIII-XIX (1722-1813). Pars altera. Di Antonlín Abad Pérez, O.F.M. [Sinica Franciscana XI.] (Grottaferrata: Editiones Collegii S. Bonaventurae, 2006. 2 voll. Pp. 1590. € 140,00. [€ 70,00 per volume.] Cartoncino.)

“Al venir a China mi único propósito fue extender y predicar nuestra religión, exhortar al pueblo a honrar al Señor del Cielo, observar los Mandamientos y practicar la virtud, y así hacerse acreedores a las bendiciones en esta vida, y recibir la recompensa en la venidera. No he tenido otras actividades, como guiar al pueblo a la herejía o superchería, o coleccionar fondos, ni menos induje al pueblo a unirse a la iglesia, sobornándolo con dinero” scriveva il francescano Manuel del Santissimo Sacramento nel 1785 per disculparsi dalle gravi accuse che gli venivano fatte in terra cinese.

La difficile opera di evangelizzazione dell'Impero Cinese è nota al grande pubblico attraverso l'attività dei gesuiti che furono i fautori dei primi successi missionari nella terra dell'Estremo Oriente. A partire da Alessandro Valignano e Matteo Ricci, la Compagnia di Gesù sembrò aver trovato un metodo di penetrazione in grado di far superare i timori e le tradizionali ostilità nutrite dai cinesi verso lo straniero. Il metodo missionario di vestirsi come i locali (da bonzo prima, e da mandarino poi), di adattare il messaggio evangelico alla cultura cinese, di evitare forme di conflitto a favore di parziali adeguamenti e di una progressione del sapere, permisero la nascita di un dialogo tra Occidente e Oriente. Nota per l'avanguardia della metodologia e per le ostilità che il metodo dell'*accommodatio* trovò presso la curia papale—a partire dalla metà del Seicento e con un andamento discontinuo sino alla condanna definitiva nel 1742—sulle missioni gesuitiche in Estremo Oriente si sono scritte molte cose poiché l'adattamento del cristianesimo si prestava a molte accuse: eresia,

sincretismo o, come suggerivano illuministi e libertini, simulazione per mero opportunismo politico e religioso. La Cina acuiva l'interesse degli intellettuali europei, poneva per la prima volta la questione dei rapporti con una civiltà diversa ma non per questo inferiore, suggeriva confronti e paragoni, scardinava lentamente alcuni grandi pilastri della civiltà occidentale.

Meno nota al grande pubblico è l'attività svolta in Cina dall'Ordine francescano. Giunti con le prime missioni nel 1579, i francescani vissero sin dall'inizio la loro presenza in Cina come una seconda venuta, come l'attuarsi di un sogno o di una profezia, come la risposta a una insistente vocazione. Fin dall'inizio inoltre, l'apostolato francescano fu svolto essenzialmente presso classi sociali più basse di quelle che avevano interessato i gesuiti, impegnati ad attirare a sé mandarini e intellettuali.

L'Oriente missionario divenne un nuovo terreno di scontro tra i vari ordini religiosi, ma anche tra i missionari e i poteri curiali. Francescani, e particolarmente Domenicani e Gesuiti, si affrontarono in Cina intorno alla metodologia missionaria. I primi due ordini avanzarono molti dubbi intorno al metodo missionario gesuitico. Già verso il 1635 Antonio Caballero, commissario provinciale dei francescani, propose alcuni dubbi al gesuita Giulio Aleni intorno al significato dei "sacrifici" offerti agli avi e a Confucio, a quelli che Daniele Bartoli definiva come "cerimonie puramente civili e lor dettate da un immemorabile ed ottimo istituto d'onorare i maestri, e vivi e defonti, altrettatto che se lor fossero padri." Durante un periodo di grande persecuzione (1664-1671) i missionari furono concentrati dapprima a Pechino e poi, il 13 settembre 1665, presero la via di Canton dove vissero nella casa dei gesuiti. Lì, dal 18 dicembre 1667 al 26 gennaio 1668 si discusse su alcuni problemi dell'apostolato. Di queste conferenze si hanno due scritti del P. Caballero diretti a superiori dei gesuiti: un trattato molto ampio spedito a Macao al Visitatore della Cina e del Giappone P. Luis de Gama e un sunto dello stesso trattato inviato a Roma al Generale Giampaolo Oliva. Accanto agli onori a Confucio e agli antenati defunti si affacciarono nuove questioni, mai prima avanzate. Ad esempio apparve il problema del digiuno, della messa, delle questioni terminologiche, ecc. tutti aspetti che erano stati a lungo discussi a Roma. Da questi dialoghi emersero alcune convergenze e a partire dal 1671 ci fu un avvicinamento delle posizioni francescane e gesuitiche. Nel 1683 fu elaborato un direttorio pastorale con lo scopo di dare uniformità al comportamento missionario. Da questo momento in poi i contrasti in materia di evangelizzazione della Cina interessarono essenzialmente domenicani e gesuiti e i francescani mantennero un comportamento di neutralità. Il P. Roque de Alhondiga (1687-1731) scriveva nel 1722 che "no nos pasionemos por la una ni por la otra parte, ni hablemos mal ni de los unos ni de los otros, sino es siempre naturales en caminar por nuestro camino recto, [...] porque de lo contrario [...] se siguen gravísimos inconvenientes, como también de andar escribiendo papelones o respuestas a

ellos con título de informar la verdad, y todo esto no sirve sino es echar más leña al fuego.” I francescani appaiono consapevoli che dietro agli accessi dibattiti intorno ai riti cinesi si celavano questioni politiche, particolarmente vive in Francia, e additavano tra i mali peggiori della missione in Cina il giansenismo, “el primer móvil de todo esta máquina.”

Alla presenza dei francescani in Cina sono dedicati i volumi di *Sinica Franciscana*, importante opera di pubblicazione delle fonti ormai giunto al suo XI volume: *Misioneros Franciscanos españoles en China. Siglos XVIII-XIX (1722-1813)*, edito dal Collegio san Bonaventura di Grottaferrata (Roma) nel 2006, che con le sue quasi 1600 pagine aggiunge nuovi tasselli alla storia dell'evangelizzazione in Cina. I *Sinica Franciscana* sono stati concepiti come una pubblicazione di fonti. Di ogni missionario sono stati raccolti e posti in ordine cronologico i documenti ed elaborata una prima biografia. Si lasciano dunque parlare le lettere e le relazioni, documenti in cui convivono notizie propriamente pastorali o politiche con questioni più propriamente personali. Si tratta di un materiale ricchissimo in grado di gettare luce su molteplici aspetti: da testimonianze di viaggio a narrazioni descrittive di geografia ecclesiastica e non (lista dei battezzati, stato delle parrocchie, ecc.), da racconti delle condizioni di vita in Cina alle sottili questioni dell'evangelizzazione, dai mutamenti della politica papale ai problemi incontrati dai singoli missionari.

I due tomi del volume XI comprendono gli anni 1722-1813, periodo particolarmente interessante poiché il XVIII secolo fu quello dei grandi contrasti attorno ai riti cinesi, il secolo della soppressione della Compagnia di Gesù (con la *Dominus ac Redemptor* del 1773), della punta più avanzata dell'opera missionaria nella terra del Celeste Impero. Tale forcella di date comprende infatti tutti gli esiti, le incertezze e le discussioni che succedettero alla *Ex illa die* di Clemente XI (1715), all'applicazione del legato di Carlo Ambrogio Mezzabarba, inviato da Clemente XI nel 1720 in Cina per ottenere dall'imperatore l'assenso alla promulgazione della costituzione pontificia *Ex ille die* proibitiva dei cosiddetti riti cinesi, ma soprattutto descrivono i momenti che succedettero alla *Ex quo singulari* di Benedetto XIV (1742) e gli anni di Clemente XII di preparazione al decreto lambertino.

Dal punto di vista cinese la cronologia del volume si apre inoltre con la crisi della cristianità in Cina. Il 1723 è l'anno della morte dell'imperatore K'ang-hsi, di colui che aveva segnato nel 1692 con l'editto di tolleranza il momento di maggiore apertura della Cina all'attività missionaria occidentale. Con la sua morte infatti riprese vigore una politica di ostilità verso lo straniero e di espulsione dei missionari: iniziava il lento e inarrestabile declino delle missioni in Oriente. Le cifre fornite dai missionari francescani a questo proposito sono impressionanti. Nel 1732 10.000 erano i cristiani nelle terre dell'Imperatore, ma già nel 1750 la loro presenza era dimezzata, cifre destinate a peggiorare con le

persecuzioni del 1754 ed infine del 1784-85, periodo in cui le missioni francescane spagnole ricevettero il colpo finale.

Istituto italiano di Scienze Umane, Firenze

Michela Catto

I gesuiti ai tempi di Claudio Acquaviva. Strategie politiche, religiose e culturali tre Cinque e Seicento. Eds. Paolo Broggio, Francesca Cantù, Pierre-Antoine Fabre, e Antonella Romano. (Brescia: Morcelliana, 2007. Pp. 320. € 22,00. Paperback.)

Il volume riunisce dieci articoli di ricercatori spagnoli, italiani e francesi sui gesuiti durante il generalato di Claudio Acquaviva; tema dell'incontro avuto all'Ecole Française di Roma nel 2002. Alcuni di questi articoli erano già stati pubblicati in precedenza. Il generalato di Mercuriano è stato oggetto di una splendida pubblicazione curata da Thomas McCoog, S.I., *The Mercurian Project. Forming Jesuit Culture, 1573-1580* (Rome-St. Louis, 2004). Certamente la Compagnia, nel periodo dal 1581 al 1615, da un passo avanti alla consolidazione interna ed esterna, con momenti decisivi, come la *Ratio Studiorum*, l'aumento considerevole delle *indipetarum* per andare in missioni, la fondazione delle Riduzioni in Paraguay nel 1610, appare la prima biografia illustrata di Ignazio di Loyola (1609) in occasione della sua beatificazione, la pubblicazione, nel 1599, del *Directorio de los Ejercicios Espirituales* e la versione definitiva delle *Constituciones*. Il tema centrale di questo volume è l'identità missionaria, sia nelle Province che in tutto l'Ordine. Il primo contributo è del Professor José Martínez Millán, "La trasformazione della monarchia Hispana alla fine del XVI secolo. Dal modello cattolico castigliano al paradigma universale cattolico-romano (19-53)." L'articolo stabilisce che c'è un cambio politico nella monarchia spagnola con l'arrivo di Felipe III dovuto al nuovo spirito che stava adottando la Compagnia, in modo che i gesuiti sostituirono i domenicani nelle vesti di principali educatori. L'obiettivo dell'Ordine era la "romanizzazione," l'unione con Roma, si passò da una monarchia hispano-castellana con, Felipe II, ad una monarchia cattolico-romana con Felipe III. Giovanni Pizzorusso intitola il suo articolo "La Compagnia di Gesù, gli ordini regolari e il processo di affermazione della giurisdizione pontificia sulle missioni tra la fine del XVI secolo e l'inizio del XVII secolo." Tracce di una ricerca (55-85). Si tratta di uno studio del processo attraverso il quale si arriva alla fondazione della Congregazione de Propaganda Fide nel 1622. Paolo Broggio studia "Attività missionaria e strategie insediative nelle province spagnole della Compagnia di Gesù (1581-1700)" (87-11). Analizza, in particolare modo, le Province spagnole sia nella crescita numerica che nell'organizzazione pastorale. Si sofferma soprattutto nella Provincia di Castiglia utilizzando prevalentemente i cataloghi delle missioni. Francesca Cantù nel suo articolo "'Como ese Nuevo Mundo está tan lexos destas partes.' Strategie e politiche di governo della Compagnia di Gesù

nella provincia peruviana (1581-1607)” (119-55) affronta un tema nel quale ha lavorato molto: la presenza dei gesuiti in Perù. L’autrice analizza la *Magna Carta* di Acquaviva al provinciale del Perù nel 1584, l’Istruzione per i Visitatori degli studi del 1602—obbligatoria a partire da San Tomás. Vi furono difficoltà nell’applicazione della *Ratio Studiorum*, ma il generale insistette nel concetto che il cammino era lo studio, da qui la necessità di fondare una cattedra di Sacra Scrittura. Il rigorismo del generale crea molto sentito nel momento di ammettere creoli e meticci, per i quali era preciso compito accudire i gesuiti spagnoli e italiani. Interessante è l’attività dei gesuiti italiani in Perù ed il criterio per l’espulsione dell’Ordine. Carmen Salazar-Soler intitola il suo breve articolo “Costruendo l’indio: società e religione nel Perù dei secoli XVI e XVII” (157-83). Piere-Antoine Fabre tratta delle peripezie del gesuita spagnolo Alonso Sánchez (1545-1593), in particolare della sua proposta di attacco contro la Cina (185-203): Inez G. Županov affronta il tema della geopolitica gesuitica in Asia e tratta d’alcuni nuovi aspetti della vita di Alonso Sánchez (205-60). Antonella Romano affronta brevemente il tema dell’attività culturale dei gesuiti al tempo d’Acquaviva, specialmente le relazioni tra Roma, Spagna e Nuovo Mondo (261-85). Per ultima la professoressa Maria Antonietta Visceglia presenta alcune riflessioni—dal punto di vista della relatrice—sul Congresso, concretamente l’importanza del generalato d’Acquaviva per la Compagnia di Gesù e la relazione tra storia europea e storia extraeuropea (287-305). Molto utile l’Indice dei nomi. Si sente, tuttavia, la mancanza di una bibliografia aggiornata. A tal proposito si sarebbero potuti menzionare alcuni volumi relazionati con il tema, come ad esempio Martín María Morales, S.I., ed., *A mis manos han llegado. Cartas de los PP. Generales a la Antigua Provincia del Paraguay (1608-1639)* (Madrid-Roma, 2005); e la tesi dottorale dell’Università Gregoriana di Juradin Coronado Aguilar *Conquista Espiritual. A História da Evangelização na Província Guairá na obra de Antônio Ruiz de Montoya (1585-1652)* (Roma, 2002).

Instituto de Historia (CSIC), Madrid

Enrique García Hernán

Paralella Cosmographica: De Sede et Apparitionibus Daemonum Liber Unus. Di Federico Borromeo. Ed. Francesco di Ciaccia. [Accademia di San Carlo. Fonti e Studi 5.] (Milano: Biblioteca Ambrosiana/Bulzoni, 2006. Pp. 228. € 18,00. Paperback.)

La versione latina dell’opera del cardinale Federico Borromeo, *Paralella Cosmographica de Sede et Apparitionibus Daemonum Liber Unus*, fu data alle stampe nel 1624. Il testo volgare, la cui redazione precede lo stampato ma possiede il medesimo titolo latino, è rimasto fino ad oggi manoscritto (p. 16).

Il pregio del lavoro di Francesco di Ciaccia consiste nella edizione critica dell’opera volgare del cardinale, accompagnata dallo stampato latino e relativa

traduzione italiana. In appendice al testo è un “Indice e siglario Bibliografico” il quale, oltre a contenere i riferimenti bibliografici essenziali, contribuisce ad identificare autori ed opere citate dal Borromeo non sempre familiari al lettore contemporaneo.

La traduzione dallo stampato latino—Analogie cosmografiche sulla sede e sulle apparizioni dei demoni. In un Libro— è corredata di un apparato critico che evidenzia le discrepanze del testo latino rispetto al manoscritto volgare, ma fornisce anche informazioni di natura bio-bibliografica di notevole valore ed utilità (data la, sia pure occasionale, difficoltà di identificare gli autori postillati dal Borromeo (pp. 24-26). Come espressamente dichiarato dall'autore, lo scopo di tale traduzione è quello di offrire un documento quanto più possibile “fedele al testo latino, sia sul piano sintattico che letterale, senza essere, tuttavia, strettamente filologico,” ponendosi a meta' strada tra la “conformità scientifica al testo latino e la fruibilità divulgativa”(p. 25).

Il confronto tra lo stampato ed il manoscritto volgare consente all'autore di sostenere come il secondo sia stato redatto “nel momento dell'ideazione originaria, più spontanea ed immediata, prima di essere riformulato per la stampa, cioè modificato in vista di un pubblico più vasto” (p. 18). La Biblioteca Ambrosiana conserva pure degli appunti di natura essenzialmente contenutistica, redatti in volgare, preparatori a *Paralella Cosmographica*. Essi constano di un blocchetto di nove foglietti, quasi certamente di mano federiciana, sulla cui “copertina” è indicata la data “1615” ed il cui ordine di successione è indipendente da quello dello sviluppo dell'opera (pp. 18-19). Lo studio di tali appunti risulta importante non solo perché alcuni di essi vennero utilizzati per la stesura di altri testi come il *De cognitionibus quas habent Daemones* (coevo di *Paralella Cosmographica*) e il *De Ecstaticis Mulieribus, et Illusis* (1616), ma anche perché essi forniscono importanti indicazioni circa le letture praticate dal Borromeo. Interessante è, per esempio, la menzione negli appunti del Fernelius, o Jean Fernel (1497-1558), detto il “Galeno moderno,” il che testimonia l'attenzione del cardinale nei confronti della scienza medica (p. 25).

Noti sono gli scritti demonologici del cardinal Borromeo ed il suo interesse per le scienze naturali. Ciò che differenzia *Paralella Cosmographica* dalle altre opere di argomento analogo è l'impostazione di carattere fenomenologico—medico e naturalistico—piuttosto che teologico. Certamente il demonio esiste, spesso assumendo forme fisiche, ma il cardinale è estraneo alla credenza che l'inspiegabile generante terrore sia effettivamente espressione di presenze demoniache: egli mira piuttosto a “sfatare la mentalità popolare, facilmente succube di credenze superstiziose che a quel tempo erano largamente diffuse” (Franco Buzzi, Prefazione a Federico Borromeo, *Manifestazioni Demoniache*, cit., p. 7 [p. 15]). Non c'è dubbio che nell'analizzare le varie opinioni circa l'apparizione ed il comportamento delle creature demoniache ed i luoghi della terra che

esse (presumibilmente e stabilmente) abitano, il Borromeo si avvalga di quello che oggi definiremmo il “metodo scientifico.” In altre parole egli descrive il fenomeno, si appella poi a varie opinioni autorevoli—dalle Sacre Scritture agli autori ecclesiastici, dagli eminenti storici dell’antichità (Erodoto o Plinio) ai viaggiatori di professione (Marco Polo o Pigafetta), dai filosofi (Platone e, naturalmente, Aristotele) ai testimoni oculari (purché il loro numero sia abbastanza elevato da non lasciare spazio all’inganno)—ed il tutto pondera alla luce della ragione. Questo inteso non in senso illuministico *ante litteram* (la ragione umana basta a spiegare ogni fenomeno), ma come ciò che è ragionevole, ovvero pertinente a quel processo logico che è proprio della mente umana quando essa esamina la realtà fenomenologica (o descritta come tale). Le conoscenze mediche e naturalistiche servono, infatti, a demolire l’inverosimile o porlo in serio dubbio. Nei ventuno capitoli che costituiscono l’opera del Borromeo, egli descrive quali popoli dell’orbe sono noti avere maggior inclinazione per la superstizione: gli Etruschi e i Greci in primo luogo, che la trasmisero ai Romani; “l’Europa è stata più superstiziosa dell’Asia (..) Et l’Asia più’ dell’Africa.” Gli Ebrei non sono superstiziosi mentre lo sono i Cinesi, i Barmi ed i Lapponi (pp. 38-39). All’interno di queste macrocategorie geografico-razziali “dediti alle superstizioni sono soprattutto gli abitanti delle montagne e delle campagne e coloro che conducono una vita lontana dalla società” probabilmente perché “chi abita luoghi solitari e remoti si preoccupa dei propri numerosi problemi e non di quelli altrui; ha tempo per riflettere su tutto e di rado ne è impedito e distolto” (da stampato latino, p. 158). Ridicole sono, tuttavia, le opinioni che attribuiscono a maghi e streghe la facoltà di compiere azioni demoniache (in nome del Demonio o come se essi stessi fossero demoni): “Tutti questi detti insieme accozzati, e considerati, pare che habbiano odore, e indicio non piccolo di superbia, ma occultissima. È maggiormente confermarsi, perche nell’Asia, nell’ Africa, nell’ Europa, e nel Mondo nuovo quanti maghi, e quante maghe si demono ritrovare? Et che hora questi siano i primogeniti, et primogenite del Diavolo, è cosa dura da crederlo. Et sarebbe per loro, oltre a ciò, gran gloria se essi potessero in questo tempo ingannare una gran parte degl’ huomini scientiati, e dei maggiori e dei più stimati della Chiesa”(pp. 42-43). Le ore notturne favoriscono poi le alterazioni delle sensazioni visive: “La notte adunque è quella che cuopre i difetti, et gl’inganni, et è madre della bugia, e delle cose solo apparenti (...)” (p. 44). I luoghi solitari e fetidi sembra incoraggino le presenze demoniache: le loro apparizioni sono più frequenti “nei deserti dell’Asia e dell’Africa e nei paesi meridionali sono più frequenti (...)” (p. 53). Non con minor bramosia i demoni cercano “i luoghi immondi,” perciò dimorano più spesso nelle Cloache, e nelle profonde voragini di fetide acque (...) et però le caverne, i pozzi, i sepolcri spesse volte da loro sono frequentati” (p. 54). Il cardinale ritiene che sui “luoghi cavernosi” siano state dette cose “false,” ma gli appare possibile quanto raccontato da Marcin Cromer (1512-1589), vescovo di Varmia e storico della

Polonia, secondo il quale da certe aperture del suolo sarebbero state udite voci di animali (cani, galli ed altri). Non v'è dubbio, tuttavia, che "vedendosi di simiglianti cose subito gl'huomini son troppo facili, et indotti concepiscono nella forte imaginatione alcuna cosa di più, e pare loro di vedere, e di sentire le maraviglie; et l'uno all'altro si appoggia, si come si dicono che fanno i cervi nel passare dei fiumi, sostenendo ciascuno di loro il capo di chi lo segue. Overo, queste voci, queste fame, et opinioni, si generano, come l'ecco, che altro non è, che il rimbombo d'una sola voce che in più bande percuote" (p. 55). Per quanto riguarda le apparizioni di spettri nelle miniere, il cardinale appare possibilista: "è come impossibile cosa il poterle assegnare a cagione naturale (...)." La cosa è infatti comprovata dalla testimonianza di un gran numero di persone" (p. 55). Olao Magno (Olav Manson, 1490-1557) riferisce, infatti, che il maggior numero di demoni appare dove le cave sono più ricche, tanto che si è costretti ad abbandonarle; mentre Giorgio Agricola (Georg Pauer, o Bauer, 1494-1555) dice che la crudeltà dei demoni è così grande che essi uccidono gli uomini nelle cave e non si riesce a cacciarli neppure con orazioni e digiuni (p. 56). I demoni sarebbero inoltre cupidi di oro e argento ma anche di varie erbe e radici; ma sul loro desiderio di metalli preziosi il Borromeo nutre seri dubbi, giacché vi sono nel mondo altre gemme e diamanti assai più preziosi, ma di essi i demoni pare non hanno alcuna bramosia (pp. 56-57).

Per loro natura gli spiriti immondi preferiscono condizioni climatiche estreme, cioè luoghi caldissimi o freddissimi e meno frequentemente appaiono nell'acqua di quanto facciano sulla terra. Storici e naturalisti avrebbero raccontato di demoni che durante la tempesta tentarono di provocare l'affondamento delle navi, ma come le invocazioni alla Vergine Maria avessero salvato tutto l'equipaggio. Il cardinale cita inoltre la testimonianza personale di uomini seri ("gravi persone") con cui egli stesso avrebbe parlato: Bartolomé Carreño (che scoprì le Bermuda nel 1538) riferisce che una tempesta a largo di queste isole sospinse la sua nave nel porto di Lisbona nell'arco di una notte. Secondo il Borromeo "in questo caso, i testimoni degni di fede (...) combattono, e contrastano con la ragione, e con l'esperienza" per il fatto che se la distanza fosse stata effettivamente percorsa in così breve tempo l'imbarcazione si sarebbe sfasciata ed i naviganti tutti annegati. I demoni hanno certo la facoltà di "condensare l'aria" ma il cardinale ha gran sospetto che il racconto sia stato inventato. Dato che erano ben pochi i testimoni del fatto, per loro è stato facile accordarsi sulle cose da dire, visto che nessuno poteva confutarli "Et si come fu detto quel proverbio, che ogn'uno fuori di casa sua può dire quello che vuole della sua propria casa, poiché non v'e' testimonio in contrario (...). Et entrata poi che è simile opinione negl'animi, sempre le cose si accrescono, e si magnificano, e giamai non pare ad alcuno di dir bugia (...) ma solamente di manifestare la pure, e semplice verità" (pp. 64-65).

L'emisfero settentrionale del mondo ha cattiva fama per la presenza di spiriti maligni come sostengono vigorosamente "i Cabalisti, et i Talmudisti" (p. 69) ma il Meridione non è da meno: laddove i popoli settentrionali sono di corporatura più robusta, i meridionali sono di mente più fine e dedita alla contemplazione. Proprio il meridione ha infatti generato le arti e le scienze più alte, come la geometria, l'astronomia, la cosmografia e l'aritmetica anche se il bell'ingegno può spesso esser fonte di superstizione. Tuttavia, la maggiore religiosità dei popoli meridionali, contrariamente ai settentrionali ove sono maggiori incantatori e maghi, fa sì che in questo luogo della terra non abbondino gli spettri ed i fantasmi (da stampato latino, p. 191).

Gli ultimi due capitoli, il XX ed il XXI, sono dedicati alla possessione demoniaca ("gli energumeni") ed alla brutta forma fisica dei demoni ("dei brutti aspetti diabolici"). Alcuni uomini sono realmente posseduti dal demonio, come assodato dagli esorcismi che sono ogni giorno praticati e dall'antichità del rituale, ma nella gran parte dei casi tali fenomeni sono da ricondursi a malattie fisiche, come già testimoniato da Ippocrate (p. 86). Gli eretici sostengono che la loro religione riformata abbia drasticamente ridotto il numero di demoni nelle loro regioni settentrionali, ma si può facilmente controbattere che tra i pagani il numero degli ossessi era inferiore che tra i cristiani. Gli stessi turchi sono meno infestati dai demoni dei cristiani: dunque la loro religione è più santa di quella cristiana? (p. 89)

Circa la forma fisica del demonio, le più antiche testimonianze gli attribuiscono un aspetto disgustoso: esso fece infatti irruzione nel mondo sotto forma di rettile, ma anche le altre forme sono tutte brutte e sgradevoli. In qualche luogo appaiono come omiciattoli pelosi ed irsuti, ma sembra che la più spaventevole immagine del demonio sia una statua con cui esso viene rappresentato in Cina e similmente nel regno di Calicut, con le corna, unghie da rapace e faccia da mostro. Tutto ciò perché essi desiderano prima incutere ammirazione ma poi terrore più che amore.

Gli ultimi due capitoli faranno forse sorridere il lettore, ma tenuto conto che l'opera del cardinal Borromeo fu scritta in un'epoca tradizionalmente definita superstiziosa e che la scienza moderna era ai suoi albori—le opere galileiane "Sidereus Nuncius" e "Saggiatore" furono pubblicate rispettivamente nel 1610 e 1623 (solo di un anno precedente *Paralella Cosmographica*)—l'equilibrio e la saggezza dei giudizi espressi sono sorprendenti. In materia di demonologia, parte integrante del patrimonio teologico di giudaismo, cristianesimo ed induismo, il bilancio dell'opera è decisamente a favore della razionalità e della moderazione: degni sentimenti di un ecclesiastico che fu il creatore della prima biblioteca pubblica europea, l'Ambrosiana, dopo la Bodleian Library di Oxford.

Los Jesuitas en América Latina, 1549-2000. 450 años de inculturación, defensa de los derechos humanos y testimonio profético. By Jeffrey Klaiber, S.J. [Serie Humanidades.] (Lima: Fondo Editorial Universidad Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, 2007. Pp. xi, 508. N.p. Paperback.)

The two most recent scholarly books about the history of the Jesuits in Latin America have focused on the colonial era (Angel Santos Hernández, S.J., *Los jesuitas en América* [1992] and Nicholas P. Cushner, *Soldiers of God. The Jesuits in Colonial America, 1565-1767* [2002]). Jeffrey Klaiber, S.J.'s remarkable history of the Society in Latin America breaks new ground by examining not only the colonial period, but the order's history in the 19th and 20th centuries. Originally a member of the Chicago Province of the Society of Jesus, Klaiber has labored as a historian at various universities in Peru since 1976, and has published several books and numerous articles on the history of the Latin American Church, focusing on the Church's politics. His latest work provides the only comprehensive history of the Society of Jesus in Latin America to our times, but beyond this, and given the Jesuits widely encompassing activities, a window into the history of the Church on that continent.

The book is organized in nine chapters with a preface, introduction and conclusion, as well as, a comprehensive, annotated, multi-lingual bibliography and a thorough index. Chapters one and two focus on the various roles that the Jesuits fulfilled in colonial society. Focusing on Peru, Chile and Brazil, Klaiber documents how at times Jesuits served as counselors to crown officials in the hope of influencing policy that promoted the more effective evangelization of the Amerindians. In a number of instances Jesuits moved from being consultants to actual administrators of the crown's policies for which they had advocated. Their efforts on behalf of the Amerindians fueled animosity and competition between criollo elites who counted on the Amerindian labor force to cultivate their haciendas and run their mines, and set the stage for the various forces that would work to suppress the Society in the 18th century. Chapter three takes up the topic of the missions in a comparative key, and evaluates the critiques leveled against the colonial Jesuits by the new Latin American mission historiography. Klaiber chronicles not only the most documented and successful of these efforts, the famous Paraguayan Reductions, but also less better-known and successful enterprises in Northeast Mexico, Baja California, and in Brazilian Amazonia.

Serving as a bridge to the restored Society of the 19th and 20th centuries, chapter four chronicles the suppression of the Society on the continent in the 18th century, and the fate of the some 500 Jesuits expelled from Brazil in 1759 and some 2, 171 others expelled from Spanish domains in 1767. In particular, Klaiber tells the story of four famous "prophets in exile" who made significant contributions to scholarship about Latin America from their European

diaspora: Francisco Javier Clavijero, Juan de Molina, Juan de Velasco, and Juan Pablo Viscardo y Guzmán.

The remaining five chapters chronicles the remarkable metamorphosis of the Society from 19th Century anti-liberal militants primarily involved in elite education, to a progressive vanguard concerned with social justice and once again involved in a plethora of cultural, social, educational, and ministerial endeavors equaling those of their colonial forebears. Chapter five focuses on what was perhaps the bloodiest and most distinguished battleground of the ultramontanist Society in Latin America, Mexico from 1816 through 1930, which produced the clever disguise-wearing martyr, Blessed Miguel Agustín Pro. Chapter six chronicles the beginnings of the shift from conflict with modernity to, under the impetus of papal social teaching beginning with Pope Leo XIII's *Rerum Novarum* (1891), an attention to and creative response to social questions bearing on safeguarding the rights of industrial laborers through unions against the inhumane demands of laissez-faire capitalism. Here Klaiber focuses on the works of two giants in the field from Chile, Fernando Vives and the better-known social apostle, St. Alberto Hurtado.

Chapters seven and eight present a thorough province-by-province review of the tumultuous decades of the sixties and seventies. This, of course, is the era of Vatican II (1962-1965) and the generalate of the Servant of God Pedro Arrupe, S.J. in the Society (1965-1981). It is the time of the experimental implementation of the council for Latin America in the continental episcopal conference or CELAM's Medellín (1968) and Puebla (1979) meetings, and before the consolidating papacy of the Servant of God John Paul II. In these episcopal meetings liberation theology and its preferential option for the poor in the face of social sin came to enter the lexicon of Catholic social teaching. It is the time of the Society's 32nd General Congregation (1974-1975) which restated the Jesuits' mission as the service of faith and the promotion of justice.

Spurred by these meetings, Latin American Jesuits embraced innovative popular education programs such as the *Fe y Alegría* schools, centers aimed at serving *campesino* human development such as CIPCA in Bolivia and Peru, human rights promotion by individual Jesuits and institutions such as Mexico's PRODH. It is also the time of crisis for the Society which saw a sharp decline in vocations across the board in the second half of the 1960's, harassment and persecution from a variety of groups including Communist governments and terrorist groups, national security military dictatorships and right-wing death squads, as well as, some internal division about the new vision and apostolic commitments of the Society after the council and the 31st and 32nd General Congregations. In the book's final and ninth chapter Klaiber highlights many of these new apostolic endeavors, as well as, the leading Jesuit intellectuals of the late 20th century, including: theologians Juan Luis Segundo, Ignacio

Ellacuría, Jon Sobrino, Juan Carlos Scannone, and social scientists Manuel Marzal, Ignacio Martín Baró, Marcello de Carvalho Azevedo, Bartomeu Melià, and Xavier Albó to name a few.

According to Klaiber the Society's distinctiveness in Latin America can be summed up in the triad of its concern to inculturate or adapt the faith to non-European cultures, the defense of the indigenous peoples and other marginated groups, and its creative capacity to adapt itself to new times. Furthermore, this distinctiveness has been a constant in the Society from its arrival in Latin America in the colonial period through the 21st century. At first hearing Klaiber's thesis may sound anachronistic or Whiggish. It may appear to be a reductionistic attempt to read the present concerns of the Latin American Society into the past.

But felicitously this is not the case. Klaiber makes a strong case for his thesis without compromising his integrity as a historian. He points out continuities that validate the triad of inculturation, defense of human rights, and adaptive capacity that he sees as distinctive to the Society in Latin America, yet he thoroughly documents other aspects and events in the history of the Society in Latin America that do not fit his thesis. For example, the lack of prophetic spine the Jesuits showed in not opposing slavery and indeed owning thousands of them in Latin America at the same time that they defended the human rights of the Amerindians.

To my mind he does this best in chapter three where he documents the work of the pre-Suppression Society among the Amerindians, and chapter nine where he looks at the Society's great intellectual figures and most successful and innovative works in the 20th century. Klaiber's chapter on the Society's missions among the Amerindians is a masterpiece of comparative historical missiology. He not only focuses on the great success that were the Jesuit Reductions of Paraguay and those among the Chiquitos and Mojos of Bolivia, but also looks at missions among the Amerindians which were not successful at all, particularly in Northeastern Mexico, Baja California, and the Brazilian Amazonia.

Klaiber explains that the Jesuit successes among the Amerindians may be accounted for by the acceptance of the missionaries by the native peoples. This was more the case among the sedentary farming peoples than among the bellicose nomadic peoples of the jungles. It was also influenced by the adaptation of the missionaries to the indigenous lifestyles and the perceived sense that the missionaries helped to respond to a need felt by the Amerindians, e.g., protection from external enemies. Other factors that determined the success included a common language among the native peoples, and a stable Jesuit presence in each indigenous settlement. The failure of the missions was also influenced by factors not directly under the control of the Society such as resentments that the native peoples felt at the loss of their liberties and

resources by Spanish and criollo colonists. For example, the colonists pressed them to work, uncompensated, at the *mita* or silver mines in Potosi, Bolivia, as well as illegitimately seizing the lands and water rights previously held by the Amerindians.

In chapter nine, Klaiber turns to the intellectual and apostolic contributions of 20th century Jesuits. The contribution of such liberation theologians as Segundo, Sobrino and Ellacuría feature prominently in this chapter, but so do more moderate theologians such as the Mariologist and Systematician Carlos Ignacio González (Mexico and Peru), the philosopher and theologian Juan Carlos Scannone (Argentina), the social ethicist Ricardo Antoncich (Peru), and the missiologist Marcello de Carvalho Azevedo (Brazil). In addition, he points out the important work of two theological critics of liberation theology José Luis Idígoras (Peru) and Francesco Interdonato (Peru).

If I would express any caveat about Klaiber's thesis it is that it underscores the continuities between the pre-Suppression and the Restored Society in Latin America at the expense of the discontinuities. Not that these discontinuities are absent from the text, Klaiber is too careful a scholar for such a glaring omission, rather they do not receive the attention that they merit. For example, the role that the papacy plays in the Latin American Society during the five hundred years covered in this work suggests certain important changes or discontinuities.

The Society's special bond with the papacy is one that undergoes a major shift from the pre-Suppression Society, the ultramontanist Restored Society of the 19th and early 20th centuries and the post-conciliar Society. If the Jesuits had been ardent proponents of papal initiatives such as Catholic social teaching on industrial labor's rights and the promotion of trade unions during the first half of the 20th century, e.g. the cases of Vives and Hurtado in Chile, the embrace of papal programs such as John Paul II's "New Evangelization" was less enthusiastic. Not only in Latin America, but throughout the post-conciliar Church, the light cavalry of the Pope was perceived to be not the Society of Jesus as it had been in the past, but new ecclesial movements such as Opus Dei, the Legionnaires of Christ and their lay movement Regnum Christi, the Neocatechumenal Way, Focolari, Communion and Liberation, etc.

Perhaps, it is unfair to ask any historian to explain a shift that is relatively new, approximately forty years old, as is the case with this one. Research is still inchoate on the matter as archives of the period remain sealed, and the shift itself is still in process and not complete. Be that as it may, even if Klaiber can be excused from explaining a discontinuity that is not completely set, his thorough documentation does point to a phenomenon to which future historians of the Society will need to pay attention. In the same vein, Klaiber's assessment of the vocation crisis in Latin America also raises interesting

questions that remain unanswered in this text for the same reasons mentioned in connection with the shift in the Society's relationship with the papacy.

All the Latin American provinces experienced sharp declines in vocation recruitment in the second half of the 1960's and early 1970's. Most provinces have now recovered from those days when only two or three candidates entered the novitiate. Some of these provinces, such as Mexico, Central America, and Chile not only turned around their flagging numbers but saw periods of relative abundance in vocations in the 1980's and 1990's. In the case of these three provinces, the period of relative growth in vocations is simultaneous with a period of Church-state tensions, when the Society was closely identified with the struggle for human rights.

At more or less the same time, the provinces of Argentina and Colombia also enjoyed a period of relative abundance of vocations, yet in comparison with the previously mentioned provinces these two were more traditional in their apostolic efforts, emphasizing the educational sector. How then does one account and evaluate the similarities and differences between more traditional and progressive provinces with regards to vocation promotion? Again, it may be that it is too soon for a historical assessment to be made, but one that future historians of the Society will hopefully unravel for us.

A book covering the half-millennium continental history of any organization is bound to have certain lacunae. Perhaps the omission that speaks most loudly by its absence is an adequate attention to the Jesuits' contributions to the arts during the colonial period. A more thorough mention of the Latin American Jesuit Baroque and of its more prominent examples, e.g. the architectural jewels of the church of the Society (*La Compañía*) in Quito, the Havana Cathedral, or the Jesuit novitiate at Tepotzotlán in Mexico would have been welcome.

In addition, the chapters dealing with the post-conciliar Society fail to mention the important Latin American contribution to the renewal of the practice of the Spiritual Exercises, namely adapting the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius to the poor. One of the major areas of renewal of the Arrupe generalate was the recovery of the original way of giving the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius through individually directed retreats. While this form of making the Spiritual Exercises is not absent from Latin America, the Jesuits of the continent distinguished themselves by adapting the Ignatian Exercises to groups of poor people through the modality of the 19th Annotation or Exercises in Everyday Life. The work of Iñaki Huarte of Venezuela deserves special mention in this regard. Furthermore, the Christian Life Communities, olim the Sodalities of the Blessed Virgin Mary originally based out of Jesuit schools, receive scant mention in Klaiber's book. My sense, based on purely anecdotal evidence, is that the CLC's have thrived in Latin America in a way they have not done so elsewhere.

Given the scope of this history, these two lacunae are minor flaws compared with the herculean task accomplished by Klaiber. As I mentioned at the beginning of this review, it is the only scholarly history of the Society from colonial times to the present available at the moment in any language. This handy one-volume work of the Society's history in Latin America will remain the standard for sometime to come, and will probably go through a number of editions. Hopefully, these editions will not only be in Spanish. Scholarship of this significance and excellence should be made available to non-Spanish audiences given the importance of Latin America for the universal Church—the continent with the largest number of Catholics—and the Society of Jesus' role on that continent throughout history.

Fordham University, New York

Claudio M. Burgaleta, S.J.

Bollandistes, saints et légendes. Quatre siècles de recherche. Di Robert Godding, Bernard Joassart, Xavier Lequeux, François De Vriendt, Joseph Van der Straeten. (Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes, 2007. Pp. 179. N.p. Paperback.)

“O savants Bollandistes qui ne pensez qu'à produire! Savez-vous dans quel embarras vous mettez ceux qui ne sont pas assez riches pour vous acheter?"; c'est en ses termes que, le 12 décembre 1889, A. Vingtrinier de la Grande Bibliothèque de Lyon s'adressait à Carlos Sommervogel qui venait de lui annoncer la prochaine publication de son grand ouvrage intitulé *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus* (AFSI, Fond Carlos Sommervogel, Correspondance). Le même Vingtrinier n'aurait certainement pas soulevé d'objections pour acheter le volume publié à l'occasion du quatrième centenaire de la Société des Bollandistes.

Ce jubilé a été souligné par trois manifestations. Tout d'abord une exposition “Bollandistes, saints et légendes. Quatre siècles de recherche,” organisée dans le cadre prestigieux de la Chapelle de Nassau incluse dans les installations de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique à Bruxelles, et inaugurée le 4 octobre 2007 (elle restera ouverte jusqu'à la fin du novembre). Le lendemain, se tint, dans la même Bibliothèque, un colloque international “De Rosweyde aux *Acta Sanctorum*. La recherche hagiographique des Bollandistes à travers quatre siècles.” Enfin, le livre que voici.

Ses auteurs, les Bollandistes actuels, ont voulu narrer en quelque 160 pages l'histoire d'une aventure scientifique hors du commun.

Les deux premiers chapitres traitent des origines du culte des saints depuis les débuts du christianisme, de la naissance et du développement de la littérature propre à ces saints, ainsi que des premières grandes collections de textes hagiographiques rassemblées par des érudits tels Mombricitus, Wicelius,

Lipomanus et Surius qui précédèrent le projet présenté par Héribert Rosweyde dans ses *Fasti Sanctorum* publiés à Anvers en 1607.

Ce jésuite originaire d'Utrecht, qui envisageait l'édition de quelque 1300 Vies de saints réparties en 18 tomes, était loin d'imaginer qu'il ne pourrait pas réaliser son projet, et encore moins que, reprise par Bolland et ses successeurs, son intention allait in fine déboucher sur la publication de la célèbre collection des *Acta Sanctorum* (67 volumes in-folio), une revue (les *Analecta Bollandiana*, 125 tomes à ce jour), et deux autres collections, les *Subsidia hagiographica* et le *Tabularium hagiographicum* (respectivement 91 et 4 titres).

Si le passé fait l'objet de la majeure partie de l'ouvrage, les Auteurs n'en ont pas pour autant passé sous silence leur travail actuel ni les perspectives d'avenir. L'hagiographie critique est une discipline particulièrement prisée de nos jours et la Société des Bollandistes demeure une institution de référence majeure en la matière.

L'ouvrage est de facture nettement moins austère que les habituelles publications bollandiennes. Il est effectivement agrémenté de plus de 90 illustrations, souvent en pleine page, reproduisant des manuscrits et des documents d'archives, des gravures, des photos de lieux et de personnages, qui proviennent principalement des fonds de la Société et de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique. Un chapitre retiendra certainement l'attention, qui étudie les illustrations qui courent tout au long de la collection des *Acta Sanctorum*.

Soulignons également la présence d'encarts qui, de manière assez brève, présentent des thématiques particulière (p. ex. l'évolution des dédicaces des volumes des *Acta*, les sujets abordés dans les dissertations spéciales incluses dans différents volumes de la collection, etc.), la liste des Bollandistes depuis Rosweyde jusqu'au début de notre siècle, et une substantielle orientation bibliographique qui permettra au lecteur curieux d'en savoir plus sur l'un des plus célèbres entreprises d'érudition de toute l'histoire.

Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu

Robert Danieluk, S.J.

The Jesuit Series. Part 5 (P-Z). Eds. Peter M. Daly and G. Richard Dimler, S.J. [Corpus Librorum Emblematum.] (Toronto/Buffalo/London: University of Toronto Press, 2007. Pp. lx, 317. \$175.00/£ 87.00. Hardback.)

This is the fifth and final volume of a series on Jesuit emblems, which has been decades in the making. Reviews of earlier volumes can be found in *AHSI* 73 [2004] 248-49; 75 [2006] 552-53). As before the authors have been able to add many new titles and editions. Altogether the complete Jesuit Series comprises some 1514 entries, about 500 first editions and a further 1000 subsequent editions, issues, and translations. Many of the books are described

here for the first time. Of the 321 titles in this volume, the authors indicate the number of books not being found in earlier bibliographies, among them the overrated and unreliable works by John Landwehr. Still, one could argue about the inclusion and/or exclusion of certain works, and about the reasons for doing so. Nevertheless, the result is impressive, and as a standard work a great help for future researchers.

A more detailed comment may follow. Since the authors started their research several decades ago, certain data demand updating and correction, e.g. the acronyms and locations of certain libraries: p. xxxiii VUB [read: Vrije Universiteit Bibliotheek], LeBSJ [now at Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Maurits Sabbe Bibliotheek]; p. xxxvii [FRG Federal Republic of Germany; this is the name of the western part of Germany before the Wende]; CANPSJ [now at Munich, Archiv der Deutschen Provinz der Jesuiten]; p. xliii NJBB [now at Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Maurits Sabbe Bibliotheek]; p. xlv UKI [read: Kunsthistorisch Instituut der Rijksuniversiteit].

In the description of the entries the following corrections are needed: J.1206 [read: Poltowa Jesuit College]; J.1234 [read: Cajetan]; J.1246 [read: Lacrymae]; J.1260 [read: Joannes, not: Johannes]; J.1344 [read: Bruges or Brugge, not: Brugges; read: Fruijters]; J.1359-1396 [baptismal name is not Wilhelm, but Guillaume]; J.1401 [family name is not Steeg, but Steegius or Steeghjus; a reedition at Groningen, Kühn, 1839]; J.1420 [the year of publication is not 1648, but 1649, as can be seen on the illustration of the front page]; J.1485, 1488, 1489, 1492 [the place of publication, "Tornaci," is not Turnau, but Doornik or Tournai]; J.1518 [the illustration is lacking]. In the bibliography one should read Hoftijzer (p. xvi, xxx).

Netherlands Institute of Jesuit Studies, Amsterdam

Paul Begheyn, S.J.

Alfonso Sancho Mateos: Los primeros años formativos de un bodeguero (1858-1879). Por Bernardo Rodríguez Caparrini. [Biblioteca de Temas Portuenses 29.] (El Puerto de Santa María: Concejalía de Cultura del Ayuntamiento de El Puerto de Santa María, 2007. Pp. 219. N.p. Paperback.)

No es la primera vez que el lingüista e historiador portuense, Bernardo Rodríguez Caparrini (El Puerto, 1962), consagra sus talentos y su tiempo a realizar estudios históricos relacionados con los jesuitas en la Bahía de Cádiz (España). Es sin duda uno de los que mejor conocen la presencia jesuita en el Puerto de Santa María y en Cádiz. Se puede afirmar que sobresale ya como el mejor historiador laico de la Compañía en la región.

En este libro, recientemente publicado, Bernardo estudia con todo detalle la época de formación de un bodeguero del Marco del Jerez. En esta nueva obra

se dedica a estudiar con nuevos bríos sus temas favoritos: el Colegio de San Luis, en su primera etapa, y el Colegio jesuita de Beaumont, cerca del Castillo de Windsor, en Inglaterra. No se debe olvidar que Bernardo es antiguo alumno del Colegio de San Luis, en el Puerto.

En la segunda mitad del siglo XIX, los vinateros de la región gaditana acuden a estos colegios para que se les imparta a sus hijos la mejor formación humana y profesional. Y las dos instituciones jesuitas responden de modo excelente a esas expectativas, y consiguen impartir a sus alumnos la mejor formación, que les capacitará para ser óptima “inversión, o capital humano” (la “fuerza de trabajo”), en las empresas familiares.

Estamos, pues, ante un excelente libro de investigación histórica, muy bien escrito y abundantemente documentado. No dudamos de que este trabajo de investigación nos va a ayudar a conocer mejor a la Compañía de Jesús de la época, en el suroeste de Andalucía, y no sólo en una época de normalidad, sino particularmente en los tiempos difíciles que vivieron los jesuitas en la segunda mitad del siglo XIX.

Esta obra nos ayuda también a conocer la Provincia Británica de la Compañía de Jesús y sus obras educativas, a través del Colegio de Beaumont. Los jesuitas ingleses supieron acoger amablemente a los alumnos de los colegios jesuitas de Andalucía, particularmente a los alumnos del Colegio de San Luis.

En el decurso de la lectura de esta obra, comprobamos también los problemas que acosaban a los vinateros del Marco del Jerez y del Málaga, en la segunda mitad del siglo XIX, asistimos a la transformación gradual de El Puerto de Santa María, y revivimos la historia de los años 60, con la agitada República y la revolución llamada la Gloriosa. La expulsión de los jesuitas por aquellas fechas, influyó en la búsqueda en otros países, por parte de los vinateros, de educación jesuita para sus hijos.

Pienso que este es un libro único, y todo él está escrito con gran maestría, en un estilo claro, y atrayente, como afirma su presentador en el Prólogo. El autor ha mantenido frecuentes contactos personales con los mejores historiadores actuales de la Compañía, primero en el Puerto, y luego en otros ámbitos, desde Sevilla y Granada hasta Roma y Londres. Esperamos con ilusión que el Dr. Rodríguez Caparrini, nos siga sorprendiendo gratamente con estudios similares sobre la historia de la Compañía y los jesuitas en la Bahía gaditana.

Comunidad San Hipólito, Córdoba

Antonio Maldonado, S.J.

Trattati della Calamita. Por Leonardo Garzoni, S.J. Ed. Monica Ugaglia. (Milano: FrancoAngeli, 2005. Pp. 349. S.p. Rústica.)

Es conocido el interés de los jesuitas por el estudio del magnetismo terrestre desde los primeros autores de finales del siglo XVI a los observatorios magnéticos establecidos a finales del siglo XIX y principios del XX. Hay que destacar que entre los 75 observatorios fundados por los jesuitas en todo el mundo, 15 de ellos disponían de instrumentos para medir el campo magnético terrestre, cinco en Europa, uno en América del Norte, cuatro en América del Central y del Sur y cinco en Asia, África y el Medio Oriente. Este trabajo moderno puede remontarse a los estudios pioneros sobre el magnetismo de autores jesuitas de los siglos XVI al XVIII, como José de Acosta, Nicolò Cabeo, Nicolo Zucchi, Athanasius Kircher, Jacques Grandami y Maximilian Hell. Cabeo el primer jesuita que publicó un tratado de magnetismo, *Philosophia magnetica* (Ferrara, 1629) reconoce su deuda con otro jesuita, Leonardo Garzoni, en cuyo trabajo, que no llegó a publicarse, se basa. Esta obra conservada en forma manuscrita, de la que solo se tenía noticias a través de otros autores, en especial Cabeo, ha sido recientemente descubierta y es la que nos presenta Monica Ugaglia en una cuidada edición. Garzoni escribió esta obra hacia 1580, es decir antes de que William Gilbert publicara su obra *De Magnete* (Londres, 1600), reconocida como el origen del tratamiento moderno del magnetismo y en la que por primera vez se reconoce a la tierra misma como un gran imán.

Monica Ugaglia precede la publicación del texto de la obra de Garzoni con una larga introducción de 79 páginas en la que trata del contexto de la obra de Garzoni, las innovaciones de la obra respecto a las obras anteriores sobre el magnetismo, la influencia de la obra en las de Cabeo, Giovanni Battista della Porta y Gilbert y su prioridad respecto a la obra con título similar (*Trattato della calamita*) de Paolo Sarpi. Ugaglia explica con detalle dos puntos importantes de la obra de Garzoni, la interpretación del magnetismo terrestre como producido por la atracción de la aguja imanada por los polos celestes y la utilización del método experimental para tratar las propiedades de la piedra imán (calamita). En el primero, aunque Garzoni no asigna los polos magnéticos a la tierra, sino a la esfera celeste, sin embargo, para explicar la declinación magnética pone los polos celestes magnéticos en distinta posición que los polos geográficos. Esto es una aproximación a la situación real en la que los polos magnéticos de la tierra no coinciden con los geográficos. Ya se ha mencionado que Cabeo describe con detalle la obra de Garzoni y sugiere que tanto Della Porta como Sarpi la conocieron, mientras que es Zucchi el que acusa a ambos de apropiarse de ella sin nombrarle. Ugaglia explica con detalle la dependencia clara de la obra de Della Porta, *Magiae naturalis* (Frankfurt, 1591) de la de Garzoni sin reconocer su procedencia. Respecto a la dependencia de Sarpi, Ugaglia se inclina por la hipótesis de que también conoció la obra de Garzoni. Según ella, es a través de estos dos autores que se puede establecer la influencia de las ideas de Garzoni en la obra de Gilbert.

El texto completo de la obra está tomado del único manuscrito que se conserva en la Biblioteca Ambrosiana de Milán con título *Due trattati sopra la natura e le qualità della calamita* y es una copia de finales del siglo XVI. La obra está dividida en dos tratados, el primero con 17 capítulos trata de las propiedades de la piedra imán (calamita) en la atracción del hierro y en su orientación hacia los polos del mundo y es la parte más extensa. El segundo tratado, más breve, consta de dos partes. La primera consta de 90 conclusiones sobre las propiedades del imán como su doble polaridad y la de orientarse hacia los polos de la Tierra. La segunda trata brevemente de la causa de los efectos propuestos en la primera parte. El texto está acompañado por las ilustraciones originales del manuscrito y un total de 301 notas que explican y aclaran el texto y hacen referencia a otras obras contemporáneas. En un apéndice se da la correspondencia de los capítulos donde se trata de la misma materia en la obra de Garzoni y las de Cabeo, Della Porta y Gilbert. Una amplia bibliografía de fuentes primarias, manuscritos y fuentes secundarias completa la obra. Tenemos que agradecer a Mónica Ugaglia por la cuidadísima edición de esta obra pionera del magnetismo que solo se conocía hasta ahora por las referencias de las obras de Cabeo y Zucchi. La extensa introducción y las muchas notas añadidas al texto nos aclaran la posición de la obra de Garzoni en la historia del magnetismo y su relación con la de otros autores contemporáneo, en especial con la de Gilbert. La obra tiene un particular interés para la historia de la contribución de los jesuitas al estudio del magnetismo. Con ella conocemos el verdadero comienzo de esta tradición que tuvo su apogeo, más tarde, con los estudios del magnetismo terrestre por Stephen Perry y Walter Sidgreaves en Stonyhurst Observatory, Luís Rodés y Antonio Romañá en el Observatorio del Ebro y Pierre Mayaud en París. Hay que felicitar y agradecer a Monica Ugaglia por la esmerada publicación de esta obra y su brillante introducción y notas al texto.

Universidad Complutense, Madrid

Agustín Udías, S.J.

“Universitas nostra Gregoriana. La Pontificia Università Gregoriana ieri ed oggi. A cura di Paul Gilbert, S.J. (Roma: Segretario nazione dell’Apostolato della Preghiera, 2006. Pp. 377. € 20,00. Paperback.)

Il libro è l’eco del giubileo dei 450 anni della Pontificia Università Gregoriana celebrato nel 2001. Anche il presente volume, come ogni *Festschrift*, assomiglia ad un mazzo di fiori composto da piante di diversa specie, dove ciascun fiore è prezioso nel suo aspetto, colore, profumo e appartenenza.

377 pagine non sono certo troppe per raccontare una storia lunga e complessa come quella dell’Università Gregoriana. Il volume, infatti, non ha questa pretesa, alla quale si dedicò Riccardo G. Villoslada nella sua *Storia del Collegio Romano dal suo inizio (1551) alla soppressione della Compagnia di Gesù (1773)*

(Romae: Apud Aedes Universitatis Gregoriana, 1954). Lo scopo della presente pubblicazione è ben altro, come già preconizza l'introduzione: ricordare alcuni degli orientamenti fondamentali della "Nostra Università" (l'espressione, ripresa nel titolo, è di Pio XI) per conoscere la sua "anima" piuttosto che il suo passato. Non si tratta però di due conoscenze indipendenti, anzi, sono inscindibili, perché non è possibile trattare dell'identità della Gregoriana senza evocarne la storia e il presente libro lo dimostra.

Modesto nelle sue dimensioni, ma ricco di contenuto, il volume raccoglie 20 articoli di diversi autori, la maggioranza dei quali gesuiti. Alcuni testi sono già stati pubblicati nelle riviste dell'Università (*Gregorianum*, *Periodica*, *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae*), altri sono stati proposti durante alcuni Atti Accademici della Gregoriana. Alla varietà delle lingue che si incontrano—oltre all'italiano troviamo inglese, spagnolo, francese e tedesco—corrisponde la varietà dei temi trattati.

Accanto ad articoli di carattere storico che ci istruiscono sul passato dell'illustre ateneo, ve ne sono altri che trattano delle fonti e della genesi di quello che è stato e rimane il precipuo *modus operandi* dell'Università Gregoriana. L'accento, tuttavia, non viene posto tanto su un'evocazione del passato glorioso che sia—quanto sull'influenza esercitata dalle nuove sfide imposte dai grandi cambiamenti in atto sulle proposte educative.

Il Padre Peter-Hans Kolvenbach, generale della Compagnia di Gesù, è l'unico autore con due articoli—all'inizio e verso la fine del volume—che trattano del binomio tra la *pietas* e l'*eruditio*, una delle caratteristiche fondanti della pedagogia ignaziana alla quale si intende rimanere fedeli nonostante il nuovo scenario.

Gli altri articoli presenti spaziano dalla storia dell'Università all'influsso della spiritualità ignaziana sull'insegnamento offerto dalle origini fino ai nostri giorni. Così, oltre alla visione di insieme dell'insegnamento impartito fino al 1773 (Mario Fois), il lettore viene istruito sulla storia della facoltà di teologia (Cándido Pozzo), di diritto canonico (Clarence Gallagher) e di filosofia (Peter Henrici). A completare il quadro storico vengono trattati altri temi, come l'architettura gesuitica (Giovanni Sale) o l'influsso del *modus parisiensis* sull'insegnamento dei gesuiti (Gabriel Codina Mir). Una seria riflessione sulla formazione della pedagogia ignaziana non può esimersi da una trattazione del discernimento spirituale (Adrien Demoustier) e degli Esercizi spirituali del Santo Fondatore della Compagnia di Gesù (Ignacio Iglesias).

I più recenti capitoli della storia della Gregoriana sono messi in luce negli articoli riguardanti le nuove sfide che la Chiesa e l'opera educatrice dei gesuiti in particolar modo devono affrontare oggi. Così, la presentazione dei grandi principi del progetto educativo della Compagnia (Franco Imoda) è accompagnata dalle riflessioni sul loro adattarsi ai grandi cambiamenti che caratterizzano il

nostro secolo (Vincent J. Duminuco, Carlo Mosca, Michael P. Gallagher). Altri contributi riguardano l'insegnamento della filosofia e della teologia (Juan Alfaro, Bernard Lonergan, Josef Fuchs) con un accento sull'apertura al dialogo ecumenico e interreligioso (Joseph Vercruysse, Michael L. Fitzgerald).

Alla fine, Gianfranco Ghirlanda, il rettore, presenta lo statuto attuale dell'Università dimostrando come la struttura dell'insegnamento derivi e rispecchi fedelmente la missione avuta dalla Chiesa. Attualmente la Gregoriana conta più di 3 mila studenti (3521 nell'anno accademico 2005-2006), provenienti da circa 130 paesi e 419 docenti.

Ad multos annos! Auguriamo alla "Nostra Università," concludendo la lettura del libro.

Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu

Robert Danieluk, S.J.



MONUMENTA HISTORICA SOCIETATIS IESU
NOVA SERIES
Vol. 3



Leyenda de los Santos [Beato Iácopo da Varazze, O.P.]

Félix Juan Cabasés, S.I.

La Leyenda de los Santos es la obra más conocida del Beato Dominico Iácopo da Varazze (1228-1298). No sólo es la obra de la que más manuscritos se conservan, después de la Biblia, sino que, apenas llegada la imprenta, fue objeto de incontables ediciones en su original latino y en diversas traducciones, porque este Año Cristiano era de obligada presencia en todas las Bibliotecas monacales, catedralicias, parroquiales . . . El libro inspiró una parte importante de la iconografía medieval, y constituye un testigo insustituible de la espiritualidad y de la piedad cristianas entre los siglos XIII y XVI. Ofrecemos la transcripción íntegra del único ejemplar conocido de la edición hecha en Sevilla y en 1520 por el impresor salmantino Juan de Varela, texto idéntico o muy similar al que el período 1521-1522 fue libro de cabecera del convaleciente Íñigo de Loyola, cuya conversión a Dios acompañó e inspiró.

Copublicado con Universidad Pontificia Comillas, Madrid

Roma/Madrid, 2007.

€ 70,00 (€ 60,00 a los subscriptores)



JESUIT HISTORIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

INSTITUTUM HISTORICUM SOCIETATIS IESU

ARCHIVUM HISTORICUM SOCIETATIS IESU

Primarily as a result of higher costs in postage, we shall have to increase our annual rate of subscription in 2009. Beginning in January of that year, an annual subscription for the *AHSI* will be \$50.00 or € 36,00.

MONUMENTA HISTORICA SOCIETATIS IESU NOVA SERIES

Martín M. Morales, S.J., laid the foundation for the MHSI new series with *A mis manos han llegado. Cartas de los PP. Generales a la Antigua Provincia del Paraguay (1608-1639)* (€ 40,00 to subscribers; € 50,00 to non-subscribers). The Universidad Pontificia Comillas (Madrid) and the IHSI have agreed to co-publish monographs and/or editions of original documents, considered important for the history of the Society of Jesus. Together they have just published the third in the series, *Leyenda de los Santos*, edited by Félix Juan Cabasés, S.J.



The second volume of the new series, R. Po-chia Hsia, *Noble Patronage and Jesuit Missions: Maria Theresia von Fugger-Wellenburg (1690-1762) and Jesuit Missionaries in China and Vietnam*, has appeared. The price to subscribers is €

40,00; to non-subscribers, € 50,00. We anticipate the fourth volume with the tentative title *Occasional Conformity: Arguments for and against in Early Modern England*, edited by Ginevra Crosignani, Thomas M. McCoog, S.J., and Michael Questier in early 2009.

BIBLIOTHECA INSTITUTI HISTORICI SOCIETATIS IESU

Subscribers to the series receive significant discounts. For example: Robert Danieluk, S.J., *La Bibliothèque de Carlos Sommervogel: Le sommet de l'oeuvre bibliographique de la Compagnie de Jésus (1890-1932)*, and Thomas M. McCoog, S.J., ed., *The Reckoned Expense: Edmund Campion and the Early English Jesuits*, a second edition with additional material, were priced at € 40,00 for subscribers and € 50,00 for others; Paul Shore, *Jesuits and the Politics of Cultural Pluralism in Eighteenth Century Transylvania*; Victor Houlston, *Catholic Resistance in Elizabethan England: Robert Persons's Jesuit Polemic, 1580-1610* (both co-published with Ashgate); and Eva Fontana Castelli, "*La Compagnia di Gesù sotto altro nome*": Niccolò Paccanari e la Compagnia della Fede di Gesù were priced at € 35,00 for subscribers and € 50,00 for others. The most recent co-publication with Ashgate is Robert Aleksander Maryks, *Saint Cicero and the Jesuits: The Influence of the Liberal Arts on the Adoption of Moral Probabilism*. In early 2009, Léon Wuillaume, S.J., *Aux origines du jansénisme en France* should appear.

MISCELLANEOUS PUBLICATIONS

The IHSI published Jordi Roca, S.J., *Numismática Ignaciana* to commemorate the 450th anniversary of the death of Ignatius Loyola. Based on Father Roca's own collection of medallions, this beautifully illustrated volume reproduces in color more than four hundred medals from the late 16th century to the present. Students of Ignatian iconography will be able to trace the portraits used on the medals to print sources. Equally interesting, the reverse sides depict favorite Jesuit images such as the Madonna della Strada and the Madonna Salus Populi, as well as particular Jesuit devotions, like the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary, the Holy Family, Mater Dolorosa, Immaculate Conception, and the Guardian Angel. Such medals were important to early Jesuit missionaries. Examples of medals brought by missionaries to the New World have been uncovered in Huron archeological sites in Canada and New York. The volume is not intended as an exhaustive, definitive study, but as the first step in the exploration of a previously neglected area of Ignatian iconography. It would be of interest to any scholar of Ignatian iconography and/or Roman Catholic material culture.

The IHSI website is currently being revised and updated. The new site can be viewed at: <http://www.ihsiroma.org>

Please send any comments or queries to: <ihsiroma@sjcuria.org>

AD INFORMATIONEM

WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS

Vincent A. Lapomarda, S.J., announces the Italian translation of his *The Jesuits and the Third Reich* (1989): *I Gesuiti e il Terzo Reich* (Milano: libro Saggistica, 2008) for € 38,21. The original English edition was updated in 2005; the Italian edition is a further updating. Dr. Antonino LoNardo of Palermo did the translation which was reviewed by Rev. Alfred R. Desautels, S.J., Professor Emeritus of Modern Languages at the College of the Holy Cross, and by the author himself. This Italian edition updates the 2005 edition of a study that began following Father Lapomarda's appointment as Coordinator of the Hiatt Holocaust Collection at Holy Cross in 1979. Since the collection emphasizes the relationship of the Roman Catholic Church to the Holocaust, the author thought that it was necessary to find out what the Jesuits were doing at that time. As a result, he published "The Jesuits and the Holocaust," *Journal of Church and State* 23 (1981) 241-58; the first edition of the monograph followed in 1989. The author discovered that twelve Jesuits, two of them as a result of the author's advocacy of their cause, were recognized by Yad Vashem in Israel as Righteous Gentiles from among at least one hundred European Jesuits who helped the Jews during the Holocaust. In their memory, this Italian edition is dedicated.

EXHIBITIONS

An exhibition entitled "Johann Hermann Glandorff, S.J. (1687-1763). From Ostercappeln to the Sierra Tarahumara" opened in Bielefeld (Germany) on 26 April 2008.

An exhibition on Johann Philipp Bettendorff, S.J. (1625-1691), missionary in Brazil, opened in his hometown Lintgen (Luxemburg) on 20 June 2008.

ROMA

Facoltà della Storia e dei Beni Culturali della Chiesa nella Pontificia Università Gregoriana

75° anniversario Congresso Internazionale di Studi Storici Studio e insegnamento della storia della Chiesa Bilanci e prospettive per nuove letture
17-19 aprile 2008

Marek Inglot, S.J., Pontificia Università Gregoriana, "La Facoltà di Storia della Pontificia Università Gregoriana: fine, metodologia, contributi."

S.E.R. Mons. Sergio Pagano, Prefetto dell'Archivio Segreto Vaticano, "Lo storico in archivio, lo storico senza archivio."

Josep Hernando, Universitat de Barcelona, "Archivos, investigación histórica 'libresca.'"

Alain Tallon, Université Paris Sorbonne Paris IV, "Sources romaines et tradition gallicane: historiographie catholique et historiographie laïque du catholicisme français d'Ancien Régime."

Anatoly Krasikov, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, "Il problema dei rapporti della "Terza Roma" con il cattolicesimo nella seconda metà del XX secolo."

Vera Tchentsova, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, "Les patriarchats orientaux au XVIIe siècle dans les archives romaines et moscovites: recherches récentes et perspectives."

Evghenia Tokareva, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow. "L'Unione Sovietica e il Vaticano nel tempo di Pio XII: dall'inizio della seconda guerra mondiale fino all'inizio della 'guerra fredda' nella storiografia russa dell'epoca."

Norman Tanner, S.J., "Pontificia Università Gregoriana, "La storia ecclesiastica all'interno del mondo anglofono nel Novecento: come gli storici cattolici sono stati valutati dai loro colleghi di altre confessioni e di altre fedi."

R. William Franklin, American Academy in Rome, "Come gli storici cattolici della Chiesa sono considerati dagli anglicani dall'ottica degli Stati Uniti."

Thomas Mayer, Augustana College, Rock Island, Il., "Catholic Historiography of the English Reformations."

Sofia Boesch Gajano, Università degli Studi Roma Tre, "Storia della Chiesa, storia del cristianesimo e storia medioevale. La storia della santità e del culto dei santi: osservazione da varie storiografie."

Paolo Broglio, Università degli Studi Roma Tre, "L'elemento storico nelle controversie dottrinali tra Cinque e Seicento: i gesuiti e gli altri ordini religiosi."

Antonella Romano, European University Institute, Florence, "Chiesa cattolica e scienza moderna: note sul contributo storiografico dei gesuiti."

Anna Foa, Università degli Studi di Roma "La Sapienza," Storia della Chiesa e storia degli ebrei: temi di dibattito e immagini a confronto."

Cristiana Facchini, Università degli Studi di Bologna, "Chiesa cattolica ed ebrei in età moderna: sguardi incrociati. Riflessioni metodologiche e nuovi contributi."

Annalisa Capristo, Centro di Studi Americani, Roma, "La Chiesa e l'apparizione del razzismo fascista. Il caso della mancata nomina del Cardinal Mercati all'Accademia d'Italia nel 1937."

Paolo Branca, Università Cattolica Sacro Cuore di Milano, "Gli studi orientalistici cristiani e occidentali: polemica da parte islamica."

Giulio Cipollone, Pontificia Università Gregoriana, "La corrispondenza dei Papi all'indirizzo dei Saraceni. Indagine in corso su risposte coeve e impiego nella storiografia islamica."

Abderrazak Sayadi, Université de Manouba, "Y a t-il une influence de l'historiographie chrétienne contemporaine sur la Vie de Muhammad de l'historien tunisien Hichem Djait?"

Timothy Verdon, Stanford University (Florence), "Storia dell'arte cristiana: la nuova apertura metodologica."

Pasquale Iacobone, Pontificia Università Gregoriana, "'Hortus conclusus'. L'arte cristiana negli studi cattolici e in altri contesti di ricerca accademica."

Gervase Rosser, University of Oxford, "Le immagini miracolose nella storia, nel contesto della storiografia cattolica e protestante."

Heinrich Pfeiffer, S.J., Pontificia Università Gregoriana, "Storici dell'arte della Germania protestante e la iconografia cristiana cattolica."

Massimiliano Ghilardi, Istituto Nazionale di Studi Romani, "Il sangue dei martiri nell'arte della Controriforma. Un'indagine storiografica sullo scetticismo protestante alla devozione cattolica."

Simone Piazza, Université Paul Valéry–Montpellier III, "L'attenzione all'arte medievale nella storiografia di ispirazione cristiana. Riflessione su alcuni contributi fra Otto e Novecento."

Martin Morales, S.J., Pontificia Università Gregoriana, "La Facoltà di Storia della Pontificia Università Gregoriana: i fermenti per una 'nuova lettura' della storia della Chiesa."

NEW HAVEN

Religion & Violence in Early America

Yale University School of Graduate Studies and the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, in cooperation with the Jonathan Edwards Center and the Initiative on Religion and Politics, sponsored a two-day conference on the above theme on 11-12 April 2008. Two papers specifically dealt with the Society of Jesus:

Adam John Stueck, Marquette University, "Caresses and the Cross: The Jesuit Response to Amerindian Torture in Seventeenth-Century New France."

Brandon Bayne, Harvard University, "*En Odium Fidei?* Missionary Death and the Extirpation of Native Religion in the Jesuit Missions of Northwestern New Spain."

WÜRZBURG

Jesuiten und Naturwissenschaften

Jahrestagung von Jesuitica e.V.

Historiker sind in ihrer Schulzeit mit Naturwissenschaften oft auf Kriegsfuss gestanden. Ebenso konnten es viele spätere Naturwissenschaftler kaum erwarten, das mühsame Auswendiglernen im Geschichtsunterricht an den Nagel zu hängen. Folge sind zwei Wissenschaftsstränge, die die Historiker vergessen lassen, dass die Naturwissenschaften die abendländische Kultur und Mentalität stark bestimmten. Und die Naturwissenschaftler verlieren gerne aus dem Blick, dass sich ihre Disziplinen keineswegs in einem geradlinigen Erkenntnisprozess, sondern über ein langes und vages Experimentieren entwickelten und auch ihre Geschichte haben.

Das 17. Jahrhundert gilt politisch und kulturell als Epoche von Stagnation und Krise. Es ist aber auch die Zeit, in der die Gesellschaft Jesu das in der Gründungszeit ausgearbeitete Gedankengut mannigfaltig und flächendeckend zur Blüte gebracht hat. Es wird aber auch als das Jahrhundert der Mathematik angesehen. Die erzielten Fortschritte wurden für die Landvermessung, Navigation, Musik und Architektur fruchtbar gemacht. Auch die Gesellschaft Jesu stellte namhafte Vertreter, unter ihnen Kaspar Schott (1608-1666). Als Schüler von Athanasius Kircher im Kolleg von Würzburg musste er im Dreissigjährigen Krieg vor den schwedischen Truppen fliehen, absolvierte seine Ausbildung in Italien und wirkte als Professor in Palermo und Rom, bevor er 1655 als Mathematiker wieder nach Würzburg berufen wurde, wo er bis zu seinem frühen Tod blieb. Die rheinische Provinz war in mathematischen Belangen offensichtlich rückständig, weshalb die Ordensleitung in Rom für neues Lehrpersonal sorgte und die Philosophen anwies, die Naturwissenschaften weder zu bagatellisieren, noch ihren Lehrsätzen zu widersprechen.

Kaspar Schott zeichnete sich selbst nicht durch eigenständige Forschungen aus. Sein Verdienst war vielmehr, das Wissen seiner Zeit in 14 Büchern von insgesamt über 10'000 Seiten zusammengetragen zu haben. Der 400. Geburtstag dieses Jesuiten war es auch, der die Mitglieder von Jesuitica e.V. am 7./8. März zur Jahrestagung in Würzburg versammeln liess. Treffpunkt war die Universitätsbibliothek mit der Ausstellung «wunderbar berechenbar». Hans Joachim Vollrath, Prof. em. für Didaktik der Mathematik, führte durch die Welt

Kaspar Schotts, die er anhand anschaulichen Bildmaterials und gesammelter oder nachgebauter Instrumente nahe brachte. Darunter befanden sich auch Vorläufer von heutigen Geräten, so das Pantometrum Kircherianum, ein Vermessungsinstrument für Entfernungen, Höhen und Tiefen im Gelände, das an Pfadfinderübungen, den Zeichnungs- oder Physikunterricht erinnert. Eine Rechenmaschine, die sog. Cistula, hingegen hat ihren Platz in der Geschichte, gilt aber heute als Kuriosität.

Tüfteleien um das Perpetuum Mobile

In seinem Oeuvre stellt Kaspar Schott mehrere Perpetua Mobilia vor. Hans-Peter Gramatke zeigte im Hauptreferat der Tagung, wie die Idee von einer Maschine, die mehr Energie schafft, als man ihr zufügt, also Energie aus dem Nichts erzeugt, erstmals im 7. Jahrhundert n. Chr. in Indien überliefert ist und später in der Renaissance verschiedentlich herzustellen versucht wurde. Die Diskussion im 17. Jahrhundert ist geistesgeschichtlich insofern interessant, als sich in dieser Zeit ein Wandel der Weltbilder vollzog, der die wissenschaftliche Revolution des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts vorbereitet hat. Das aristotelische und hermetisch-magische Weltbild wurden durch das mechanische abgelöst, wobei die verschiedenen Denkschemata noch stark ineinander wirkten und zum Teil noch bis heute präsent sind.

Am Bau eines Perpetuum Mobile wurde aber auch gearbeitet, weil man im Schöpfer das Bild eines Baumeisters sah, der die Welt nach einem mechanischen Plan erschaffen und mit einem Impuls in immerwährende Bewegung gesetzt hat. Das Perpetuum Mobile sollte ein Abbild im Kleinen sein, in dem das aristotelische Bild vom unbewegten Bewegten, die Integration nicht-berechenbarer Faktoren aus der Magie und die genaue Beobachtung und Rekonstruktion von Abläufen in der Natur aus der Mechanik zusammenspielen. Die Diskussion um die Möglichkeit einer solchen Maschine hatte also auch eine theologische Komponente.

Aus Schotts Beschreibung des hydraulischen Perpetuum Mobile von Stanislaus Soluski SJ, das er am polnischen Königshof vorgeführt und mit dem er grossen Ruhm erlangt haben soll, entstand das weitverbreitete Gerücht der Funktionstüchtigkeit. Bezeichnenderweise entschied erst 1770 die französische Akademie nach einem «guten Bauchgefühl», ein Perpetuum Mobile könne es nicht geben. Der Beweis hingegen, dass Energie äquivalent, also nur verwandelt, nicht aber erzeugt und vernichtet sei, konnte erst 50 Jahre später erbracht werden.

Laufende historische Arbeiten

Eine grosse Bereicherung erfuhr die Tagung durch die Präsenz von vier Nachwuchs-Historikern aus Tübingen, die unter Anton Schindling, Professor für neuere Geschichte, verschiedene Themen aus der Geschichte der

Gesellschaft Jesu erforschen und in kurzen Projektberichten vorstellen. Elena Luckhardt gab einen Überblick über ihre geplante Magisterarbeit, in der sie der Chinarezeption der Jesuiten im 17. Jahrhundert und vor allem der Frage nachgeht, welche Hilfe ihnen dabei die Astronomie geboten hatte. Fabian Fechner untersuchte ein bisher unveröffentlichtes Herbarium von Sigmund Aperger SJ (1687-1772), der in den Reduktionen von Paraguay gelebt hatte. Von Interesse ist, wie Aperger nach Entsprechungen europäischer Heilpflanzen suchte und die indianische Bevölkerung unterwies, dass er aber ebenso deren alten Kenntnisse rezipierte und damit sein pharmazeutisches Wissen erweiterte. Christine Jetter hat die Verehrung und Propagierung der Heiligen Stanislaus Kostka und Aloysius von Gonzaga in den deutschen Kollegien der alten Gesellschaft erforscht. Besonders ins Visier nahm sie dabei die Periochen, gedruckte Programmhefte der Jesuitentheater. Susanne Häcker hat soeben eine Arbeit über die Tätigkeit der Jesuiten an den Universitäten Heidelberg, Freiburg und Tübingen während des Dreissigjährigen Kriegs eingereicht. Zwei dieser Städte waren Zentren des Protestantismus. Berufung, Etablierung und Vertreibung der Jesuiten zeigen deren Rolle bei Rekatholisierungsbemühungen mit völlig unterschiedlichem Ausgang.

Die vier interessanten Referate machten deutlich, dass die Kontakte zu Vertretern der profanen Geschichtswissenschaft, wo Forschungen zur Geschichte der Gesellschaft Jesu eine wahre Renaissance erleben, noch intensiviert werden müssen. Es wurde auch die Problematik erörtert, dass Publikationsmöglichkeiten nur beschränkt vorhanden sind.

Florian Fechner machte auf eine Tagung über das Kolleg Ellwangen aufmerksam, die PD Franz Brendle, Tübingen, Ende Oktober 2008 veranstalten wird. Genauere Informationen werden demnächst unter www.jesuiten.org einsehbar sein.

Die nächste Jesuitica-Tagung wird am 13./14. März 2009 in Eichstätt stattfinden. Grund für die Wahl dieses Ortes ist die Restaurierung der Jesuitenkirche. Sibylle Appuhn-Radtke, Professorin für Kunstgeschichte in München, wird für einen entsprechenden Schwerpunkt sorgen. Raum bekommen werden aber auch der Lehrbetrieb, die Pflege des Theaters und die Bestände der Bibliothek.

Provinzarchiv, Zürich

Paul Oberholzer SJ

ROMA

Quarto Centario della nascita di Antonio Vieira (1608-1697)

7-9 Febbraio 2008

Silvano Peloso, Sapienza, Università di Roma, “Antonio Vieira nel suo secolo e nella storia del futuro.”

Leonel Ribeiro dos Santos, Universidade de Lisboa, “Da verdade e do tempo: António Vieira e a controvérsia dos antigos e dos modernos.”

Sonia Netto Salomão, Sapienza, Università di Roma, “António Vieira, Cristina di Svezia e l'accademia romana.”

Pedro Calafate, Universidade de Lisboa, “Ética, política e sociedade em António Vieira.”

Adma Muhana, Universidade de São Paulo, “António Vieira e a Inquisição.”

Giovanni Caravaggi, Università di Pavia, “La Carta apologética al padre Jácome Iquazafigo.”

Isabel Almeida, Universidade de Lisboa, “Vieira, contemporâneo de Descartes. Um jesuíta no século das Paixões.”

Giuseppe Mazzocchi, Università di Pavia, “Scrittura e progettualità in Luis de Granada e António Vieira.”

José Eduardo Franco, Universidade de Lisboa, “António Vieira e o Quinto Império.”

Manuel Cândido Pimentel, Universidade Católica Portuguesa, “Profecia e ucronia em António Vieira.”

Antonio Celso Alves Pereira, Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro, “O diplomata António Vieira: o Brasil e a exposição chamada Papel Forte.”

Alessio Zaccardo, S.J., “Antonio Vieira e l'isola di Marajó ieri e oggi.”

José Luís Jobim, Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro, “António Vieira e o sermão do ouro perdido.”

Ettore Finazzi Agrò, Sapienza, Università di Roma, “‘Eu falo, mas vós não ofendeis a Deus com as palavras’: La questione indigena nel Sermone di Sant’Antonio ai pesci.”

Geraldo Mártires Coelho, Universidade Federal do Pará, “Profecia e história: Antonio Vieira e a Amazônia.”

Rafael Chambouleyron, Universidade Federal do Pará, “‘Ásperas proposições’ :jesuítas, moradores e a inquisição na Amazônia seiscentista.”

Luigi Marinelli, Sapienza, Università di Roma, “Cristallo scintillante: Vieira, Daniello Bartoli e il Beato Stanislao Kostka.”

Ugo Vignuzzi, Sapienza, Università di Roma, “António Vieira predicatore in italiano.”

Norbert Von Prellwitz, Sapienza, Università di Roma, “La traduzione spagnola delle Cinque Pietre della Fionda di David.”

Mariagrazia Russo, Università della Tuscia, “António Vieira a Roma e il problema dei cristãos-novos.”

Simone Celani, Sapienza, Università di Roma, “Antonio Vieira nelle biblioteche e negli archivi romani.”

Francesco Genovesi, Sapienza, Università di Roma, “Il trattato *De Universalī Evangelī Praedicatione* secondo il ms. 706 della Biblioteca Casanatense di Roma.”

EL PUERTO DE SANTA MARÍA

La expulsión de los jesuitas por Carlos III

XI Encuentros de Primavera de la Universidad de Cádiz en El Puerto de Santa María

(8-10 de abril de 2008)

Organizado por la Concejalía de Cultura del Ayuntamiento de El Puerto de Santa María y por el Vicerrectorado de Extensión Universitaria de la Universidad de Cádiz, tuvo lugar del 8 al 10 de abril de 2008 —dentro de la XI edición de los *Encuentros de Primavera*— el curso titulado “La expulsión de los jesuitas por Carlos III.” La sede del curso fue el salón de actos del Edificio San Luis, antiguo colegio y noviciado de la Orden jesuita.

La Compañía de Jesús fue expulsada de todos los dominios del rey Carlos III a principios de abril de 1767. La ejecución de la orden de extrañamiento se encomendó al conde de Aranda, presidente del Consejo de Castilla, quien eligió El Puerto de Santa María como “caja” o centro de concentración de más de 2000 jesuitas procedentes de ultramar. Desde El Puerto, y tras una espera más o menos prolongada, partirían en barco con destino al exilio italiano. El protagonismo de la bahía gaditana en el proceso de extrañamiento de los regulares de la Compañía de Jesús ha llevado al historiador Manuel Pacheco Albalade (Grupo de Investigación “Esteban Boutelou,” Universidad de Cádiz) y a la Dra. Inmaculada Fernández Arrillaga (Universidad de Alicante) a coordinar este curso, desde una perspectiva internacional y con la participación de algunos de los mayores expertos en la materia.

La primera conferencia del martes 8 de abril (18.30 h) fue pronunciada por Isidoro Pinedo Iparraguirre, S.J., Catedrático Emérito de Historia Moderna (Universidad de Deusto), quien disertó sobre “Luces y sombras en la actuación

de los ministros de Carlos III.” Le siguió el Catedrático de Historia Moderna (Universidad de Valladolid) Teófanés Egido López, con una ponencia titulada “Pastorales de los obispos y propaganda hostil a los jesuitas expulsos.” El Dr. Egido incidió en los motivos políticos de la expulsión y atribuyó a Carlos III una responsabilidad directa en la misma.

“La expulsión de los jesuitas novohispanos y su supervivencia en la memoria colectiva” fue el título de la disertación de la Dra. María Cristina Torales Pacheco, profesora de la Universidad Iberoamericana de México, que abrió la segunda jornada del curso (18.00 h). La Dra. Torales aportó la cifra de 678 jesuitas expulsados de Nueva España en un lapso de dos años, a partir del 25 de junio de 1767. Ilustró su charla con llamativas imágenes de diversos edificios jesuíticos del virreinato. A continuación le llegó el turno al Dr. Miguel María Santos Corrêa Monteiro (Centro de História, Universidad de Lisboa), que habló sobre “Pombal y los jesuitas,” calificando al todopoderoso ministro de “ni santo ni demonio.”

El jueves 10 de abril intervino en primer lugar el P. Francisco de Borja Medina, S.J. (Emérito de la Universidad Gregoriana de Roma), con una ponencia titulada “Córcega: un alto de los jesuitas extrañados en su transmigración hacia el exilio de Italia.” El P. Medina, historiador de reconocida trayectoria, precisó que la pena de extrañamiento era la máxima después de la de muerte, pues comprendía el doble castigo del destierro de la nación y de la confiscación de los bienes materiales. El segundo ponente de la tarde, Niccolò Guasti (Escuela Superior de Pisa), se centró en los “Rasgos del exilio italiano de los jesuitas expulsos,” destacando la labor de investigación de los expulsos en archivos y bibliotecas de Italia. El balance y las conclusiones finales, realizadas por la profesora Inmaculada Fdez. Arrillaga, pusieron el broche de oro al curso. Numeroso público asistió a las tandas de conferencias en cada una de las tres tardes, realizando diversas preguntas a los ponentes durante el tiempo de debate. La Universidad de Cádiz reconoció la asistencia a este curso con 1 crédito de libre elección, por lo que entre la audiencia hubo un nutrido grupo de estudiantes universitarios.

De forma paralela a los Encuentros de Primavera, se celebró en horario de mañana la Primera Reunión de Primavera de Investigadores sobre los jesuitas en el siglo XVIII. Las sesiones de trabajo se desarrollaron en la antigua biblioteca del colegio de San Luis Gonzaga, actual Archivo Histórico Municipal (día 9), y en la Casa de Ejercicios “La Inmaculada” (día 10). Las mesas redondas trataron de “La expulsión en la Península Ibérica,” “La expulsión en los dominios ultramarinos (luso-hispanos)” y “Destierro y extinción.” El programa de actividades incluyó una visita a las Bodegas Osborne, un recorrido en autobús por lugares jesuíticos de El Puerto de Santa María en el siglo XVIII y un almuerzo de clausura en el restaurante “El Ancla” de esta ciudad. Asistieron

una veintena de investigadores, entre ellos los jesuitas Antonio J. Trigueiros (Portugal), Bertomeu Melià (Paraguay), Francisco de Borja Medina (Italia), José del Rey Fajardo (Venezuela), Luis Conde (El Puerto), Leonardo Molina (Sevilla) e Isidoro Pinedo (Pamplona).

Por otro lado, el P. Bertomeu Melià pronunció el viernes 11 de abril, a las 21.00 h, una conferencia titulada “Las misiones guaraní-jesuiticas del Paraguay en los siglos XVII y XVIII.” Este acto se desarrolló en la Sala Caja Inmaculada (Plaza Isaac Peral) y formó parte de las Tertulias de Historia que, mensualmente, organiza el Aula de Historia “Menesteo” con la colaboración de la Caja Inmaculada y la Concejalía de Cultura del Ayuntamiento de El Puerto de Santa María.

Universidad de Cádiz

Bernardo Rodríguez Caparrini

WASHINGTON, D.C.

American Historical Association

The Association's annual meeting was held on 3-6 January 2008 in Washington, D.C. Of explicit interest to historians of the Society of Jesus were the following papers:

Brandon L. Bayne, Harvard University, “Between Monte and Misión: Ritual Space and Reduction in the Jesuit Missions of Northwest New Spain.”

Robert A. Maryks, Bronx Community College, “General Confession and Perception of Self in Early Modern Jesuit Autobiographies.”

Karin A. Velez, Williams College, “Jesuits, Miracles, and the Image of the Madonna of Loreto on the Spanish American Frontier, 1680-1720.”

Ralph Frasca, Belmont Abbey College, “A Battle of Wills: Catholics Boycott a Baltimore Newspaper for Equating St. Ignatius Loyola to Adolf Hitler.”

Nicole von Germeten, Oregon State University, “Bringing *Aethiopia* into the Light: Reassessing the 1647 Edition of *De instauranda Aethiopia salute*.”

Pablo Gomez, Vanderbilt University, “Bodies, Souls, and Disease: Alonso de Sandoval and African Slave Health Practices in Cartagena de Indias during the Seventeenth Century.”

Ronald J. Morgan, Abilene Christian University, “Beyond Jesuit Partisan Propaganda: Alonso de Sandoval's *De instauranda Aethiopia salute* as Jesuit Discourse and Personal Self-Affirmation.”

Margaret Olsen, University of Missouri at Columbia, “Alonso de Sandoval: Mapping *Aethiopia* and the African Body.”

PISA

Stringere la pace: Teorie e pratiche della conciliazione nell'Europa moderna (secoli XV-XVIII)

Al meno due discorsi sui gesuiti:

Santo Burgio, Università degli Studi di Catania, "Teologie del negozio. 'Amor sui' e 'dilectio proximi' nel probabilismo di Tommaso Tamburini S.I."

Claudio Ferlan, Università degli Studi di Trieste, "I mediatori gesuiti e la loro formazione nei possedimenti austriaci degli Asburgo."

DEATHS

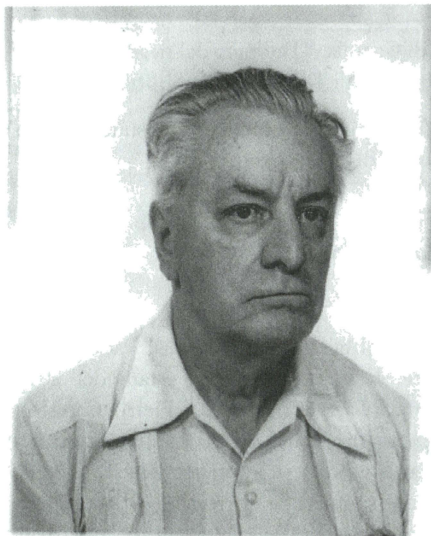
Hugo Storni S.J. (1922-2008)

La notte tra sabato e domenica 24 febbraio, alle ore 1.30, il Padre Hugo Storni è tornato alla casa del Padre. Era ricoverato dall'estate del 2003 nell'infermeria Internazionale di Roma (Casa Scrittori San Pietro Canisio). Aveva lasciato, presupponendo momentaneamente, la sua camera al quarto piano della Residenza San Pietro Canisio ed il suo ufficio della Biblioteca dell'Istituto Storico (l'attuale Sala Arrupe) a causa del forte caldo di quell'anno e con l'aspettativa di ritornare nei suoi "storici" alloggi alla riapertura della Biblioteca, in Settembre. Purtroppo non fu così, il suo stato di salute non gli permise di ritornare più alle sue carte ed ai "suoi" libri; dopo venti anni (1982-2002) da Prefetto della Biblioteca, con il solo scopo di farla crescere, con competenza e professionalità pari a nessun altro predecessore, si ritirò senza indugio lasciando un patrimonio bibliografico senza eguali per ricchezza ed unicità a Roma. Tuttavia, con la stessa dedizione con cui aveva svolto il suo mandato di Prefetto, impegnandosi con probità intellettuale sconosciuta a molti, quando giunse il momento di lasciare quell'incarico con gesuitica accettazione fece proprio il sentimento di Sant'Ignazio: "Ho pensato a cosa potrebbe darmi malinconia e non ne ho trovata nessuna, anche se il Papa disciogliesse la Compagnia completamente ed anche con questo io penso che se per un quarto d'ora mi raccogliessi in preghiera sarei tanto allegro e più di prima."

Nel ricordo di chi lo ha conosciuto, ed ha avuto il piacere di dialogare ed intrattenersi con lui, una nota costante del suo carattere è ricorrente: la disponibilità; sempre pronto ad aiutare i ricercatori, sia laici che religiosi, sempre puntuale, preciso e generoso nelle risposte, come e quanto lo furono i suoi compagni di viaggio dell'Istituto (P. László Polgár, P. Miquel Batllori, P. Juan Ruiz de Medina), sempre ben disposto ad ascoltare e dare suggerimenti bibliografici a chi ricorreva a lui. Essere al servizio della chiesa, trasferendo con generosità quello che conosceva, sempre nel rispetto e con la considerazione

propria dell'educazione pedagogica gesuita di dare agli altri, fu il suo più magnanimo insegnamento.

Nel ricordo di un padre: "Ho avuto la sorte di vivere con lui per trenta anni.



Attento, servizievole, lavoratore, assiduo lettore di libri e riviste, uomo paziente e rispettoso con chi incontrava, pacificatore, umile e generoso, disposto sempre ad aiutare tutti con i suoi suggerimenti, non nutrì rancore per quanti avevano approfittato, talvolta, del frutto del suo lavoro, offerto generosamente e da qualcuno pubblicato come se fosse proprio. Fu conoscitore della sua materia sulla Storia della Compagnia nel Río de la Plata e del suo incarico di Bibliotecario dell'Istituto Storico della Compagnia di Gesù, che esercitò durante due decenni, arricchendo la Biblioteca di opere e collezioni

importanti, anche quando sperimentò la profonda preoccupazione della sottrazione di importanti opere dal fondo antico, in circostanze ancora non chiarite che ancora più gli causò sofferenza. La purificazione di questi ultimi anni trascorsi in infermeria lo hanno preparato per essere ammesso, quale servo buono e fedele, al banchetto del Signore. Questo è quanto sento di dire in ricordo di un buon amico e compagno."

Il padre Alfredo Del Risco, S.J., Direttore dell'infermeria e Ministro della Residenza S. Pietro Canisio scrive di lui: "Un uomo capace di donarsi senza limite, buono, semplice ed affettuoso fino alla fine. Mai suonò il campanello per chiedere qualcosa: un santo."

Il professor Francesco Barbarani scrive di lui in un messaggio: "Mai una volta che abbia manifestato il minimo segno di impazienza verso chi, in fondo, veniva a distoglierlo dalle sue ricerche; era sempre pronto ad ascoltare una richiesta, a suggerire un titolo, a commentare un'ipotesi, non senza lasciar aleggiare, a volte, una simpaticissima punta di [intelligente] ironia".

Il Professor José Jesús Hernández Palomo della Escuela de Estudios Hispanoamericanos di Siviglia ricorda di lui: "Ho conosciuto il Padre Storni nell'anno 1979 e da allora, nei miei lavori presso la Biblioteca dell'Istituto Storico, sempre ho incontrato umanità ed amicizia. Sentiremo la mancanza e la

testimonianza dell'eccellente uomo, del magnifico sacerdote e del buon gesuita. Un referente esemplare di fede e disponibilità. Ricordo con affetto quel quotidiano caffè o thè delle ore 10.30, nella salita dei piccoli uffici annessi all'Istituto, con i Padri gesuiti: Polgar, Francisco de Borja Medina, Charles O'Neill, Joaquin Domínguez, José Sáez e tanti altri dell'interminabile 'Diccionario, con Stefania, Simonetta, Nicoletta e Vitaliano. Conservo moltissimi ricordi del Padre Storni, specialmente i suoi piccoli e semplici aneddoti che misurano l'eccellenza della persona, di quella fine ironia che sfidava ad analizzare, quella di un uomo sempre disponibile come sacerdote e come accademico, si apprezzava così con facilità la sua missione di gesuita, una realtà che viveva come un dono, una grazia. Quando si commentava qualche difficoltà o problema di qualsiasi natura sembrava non essere interessato, terminava con una grande risata rumorosa lasciando lunghi spazi nei quali tutto trascendeva e viveva confidando nella certezza del 'Io vi precedo in Galilea, lì mi vedrete.' Nel segno di Maria, come cristiano, sacerdote gesuita ed accademico 'tutto conservava nel suo cuore.' Il suo ufficio era sempre il primo che visitavo al mio arrivo e mi impressionava ed incantava quel suono esultante 'avanti,' lo stesso che lui ha ricevuto nella casa del Padre, perché qui sempre lui lo ha fatto con cuore aperto e generoso. Per noi che viviamo immersi nel battesimo, siamo sicuri che nostro Signore, ricco di misericordia, gli ha concesso il cento per cento e intercede per noi. Per un padre gesuita di tanta fede e scienza, disponibilità per l'alto conoscimento e servizio della storia gesuitica e della chiesa, mi permetto di sollecitare il Padre Generale Adolfo Nicolás, sempre a suo miglior criterio, nominare la Biblioteca come 'Biblioteca Padre Hugo Storni, S.I. dell'Istituto Storico della Compagnia di Gesù.'"

Nato a Buenos Aires il 27 aprile 1922, entrò nel noviziato, del Colegio de la Sagrada Familia a Córdoba, il 14 febbraio 1940 dove, dal 1943 al 1945, studiò grammatica. Nel 1945 si dedicò allo studio della retorica e nel 1946 fece un *Cursus Praevius Scientiarum* (discipline scientifiche). Fu al Colegio Máximo di San Miguel dal 1947 al 1949 studiando la filosofia e dal 1950 al 1951 insegnò a Córdoba lingua latina e greca, grammatica e fu aiuto Bibliotecario, nel Collegio de la Sagrada Familia. L'anno seguente (1952) fu a Buenos Aires, nel Bonaerense Collegium et Convictus Salvatoris, ad insegnare la geografia; durante lo stesso anno il padre Guillermo Furlong, già scrittore in quegli anni, Prefetto della Biblioteca e collaboratore della rivista *Archivum*, si trova nello stesso collegio; ci piace immaginare i due trattare la storia dell'antica provincia del Paraguay. Al Collegio Máximo di San Miguel tornò nel 1953 per il Curso Maior di teologia e dall'anno seguente (1954) oltre a studiare la teologia – fino al compimento del quarto anno nel 1956 – fu anche Bibliotecario. Nel 1957 fu indirizzato agli studi speciali e l'anno seguente (1958) in Spagna, nella Provincia Tarraconense, a Gandía (Valencia) per la Terza Probazione, ricevuto l'incarico di Prefetto della Biblioteca sceglieva le letture da leggere durante i pasti

comunitari. Arrivò a Roma nel 1959 per il dottorato all'Università Gregoriana nel 1960 fu iscritto al secondo anno della Facoltà di Storia Ecclesiastica; dal 1962 al 1964 fu nominato scrittore della Monumenta Missionum, per quattro anni tornò a Buenos Aires (1965-69), al Collegio S. Salvador e nel 1970 fece ritorno a Roma continuando il lavoro della Monumenta Missionum fino al 1973. Nel 1974 fu Ministro dell'Istituto Storico, Consultore della Casa, vice Ministro e Consigliere della Casa dal 1975 fino al 1981. Dal 1982 al 2002 fu Prefetto della Biblioteca dell'Istituto Storico. Oltre ai molti ricordi, di lui rimane: uno schedario bibliografico, riguardanti i antichi posseduti dalla Biblioteca, un ricco archivio personale, relativo alle carte utilizzate per redigere il "Catalogo" ed i vari articoli pubblicati, di cui diamo bibliografia a seguire.

Lascia grandi insegnamenti di correttezza e ferma moralità, un vuoto incolmabile a quanti hanno con lui lavorato, a me il bellissimo ricordo di guida saggia ed affettuosa, mai irato e sempre pronto a dare spiegazioni, non necessariamente bibliocoteconomiche. Lo conobbi nel 1989, frequentando la Biblioteca per la preparazione della tesi di laurea, e la prima impressione che ebbi fu poi confermata, qualche anno dopo, quando cominciai a lavorare con lui come bibliotecaria: di un gesuita in pace con sé e con i suoi confratelli, scevro da vuoti formalismi, senza velleità di comando ed autorevole come lo è un saggio maestro; in una parola aveva dentro quella spiritualità che rende tutti figli dello stesso Padre Ignazio.

Scritti

"Antonio Ruiz de Montoya (1585-1652)," *AHSI* 53 (1984) 425-42.

"Breve biobibliografia del P. Diego de Torres Bollo, S.I.," *Congresso Internazionale degli americanisti* 3 (1974) 259-63.

Catálogo de los jesuitas de la Provincia del Paraguay (Cuenca del Plata) 1585-1768 (Roma: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1980) Subsidia ad historiam S.I. 9.

"Consideraciones sobre el *Catálogo de los jesuitas de la Provincia del Paraguay (Cuenca del Plata) 1585-1768*," *Lateinamerika Studien* 14 (1984) 9-20.

"Documentos del P. Francisco de Angulo S.I. 1561-1575," *AHSI* 40 (1971) 147-52.

"Documentación y bibliografía sobre los beatos mártires rioplatenses," *AHSI* 45 (1976) 318-48.

"El Internacionalismo de la provincia jesuítica del Paraguay," *Simposio internazionale sul barocco latino americano* 2 (1984) 189-95.

"Los jesuitas argentinos (1610-1767)," in *Studia historica et philologica in honorem M. Batllori* (Roma, 1984) p. 515-26.

“Jesuitas argentinos exiliados por Carlos III en 1767,” *Archivum* 9 (1967) 39-56.

“Los jesuitas argentinos expulsos (1767-1830),” *Anales de la Universidad del Salvador* 4 (1968) 177-231.

Los jesuitas del Tucumán y Paraguay a fines del siglo XVI (Roma: Pontificia Università Gregoriana, 1978).

“Jesuitas italianos en el Río de la Plata (antigua provincia del Paraguay 1585-1768),” *AHSI* 48 (1979) 3-64.

“Jesuitas valones, flamencos y franceses, misioneros en el Paraguay 1608-1767,” *AHSI* 49 (1980) 417-31.

“Nicolò Mascardi S.I. 1624-1674,” in *I gesuiti fra impegno religioso e potere politico nella Repubblica di Genova* [= *Quaderni fronzoniani* 5 (1992) 87-91].

“El P. Diego de Torres Bollo,” *Cuadernos monásticos* [Victoria, Ba] [1975] 451-57.

“† P. Guillermo Furlong S.I. (1889-1974),” *AHSI* 43 (1974) 485-511.

“Las Reducciones, instrumento de evangelización,” *Stromata* 41 (1985) 419-29.

Zurbano, Francisco L. de S.I. *Cartas anuas de la provincia del Paraguay 1637-1639*. A cura di Hugo Storni, S.J. (Buenos Aires: FECIC, 1984).

Institutum Historicum Societatis Jesu, Roma

Nicoletta Basilotta

António Lopes, S.J. (1926-2007)

O Padre António Lopes faleceu em Lisboa, no dia 16 de Dezembro de 2007. Nos últimos anos, vinha a ser afectado por crises cardíacas, que se viriam a complicar, nos últimos meses, com a afectação de outros órgãos. Sentindo-se mais enfraquecido na Sexta-feira, dia 14, foi levado de urgência para o Hospital de Santa Maria, onde viria a falecer dois dias depois, na manhã do III Domingo do Advento.

Nascido no lugar das Fontainhas, freguesia de Seíça, Ourém, a 5 de Fevereiro de 1926, entrou na Companhia de Jesus em Guimarães, no dia 7 de Setembro de 1944. Fez os estudos de Filosofia e Teologia, em Braga e Lovaina (Bélgica), onde foi ordenado sacerdote em 1958. Começou a sua actividade apostólica, no Colégio das Caldinhas, primeiro, no tempo de Magistério (1952 a 1955), e depois, de 1960 a 1969, como professor de diversas matérias e orientador espiritual.

Em tempo sabático (1969/70), estudou pedagogia catequética em Estrasburgo. A partir de 1970, continuou a exercer, agora no Colégio São João de Brito, em Lisboa, actividades relacionadas com a formação moral e religiosa

dos jovens. Sempre muito interessado na renovação pedagógica em geral e na atualização catequética em particular, utilizando cada vez mais os meios



audiovisuais, foi iniciando também uma investigação histórica apurada sobre elementos da História da Companhia de Jesus sobretudo em Portugal.

Mas foi a partir da década de 80 que, continuando como Assistente Religioso da CVX e de Casais de Nossa Senhora e como colaborador assíduo da revista “Brotéria,” se dedicou intensamente à investigação histórica sobre as Missões dos Jesuítas Portugueses, nos séculos XVI, XVII e XVIII, sobretudo na Índia e no

Japão, e sobre alguns personagens concretos, de que se destacam São João de Brito, São Francisco Xavier e o Padre António Vieira. Tornou-se mais conhecido, aquando da publicação de algumas das suas pesquisas sobre a figura do Marquês de Pombal.

Na homilia do seu funeral, o Padre Provincial, Nuno da Silva Gonçalves, assim o descreveu: “Era um apaixonado e um inovador nas várias missões que recebeu ao longo da vida. Não se contentava com a repetição de receitas do passado. Tive-o como professor de francês, no Colégio de S. João de Brito, mas as suas aulas iam muito para lá dos conteúdos de língua e literatura francesas, previstos no programa oficial. Estávamos em 1974 e 1975, e o P. Lopes, sempre em francês, falava-nos de Teilhard de Chardin, expunha-nos teorias sociais e apresentava-nos novas correntes teológicas que, para ser sincero, seguíamos com dificuldade.”

Foi eleito sócio correspondente e, mais tarde, “académico de número” da Academia Portuguesa da História. Estudou o envio de 362 expedições missionárias, algumas com 60 a 70 missionários, que, durante 215 anos, partiram do Cais da Torre de Belém, rumo ao Brasil e ao Oriente. Fez parte de várias Comissões Culturais, escreveu inúmeros artigos para diferentes revistas e publicou os seguintes livros: *Enigma Pombal: nova documentação: tentativa de interpretação* (Lisboa, 2002); *O Marquês de Pombal e a Companhia de Jesus – Correspondência inédita* (Cascais, 1999); *Vieira o Encoberto. 74 anos de evolução de sua*

utopia (Cascais, 1999); *Roteiro Histórico dos Jesuítas em Lisboa* (Braga, 1985); *Francisco Xavier e o Japão – Cronologia da sua vida* (Cucujães, 1991); e *Heróis da Missão em 500 Anos da Evangelização Portuguesa* (Lisboa, 1995).

Cúria Provincial, Lisboa

João Caniço, S.J.

Andrew Ross (1931-2008)

Born into a Lothian mining family, Andrew Ross was a life-long ecumenist and a tireless fighter for human justice. Ordained by the Church of Scotland in 1958, he ministered for seven years in the Church of Central Africa Presbyterian in Nyasaland/Malawi. Immersing himself in African culture and its distinctive Christianity, identifying himself with his new neighbours and their struggles and becoming fluent in their language, he served the Church and the nation of his adoption. He chaired the Lands Tribunal and the National Tenders Board. However, his Malawian patriotism, which made him an active supporter of the country's independence, later led him to resist the growing oppression of its first president, Hastings Banda, whose regime forced his departure in 1965.

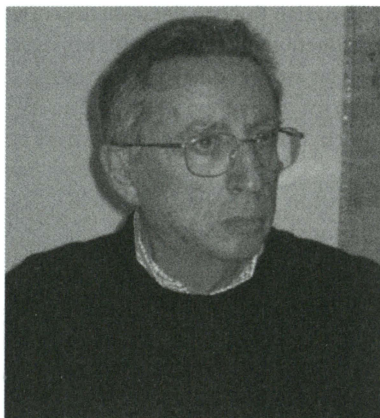
Back in Scotland, a year's senior studentship in Edinburgh University's department of history led quickly to his appointment in 1966 in the Faculty of Divinity's department of ecclesiastical history as the United Kingdom's first designated lecturer in the history of missions.

His teaching was broad. While his heart was in central Africa (where he was an adopted member of the Ngoni tribe and where his young daughter is buried), his scholarly interest in North America and east Asia was no less strong; he was a visiting lecturer in many lands and his global knowledge was recognised in his appointment as deputy director of the Centre for the Study of Christianity in the Non- Western World from 1986-98. Among his many writings is *A Vision Betrayed: The Jesuits in Japan and China, 1542-1742* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1994) in which he describes how the good work of pioneering missionaries was undone by their European masters. In a review, John W. O'Malley, S.J., wrote Ross "tells the story with engaging detail, but so that the broad issues, still with us today, are never lost from view. His judgement on persons, policy and ultimate implications are sound. This is a fine book, well written, valuable for specialists and at the same time easily accessible to the general reader." Reverend Doctor Ross is survived by his wife, Joyce, and their four sons, Gavin, Malcolm, Diarmid and Alistair.

Gabriel Codina Mir, S.J. (1933-2008)

El Padre Gabriel Codina murió de una leucemia fulminante el 31 de julio 2008 cuando se encontraba de paso en Barcelona, su ciudad natal. Gabriel Codina nació el 21 d agosto de 1933 y fue admitido en la Compañía de Jesús el 6 de octubre de 1950 en Veruela. Estudió filosofía en Quito, Ecuador, y teología en Eengenhoven, Bélgica. Su ordenación sacerdotal tuvo lugar en San Cugat del Vallés el 30 de julio de 1961. Sus estudios en la Universidad de París (Sorbona) culminaron con el doctorado en 1966.

A partir de 1968 y hasta 1996 ocupó los cargos de Rector, Prefecto de Estudios y Director de “Fe y Alegría” al mismo tiempo que era Asistente para la educación en América Latina Meridional. Después de una breve estancia en Oxford, en 1996 fue llamado a la Curia Generalicia de Roma como Secretario para la Educación. El Padre General Peter-Hans Kolvenbach lo nombró Secretario de la Compañía de Jesús en el año 2001. Cuatro años más tarde, en 2005, un deterioro de su salud le obligó a dejar el cargo y regresar a Cochabamba, Bolivia. Su



provincial de entonces, Padre Alvaro Dávlos escribió de él en estos términos: “El Padre Codina era profundo en sus intuiciones y claro en sus determinaciones. Dentro de este campo, lo he visto señalarse por su amor y afabilidad en el trato con todos. Su gestión en “Fe y Alegría” fue muy acertada. El contacto con el mundo de los pobres le marcó profundamente y le abrió el espíritu a las exigencias de Fe y Justicia en nombre de los pobres y los más necesitados. Si no recuerdo mal, el Padre Codina fue el Rector más joven en la historia del Colegio San Calixto, y a su influjo se debe el carácter de exigencia y seriedad que lo caracteriza. Le tocó vivir una época difícil de ‘ataque’ a los Colegios, pero supo enfrentarse a la dificultad con gran serenidad, dentro de una visión clara de lo que busca la Compañía y la Iglesia en el campo de la educación. Su paso por la Asociación Boliviana de Educación Católica y la Comisión Episcopal para la Educación fue fecundo.” Para los historiadores la contribución más importante del Padre Gabriel Codina es su estudio sobre la pedagogía de la Compañía: *Aux sources de la pédagogie des Jésuites. Le “modus pariensis”* (Roma: Institutum Historicum S.I., 1968).



BOOKS RECEIVED

Arellano, Ignacio, Alejandro González Acosta, e Arnulfo Herrera, eds. *San Francisco Javier entre dos Continentes*. [Biblioteca Indiana 7.] (Pamplona/Madrid/Frankfurt am Main: Universidad de Navarra/Iberoamerica/Vervuert, 2007. Pp. 269. N.p. Rústica. ISBN 978-84-8489-290-8.) Ignacio Arellano, "San Francisco Javier y *Las Glorias del mejor siglo*, Comedia Jesuítica del P. Céspedes" (11-33); Celsa Carmen García Valdés, "*La Conquista Espiritual del Japón*, Comedia Jesuítica Javeriana, y la perspectiva Paulina de la Evangelización" (35-57); J. Jesús Gómez Fregoso, S.I., "La vida de los universitarios de París en los años de San Francisco Javier" (59-69); Gabriel Gómez Padilla, "Kino, un Javier de las Indias Occidentales" (71-87); Alejandro González Acosta, "Ecos Xaverianos en la Nueva España: Festejos a San Ignacio y San Francisco Xavier en México (1622) y Puebla (1623)" (89-99); Jaime Emilio González Magaña, S.I., "Del triunfo del mundo a la alegría del servicio, itinerario de Francisco Javier hacia la santidad" (101-22); Arnulfo Herrera, "Un avatar de San Francisco Xavier en su autoría del soneto 'No me mueve, mi Dios, para quererte'" (123-32); Carlos Mata Induráin, "San Francisco Javier en el teatro español del siglo XX: *Volcan de Amor* (1922) de Vallejos y *El Divino Impaciente* (1933) de Pemán" (133-50); María Cristina Osswald, "Culto e iconografía de San Francisco en Portugal en los siglos XVI y XVII" (151-76); Margarita Peña, "En nombre de San Francisco Javier: el viaje del Padre Tachard y los Jesuitas al Reino de Siam" (177-87); Gilberto Prado Galán, "San Francisco Javier en la obra de Baltasar Gracián (189-95); Emilio H. Quesada Aldana, "De Xavier a Kino: La 'Inculturación' en el arte" (197-216); Rogelio Ruíz Gomar, "San Francisco Xavier en la pintura de la Nueva España" (217-37); María Gabriela Torres Olleta, "Vidas ilustradas de San Francisco Javier" (239-57); Alexander Paul Zatyryka Pacheco S.I., "El 'Modo nuestro de proceder' en la práctica misionera de Francisco Xavier. Una impronta al método Jesuítico de misión *Ad Gentes*" (259-69).

- Bargiacchi, Enzo Gualtiero. *A Bridge Across Two Cultures. Ippolito Desideri S.J. (1684-1733). A Brief Biography.* (Firenze: Istituto Geografico Militare, 2008. Pp. 62. N.p. Softcover.)
- Bösel, Richard und Herbert Karner. *Jesuitenarchitektur in Italien (1540-1773).* 2 Bd. [Publikationem des Historischen Instituts beim Österreichischen Kulturforum in Rom.] (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2007. Ss. 442. 276 s/w–Abbildungen. N.p. Softcover. ISBN 978-3-7001-3781-8.)
- De Moirans, Epifanio, Cap. *Siervos Libres Una propuesta antiesclavista a finales del siglo XVI.* Edición crítica por Miguel Anxo Pena González y la colaboración de C. Baciero, J.M. Soto, T de Azcona y J. Labiano. [Corpus Hispanorum de Pace, Segunda Serie, vol. 14.] (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigacione Scientificas, 2007.) Pp. lxxv, 246. N.p. Rústica. ISBN 978-84-00-08579-7.)
- De Vitoria, Francesco, *Reflectio de Potestate Civili. Estudios sobre su Filosofía Política.* Edición crítica por Jesús Cordero Pando. [Corpus Hispanorum de Pace, Segunda Serie, vol. 15.] (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigacione Scientificas, 2008. Pp. lxi, 540. N.p. Rústica. ISBN 978-84-00-08626-8.)
- Dirmeier, Ursula, C.J., heraus. *Mary Ward und ihre Gründung.* 4 Bd. [Corpus Catholicorum. Werke Katholischer Schriftsteller im Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung 45-48.] (Münster Westfalen: Aschendorff, 2007. Ss. 792, 658, 559, 304. € 224,00. Hardback. ISBN 978-3-402-03459-0; 978-3-402-03460-6; 978-3-402-03461-3; 978-3-402-03462-0.)
- Edwards, Francis, S.J. *The Enigma of Gunpowder Plot, 1605. The Third Solution.* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2008. Pp. xvi, 510. € 58,50. Hardback. ISBN 978-1-84682-092-2.)
- Fedele, Claudio, Italo Franceschini and Adriana Paolini, ed. *La Biblioteca del Collegio dei Gesuiti di Trento.* 2 vols. [Biblioteche e Bibliotecari del Trentino 4.] (Trento: Soprintendenza per i beni librari e archivistici, 2007. Pp. 1283. N.p. Hardback. ISBN 978-88-7702-185-4.)
- García Hernán, Enrique. *Consejero de ambos mundos. Vida y obra de Juan de Solórzano Pereira (1575-1655).* (Madrid: Fundación Mapfre/Instituto de Cultura, 2007. Pp. 421. € 28,00. Hardback. ISBN 978-84-9844-056-0.)
- Luongo, Carlo. *Silvestro Landini e le "Nostre Indie."* [Collezione Oxenford 190.] (Firenze: Atheneum, n.d. [2008]. Pp. 303. € 21,10. Paperback. ISBN 978-88-7255-323-7.)
- Lux-Sterritt, Laurence. *Redefining Female Religious Life. French Ursulines and English Ladies in Seventeenth-Century Catholicism.* [Catholic Christendom, 1300-1700.] (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005. Pp. 236. £ 60.00. Hardback. ISBN 0-7546-3716-6.)

Metcalf, Alida C. *Go-betweens and the Colonization of Brazil, 1500-1600*. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005. Pp. xiv, 373. \$ 55.00 ISBN 0-292-70970-6 [cloth]; \$24.95 ISBN 0-292-71276-6 [paper]).

Nadal, Jerome, S.J. *Annotations and Meditations on the Gospels. Volume II: The Passion Narratives*. Translated by Frederick A. Homann, S.J. With an Introductory Study by Walter S. Melion. (Philadelphia: St. Joseph's University Press, 2007. Pp. 308. 45 Illus. \$39.95. Hardback. ISBN 0-916101-48-7.)

Negro, Sandro y Manuel M. Marzal, ed. *Esclavitud, Economía y Evangelización—Las Haciendas Jesuitas en la América Virreinal*. (Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú: Fondo Editorial, 2005. Pp. 571 S.p. Rústica. ISBN-9972-42-722-6.)

Manuel M. Marzal, S.J., “La evangelización de los negros americanos según el De instauranda aethiopiū salute” (19-41); Iris Gareis, “La evangelización de la población indígena y afro, y las haciendas jesuitas de la América española: logros y desencuentros” (43-66); Jean-Pierre Tardieu, “La esclavitud de los negros y el plan de Dios: la dialéctica de los jesuitas del virreinato del Perú” (67-81); Francisco de Borja Medina, S.J., “El esclavo: ¿bien mueble o persona? Algunas observaciones sobre la evangelización del negro en las haciendas jesuíticas” (83-122); Luis Arnal Simón, “Formación de las haciendas jesuitas en el norte de México—El caso del Colegio de Zacatecas” (125-39); Ignacio del Río, “Las haciendas del Fondo Piadoso de las Californias” (141-54); José del Rey Fajardo, S.J., “Función religiosa, social y cultural de las haciendas misionales en la Orinoquia” (155-81); Edda O. Samudio A., “Las haciendas jesuíticas en la Orinoquia en su contexto económico” (183-214); Pavel Štěpánek, “El jesuita Miguel Sabel (Schabel), misionero checo en Venezuela y la iconografía del cristal en Bohemia” (215-41); María Eugenia Codina, “Haciendas y misiones: el caso de Maynas” (243-61); David Rodríguez, “Juan Martínez Rengifo y los jesuitas: formación de la hacienda Santa María de Puquio (La Huaca), 1560-1594” (263-97); Miriam Salas Olivari, “Acciones para el cambio: el jesuita Francisco de la Maza en la historia del obraje de Cacamarca, siglos XVI-XVIII” (299-331); Ana María Soldi, “Obrajes de vidrio en Ica en los siglos XVII y XVIII: El caso de Macacona” (333-44); Alicia Polvarini de Reyes, “Las haciendas de la Compañía de Jesús: la vid y el mercado de aguardiente en el Perú del siglo XVIII” (345-75); Guillermo Bravo A., “La administración económica de la hacienda jesuita San Francisco de Borja Guanquehua” (377-94); Luis Alejandro Alvero, “Realidad social y pensamiento económico en el Río de la Plata colonial” (395-413); Felipe González Mora “Aspectos arquitectónicos, urbanos y espaciales en las reducciones y haciendas jesuitas en los llanos de Casanare, Meta y Orinoco” (417-47); Sandra Negro, “Arquitectura, poder y esclavitud en las haciendas jesuitas de la Nasca en el Perú” (449-92); Jessica Esquivel Coronado, “Los maestros tasadores de casas y haciendas jesuitas en el Cuzco durante el siglo XVIII” (493-503); Carmen Ruiz de Pardo, “Aportes

de una iglesia del evangelización del Cuzco” (505-18); Víctor Hugo Límpias Ortiz, “Misiones de Moxos: arquitectura religiosa, residencial e industrial—La construcción de un urbanismo productivo en el corazón sudamericano” (519-41); Rosana Najjar, “Redescobrimdo a coloniza  o: a arqueologia na restaura  o de tr s igrejas jesu ticas do litoral brasileiro” (543-60); Beatriz Vasconcelos Franzen, “Jesu tas no Brasil e Paraguai coloniais: aldeamentos e redu  es” (561-71).

Niemetz, Michael. *Antijesuitische Bildpublizistik in der Fr hen Neuzeit*. [Jesuitica—Quellen und Studien zu Geschichte, Kunst und Literatur der Gesellschaft Jesu im deutschsprachigen Raum, 13.] (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2008. Ss. 459. 202 s/w—Abbildungen. € 69,00. Hardback. ISBN 978-3-7954-1932-5.)

Rodr guez Caparrini, Bernardo. *Alfonso Sancho Mateos: Los primeros a os formativos de un bodeguero (1858-1879)*. [Biblioteca de Temas Portuenses 29.] (El Puerto de Santa Mar a: Concejal a de Cultura del Ayuntamiento de El Puerto de Santa Mar a, 2007. Pp. 219. N.p. Paperback. ISBN 978-84-89141-93-3.)
Reviewed in this issue.

Sagliocco, Cristina. *L'Italia in seminario 1861-1907*. (Roma: Carocci, 2008. Pp. 261. Paperback. € 22,50. ISBN 978-88-430-4404-7.)

Saulini, Mirella, ed. *Padre Stefano Tuccio, S.J. Un gesuita tra la Sicilia e Roma nell'epoca della Controriforma*. (Monforte San Giorgio: Associazione Culturale Noialtri, 2008. Pp. 150. N.p. Paperback.) Agrippino Pietrasanta, S.J., “Saluto e presentazione di Stefano Tuccio” (9-14); Franca Angelini, “Il teatro dei Gesuiti nel teatro del Seicento” (15-22); Michela Sacco Messineo, “Il teatro dei Gesuiti in Sicilia” (23-31); Giovanni Isgro , “Gli esordi del teatro gesuitico in Sicilia: dal dialogo drammatico alla festa barocca” (32-60); Mirella Saulini, “Elementi del tragico nel teatro del padre Stefano Tuccio, S.J.” (61-72); Leonardo Faldella, “La famiglia Tuccio nel territorio di Monforte tra Quattrocento e Cinquecento” (73-78); Giuseppe Canata, “Archeologia della memoria. Paesaggi siciliani nel Cinquecento” (79-94); Mirella Saulini, “Padre Stefano Tuccio, S.J., oratore a Roma” (95-108); Rosario Moscheo, “Radici siciliane e formazione filosofico-scientifica di Stefano Tuccio” (109-140); Grazia Musolino, “L'altare del SS. Sacramento della Chiesa Madre di Monforte san Giorgio: soluzioni iconografiche ed allegorie spirituali, riflessioni ed ipotesi su un possibile contributo di Stefano Tuccio” (141-50).

Segurado, Eva Maria St. Clair. *Expulsi n y Exilio de la Provincia Jesuita Mexicana (1767-1820)*. (Alicante: Publicaciones de la Universidad de Alicante, 2005. Pp. 488. € 24,00. R stica. ISBN 84-7908-844-3.)

[Signorelli, Bruno et al., eds.] *La Compagnia di Ges  a Casale e nel Monferrato dai Gonzaga ai Savoia*. [Quaderni di Archeologia e Arte in Piemonte 4.] (Torino:

Società Piemontese di Archeologia e Belle Arti, 2008. Pp. 176. N.p. Paperback. ISBN 978-88-903426-0-8.] Alberto Lupano, “La realtà ecclesiale casalese dal XVI al XVIII secolo” (13-36); Lorenzo Gilardi, S.I., “Presenza e attività dei Gesuiti nel Monferrato (secc. XVI-XVIII) secondo le carte dell’archivio romano della Compagnia di Gesù” (37-49); Michele Casassa, S.I., e Lorenzo Gilardi, S.I., “Gesuiti nativi della Diocesi di Casale Monferrato negli archivi biografici della Compagnia di Gesù” (51-55); Blythe Alice Raviola, “Sopra il modo di aiutare tutto il Monferrato: la proposta di Antonio Possevino per la costituzione del Collegio dei Gesuiti a Casale (1595?)” (57-64); Manuela Meni, “Documenti sulla Compagnia di Gesù in Monferrato nei fondi archivistici della Diocesi di Casale Monferrato” (65-74); Aldo Actis Caporale, “Documenti sulla Compagnia di Gesù in Monferrato nei fondi archivistici torinesi” (75-95); Bruno Signorelli, “L’opera della Compagnia di Gesù per lo ‘Sbandimento’ della mendicizia a Casale Monferrato” (97-124); Lorena Palmieri, “Presenze figurative di santi e beati gesuiti nei beni artistici della Diocesi di Casale Monferrato” (125-30); Claudio Cipriani, “Reliquie di santi e beati gesuiti in Diocesi di Casale Monferrato” (131-36, illus. 163-76).

Soto Artuñedo, Wenceslao, S.J. *El Colegio Jesuita de San Estanislao en Málaga*. (Málaga: Fundación Loyola Collegio San Estanislao, n.d. [2007]. Pp. 490. N.p. Paperback.)

_____, ed. *Los Jesuitas en Andalucía Estudios conmemorativos del 450 aniversario de la Fundación de la Provincia* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2007. Pp. 634. S.p. Rústica. ISBN 978-84-338-4600-6.) Wenceslao Soto Artuñedo, S.J., “Introducción” (7-11), Manuel Revuelta González, S.J., “Coordenadas históricas de la Provincia de Andalucía (1554-2004)” (13-45); Francisco de Borja Medina, S.I., “El proceso fundacional de la Provincia de Andalucía (1545-1554) (49-162); Thomas M. McCoog, S.J., “Fomentando la armonía y el respeto: Jesuitas ingleses in Sevilla, 1592-1605” (163-85) Martin Murphy, “Jesuitas ingleses e irlandeses en la Provincia de Andalucía” (187-200); María Amparo López Arandía, “Prolegómenos a la consolidación de la Compañía de Jesús en la Ciudad de Jaén: La misión continua (1611-1614)” (201-21); Salvador Hernández González, “Fundacion y extincion del colegio de la Compañía de Jesús de Constantina (Sevilla)” (223-40); Francisco Javier Gutiérrez Núñez, “Origen y fundación del colegio de la Compañía de Jesús de Osuna en el primer tercio del siglo XVII” (241-53); Ezequiel A. Díaz Fernández, “La efímera presencia de la Compañía de Jesús en Estepa” (255-68); Cristina García Oviedo, “García de Alarcón y Giuseppe Valeriano en la evolución artística de la Provincia de Andalucía” (271-88); Soledad Gómez Navarro, “Sólo unos pocos años antes de la expulsión: patrimonio de los jesuitas cordobeses a mediados del siglo XVIII” (289-305); Eusebio Gil, “Educación y cultura: *La Ratio Studiorum* un sistema educativo católico” (311-

54); Julián Solana Pujalte, "Obras gramaticales de jesuitas en la biblioteca del colegio de santa Catalina de la Compañía de Jesús de Córdoba" (355-85); Miguel Ángel Sánchez Herrador, "La biblioteca de la Compañía de Jesús en Montilla (387-97); Jorge Grau Jiménez, "Nueva revisión del catálogo de la obra de Martín de Roa, S.J." (399-413); Leandro Sequeiros San Román, S.J. "Nuevos datos sobre el jesuita Andaluz Petro Murillo Velarde contenidos en la obra científica del Francisco grandino Fray José Torrubia (1698-1761)" (415-25); Francisco Javier Martínez Naranjo, "Las Congregaciones jesuíticas y su atención a los encarcelados: la congregación de la visitación de Sevilla" (429-43); José Gámez Martín, "Fiestas de Compañía de Jesús en Sevilla por el patronato de la purísima Concepción en España y sus Indias" (445-57); Ramón de la Campa Carmona, "La Compañía de Jesús y la religiosidad popular sevillana: la carta de hermandad con la hermandad de la divina pastora de santa Marina (1824)" (459-71); Vicente Ramón Escandell, "Inmaculismo y jesuitas en la Andalucía del siglo XVII" (473-498); Julián J. Lozano Navarro, "La Compañía de Jesús y la mujer en la Andalucía moderna: la duquesas de arcos y el colegio de Marchena (siglos XVI-XVIII) (499-512); José del Rey Fajardo S.J., "La huella de los jesuitas andaluces en la provincia del nuevo reino de Granada" (515-49); Francisco Luis Rico Callado, "El 'deseo de las Indias' entre los jesuitas entre los jesuitas de la provincial de Bética de la Compañía de Jesús en los siglos XVI y XVII" (551-74); Hélène Vignaux, "La salvación de los negros y su referente sevillano en la obra de Alonso de Sandoval, S.J." (575-97); Laureano Manrique Merino, O.S.A. y Wenceslao Soto Artuñedo, S.J., "Diálogo famoso: sátira jesuita andaluza sobre la expulsión de 1767" (599-630).

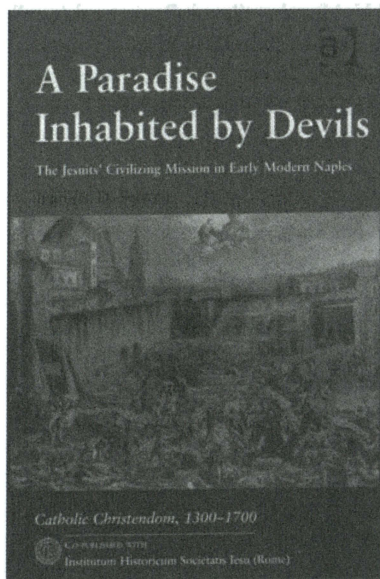
Standaert, Nicolas, S.J., ed., *An Illustrated Life of Christ Presented to the Chinese Emperor The History of Jincheng shuxiang (1640)*. [Monumenta Serica Monograph Series LIX.] (Sankt Augustin: Institut Monumenta Serica, 2007. Pp. 333. € 55.00. Hardback. ISBN 978-3-8050-0548-7.)

_____. *The Interweaving of Rituals. Funerals in the Cultural Exchange between China and Europe*. [A China Program Book.] (Seattle/London: University of Washington Press, 2008. P. viii, 328. \$65.00 ISBN 978-0-295-98810-8 [hardback]; \$30.00 ISBN 978-0-295-98823-8 [paper].)

Tutino, Stefania. *Law and Conscience: Catholicism in Early Modern England, 1570-1625*. [Catholic Christendom, 1300-1700.] (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008. Pp. xiii, 256. £55.00 Hardback. ISBN 978-0-7546-5771-2.)

Worcester, Thomas, ed. *The Cambridge Companion to the Jesuits*. [Cambridge Companions to Religion.] (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008. Pp. xii, 361. £ 17.99. ISBN-978-0521673969 [paperback]; £ 45.00 ISBN-978-0521857314 [hardback].) Thomas Worcester, "Introduction" (1-10); Lu Ann Homza, "The Religious Milieu of the Young Ignatius" (13-31); J. Carlos

Coupeau, "Five Personae of Ignatius of Loyola" (32-51); Philip Endean, "The Spiritual Exercises" (52-67); Paul V. Murphy, "Jesuit Rome and Italy" (71-87); Thomas M. McCoog, "The Society of Jesus in the Three Kingdoms" (88-103); Thomas Worcester, "Jesuit Dependence on the French Monarchy" (104-19); Gemma Simmonds, "Women Jesuits" (120-35); Stanislaw Obirek, "Jesuits in Poland and Eastern Europe" (136-50); M. Antoni J. Üçerler, "The Jesuit Enterprise in Sixteenth-century Japan" (153-68); Nicolas Standaert, "Jesuits in China" (169-85); Jacques Monet, "The Jesuits in New France" (186-98); Thomas M. Cohen, "Racial and Ethnic Minorities in the Society of Jesus" (199-214); Gauvin Alexander Bailey, "Jesuit Architecture in Colonial Latin America" (217-42); Louis Caruana, "The Jesuits and the Quiet Side of the Scientific Revolution" (243-60); Jonathan Wright, "The Suppression and Restoration" (263-77); Gerald McKeivitt, "Jesuit Schools in the USA, 1814-c. 1970" (278-97); Mary Ann Hinsdale, "Jesuit Theological Discourse Since Vatican II (298-318); Thomas Worcester, "Jesuits Today" (319-27).



A PARADISE INHABITED BY DEVILS: THE JESUITS' CIVILIZING MISSION IN EARLY MODERN NAPLES

Jennifer D. Selwyn

In recent years much scholarly attention has been focused on the encounter of cultures during the early modern period, and the global implications that such encounters held. Scholars have now begun to re-evaluate many aspects of early culture contact, not least with respect to Christian missionary activities.

Prominent amongst the missionaries were members of the Society of Jesus.

Yet whilst scholars have revealed much about the Jesuits' innovative educational endeavors, less attention has been paid to the nature of the Jesuits' global civilizing mission as a key feature of their institutional character. Nor has sufficient work been done to explain fully the relationship between the Jesuits' efforts to evangelize and civilize areas within and without the Catholic fold.

Taking as its focus the city of Naples, this study illuminates how the Jesuits' work in a Catholic European setting reflected their broader global civilizing mission. Despite its Catholic heritage, Naples was popularly perceived as a place of spiritual and social disorder, thus providing an irresistible challenge to religious reforms, such as the Jesuits, who sought to "civilize" the city. Drawing in considerable numbers of the order, Naples proved to be a training ground for the Jesuits that shaped the order's missionary praxis and influenced the thinking of many who would later travel farther afield. By gaining a fuller understanding of this process, it is possible to understand better what drove the Jesuits to craft and perpetuate a cultural map that continues to resonate down to our own times.

Bibliotheca Instituti Historici Societatis Iesu 57 (published in collaboration with the series "Catholic Christendom, 1300-1700," Ashgate Publishers).

€ 50,00 (€ 35,00 to subscribers).

INDEX

VOLUME 77

ARTICLES

- Crosignani, Ginevra. "Richard Smith versus Robert Persons, S.J.: A Double Denunciation of *The Judgment of a Catholicke English-Man* at the Holy Office." 115-90
- Danieluk, Robert, S.J. "La missione segreta dei Gesuiti fra gli Uniat di Podlachia (1878-1904)." 93-113
- Friedrich, Markus. "Circulating and Compiling the *Litterae Annuae*. Towards a History of the Jesuit System of Communication." 3-39
- Metcalf, Alida C. "Disillusioned Go-betweens: The Politics of Mediation and the Transformation of the Jesuit Missionary Enterprise in Sixteenth-Century Brazil." 283-319
- Romo, Eduardo Javier Alonso. "Gaspar Barzeo: el hombre y sus escritos." 63-92
- Ruiz Jurado, Manuel, S.J. "¿Escritura de Polanco o de S. Ignacio?" 321-45
- Telesca, Ignacio. "Esclavos y Jesuitas: el Colegio de Asunción del Paraguay." 191-211
- Zech, Jörg. "Die *Litterae Annuae* der Jesuiten. Berichterstattung und Geschichtsschreibung in der alten Gesellschaft Jesu." 41-61

BOOK REVIEWS

- Arminjon, Blaise, S.J. *Remembering Your Deeds. The Psalms and the Spiritual Exercises*. Trans. Francis C. Brennan, S.J. St. Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 2006. (Dominique Salin, S.J.) 232-33
- Borromeo, Federico. *Paraella Cosmographica: De Sede et Apparitionibus Daemonum Liber Unus*. Ed. Francesco di Ciaccia. Milano: Biblioteca Ambrosiana / Bulzoni, 2006. (Ginevra Crosignani) 518-22
- Broggio, Paolo, Francesca Cantù, Pierre-Antoine Fabre, e Antonella Romano, eds. *I gesuiti ai tempi di Claudio Acquaviva. Strategie politiche, religiose e culturali tre Cinque e Seicento*. Brescia: Morcelliana, 2007. (Enrique García Hernán) 517-18

- Chan, Albert, S.J. *Chinese Books and Documents in the Jesuit Archives in Rome: A Descriptive Catalogue. Japonica-Sinica I-IV*. Armonk [New York]/London: M.E. Sharpe, 2002. (M. Antoni J. Üçerler, S.J.) 233-38
- Culture, Art, Religion: Wu Li (1632-1718) and His Inner Journey*. Macau: Macau Ricci Institute, 2006. (Liam Matthew Brockey) 250-51
- Daly, Peter M. and G. Richard Dimler, S.J. eds. *The Jesuit Series. Part 5 (P-Z)*. Toronto/Buffalo/London: University of Toronto Press, 2007. (Paul Begheyn, S.J.) 529-30
- Garzoni, Leonardo, S.J. *Trattati della Calamita*. Ed. Monica Ugaglia. Milano: FrancoAngeli, 2005. (Agustín Udías, S.J.) 532-33
- Giannini, Massimo Carlo, ed. *Religione, conflittualità e cultura. Il clero regolare nell'Europa d'Antico Regime*. Roma: Bulzoni, 2006. (Patrizio Foresta) 239-41
- Gilbert, Paul, ed. "Universitas nostra Gregoriana." *La Pontificia Università Gregoriana ieri ed oggi*. Roma: Segretario nazione dell'Apostolato della Preghiera, 2006. (Robert Danieluk, S.J.) 533-35
- Godding, Robert, Bernard Joassart, Xavier Lequeux, François De Vriendt, Joseph Van der Straeten, eds. *Bollandistes, saints et légendes. Quatre siècles de recherche*. Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes, 2007. (Robert Danieluk, S.J.) 528-29
- Gotor, Miguel. *I beati del papa. Santità, Inquisizione e obbedienza in età moderna*. Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, [2003]. (Ulderico Parente) 229-32
- Hinz, Manfred, Roberto Righi e Danilo Zardin, eds. *I Gesuiti e la Ratio Studiorum*. Roma: Bulzoni, 2004. (Paul F. Grendler) 241-44
- Höpfel, Harro. *Jesuit Political Thought: The Society of Jesus and the State, c. 1540-1630*. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004. (Flavio Rurale) 221-29
- Klaiber, Jeffrey, S.J. *Los Jesuitas en América Latina, 1549-2000. 450 años de inculturación, defensa de los derechos humanos y testimonio profético*. Lima: Fondo Editorial Universidad Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, 2007. (Claudio M. Burgaleta, S.J.) 523-28
- Li Jiubiao. *Kouduo richae. Li Jiubiao's Diary of Oral Admonitions. A Late Ming Christian Journal*. Trans. and ed. Erik Zürcher. Sankt Augustin/Brescia: Institut Monumenta Serica/Fondazione Civiltà Bresciana, 2007. (R. Po-chia Hsia) 509-510
- Li Vigni, Anna. *Poeta quasi creator. Estetica e poesia in Mathias Casimir Sarbiewski*. Palermo: Centro Internazionale Studi di Estetica, 2005. (Mirella Saulini) 498-501
- Luria, Keith. *Sacred Boundaries: Religious Coexistence and Conflict in Early-Modern France*. Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2005. (Katherine S. Brennan) 501-04
- McKevitt, Gerald, S.J. *Brokers of Culture: Italian Jesuits in the American West, 1848-1919*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007. (Vincent A. Lapomarda, S.J.) 244-48

- [Massart, Claude]. *Collège Saint-Paul Godinne 1927-2002*. Godinne: Collège Saint-Paul, 2002. (Michel Hermans, S.J.) 497-98
- Meier, Joannes. "*Totus mundus nostra fit habitatio*": *Jesuiten aus dem deutschen Sprachraum in Portugiesisch- und Spanisch-Amerika*. Mainz/Stuttgart: Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur/Franz Steiner Verlag, 2007. (Patrizio Foresta) 248-49
- _____. *Jesuiten aus Zentraleuropa in Portugiesisch- und Spanisch-Amerika. Ein bio-bibliographisches Handbuch mit einem Überblick über das außereuropäische Wirken der Gesellschaft Jesu in der frühen Neuzeit. Band 1: Brasilien (1618-1760)*. Bearbeitet von Fernando Amado Aymoré. Münster: Aschendorff Verlag, 2006. (Michael Sievernich, S.J.) 510-14
- Parsons, Jotham. *The Church in the Republic. Gallicanism & Political Ideology in Renaissance France*. Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America, 2004. (Katherine S. Brennan) 505-09
- Pérez, Antonlín Abad, O.F.M. *Misioneros Franciscanos Españoles en China. Siglos XVIII-XIX (1722-1813). Pars altera*. Grottaferrata: Editiones Collegii S. Bonaventurae, 2006. (Michela Catto) 514-17
- Rodríguez Caparrini, Bernardo. *Alfonso Sancho Mateos: Los primeros años formativos de un bodeguero (1858-1879)*. El Puerto de Santa María: Concejalía de Cultura del Ayuntamiento de El Puerto de Santa María, 2007. (Antonio Maldonado, S.J.) 530-31
- Rosa, Mario. *Clero cattolico e società europea nell'età moderna*. Roma: Editori Laterza, 2006. (Kathleen M. Comerford) 238-39
- Sachenmayr, Alkuin Volker, O. Cist. *Prägende Professoren in der Entwicklung des theologischen Lehrbetriebes im Zisterzienserkloster Heiligenkreuz von 1802 bis 2002*. Mainz: Bernardus Verlag Langwaden, 2004. (Erwin Gatz) 252

MISCELLANEOUS

- Begheyn, Paul, S.J. "Bibliography on the History of the Society of Jesus: Additions to the 2007 Edition" 213-19
- _____. "Bibliography on the History of the Society of Jesus." 347-496
- Books Received 275-78, 557-63
- Jesuit Historiographical Notes 253-73, 537-56
- Index 565-67

Marcus Tullius

*Saint Cicero and the Jesuits: The
Influence of the Liberal Arts on the
Adoption of Moral Probabilism*

Robert Aleksander Maryks



In this commanding study, Dr. Maryks offers a detailed analysis of early modern Jesuit confessional manuals to explore the order's shifting attitudes to confession and conscience. Drawing on his census of Jesuit penitential literature published between 1554 and 1650, he traces in these works a subtly shifting theology influenced by both theology and classical humanism. In particular, the roles of "tutorism" (whereby an individual follows the law rather than the instinct of their own conscience) and "probabilism" (which conversely gives priority to the individual's conscience) are examined.

It is argued that for most of the sixteenth century, books such as Juan Alfonso de Polanco's directory for confessors espousing a tutorist line dominated the market for Jesuit confessional manuals until the seventeenth century, by which time probabilism had become the dominating force in Jesuit theology.

What caused this switch, from tutorism to probabilism, forms the central thesis of Dr. Maryks's book. He believes that as a direct result of the Jesuits adoption of a new ministry of educating youth in the late 1540s, Jesuit schoolmasters were compelled to engage with classical culture, many aspects of which would have resonated with their own concepts of spirituality. In particular Ciceronian *humanitas* and *civiltà*, along with rhetorical principles of accommodation, influenced Jesuit thinking in the revolutionary transition from medieval tutorism to modern probabilism.

By integrating concepts of theology, classical humanism and publishing history, this book offers a compelling account of how diverse forces could act upon a religious order to alter the central beliefs it held and promulgated.

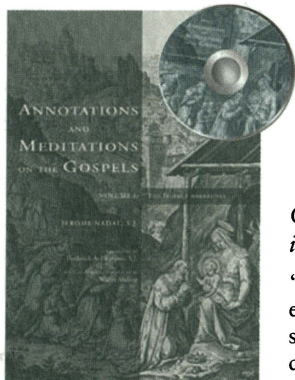
Bibliotheca Instituti Historici Societatis Iesu 64. Co-published with Ashgate Press.

€ 50,00 (€ 40,00 to subscribers).

NOTAE COMPENDIARIAE

- AHSI=Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu.* *ARSI=Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu.*
BIHSI=Bibliotheca Instituti Historici Societatis Iesu. *MHSI=Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu.*
DHCJ=Diccionario Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús. Ed. C. O'Neil and J. Domínguez. 4 vols. Madrid, 2001.
Bobadilla=Bobadilla Monumenta. Madrid, 1913, reprinted 1970 (46).
Borgia=Sanctus Franciscus Borgia, quartus Gandiae dux: et Societatis Iesu praepositus generalis tertius. 6 vols. Madrid, 1894-2003 (2, 23, 35, 38, 41, 156).
Broet=Epistolae PP. Paschasii Broeth, Claudii Jaji, Joannis Cordurii et Simonis Rodericii Societatis Iesu. Madrid, 1903, reprinted 1971 (24).
Cat. Prov. Austr.=Catalogi Provinciae Austriae. 2 vols. Rome, 1978-1982 (117, 125).
Chronicon=Vita Ignatii Loiolae et rerum Societatis Iesu historia. Auctore J.A. de Polanco. 6 vols. Madrid, 1894-1898 (1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11).
Constitutiones I=Monumenta Constitutionum praevia. Rome, 1934 (63).
Constitutiones II=Textus hispanus. Rome, 1936 (64).
Constitutiones III=Textus latinus. Rome, 1938 (65).
Directoria=Directoria Exercitiorum spiritualium (1540-1599). Rome, 1955 (76).
Doc. Ind.=Documenta Indica. 18 vols. Rome, 1948-1988 (70, 72, 74, 78, 83, 86, 89, 91, 94, 98, 103, 105, 113, 118, 123, 127, 132, 133).
Doc. Mal.=Documenta Malucensia. 3 vols. Rome, 1974-1984 (109, 119, 126).
Epp. Ign.=Sancti Ignatii de Loyola Societatis Iesu fundatoris epistolae et instructiones. 12 vols. Madrid, 1903-1911, reprinted 1964-1968 (22, 26, 28, 29, 31, 33, 34, 36, 37, 39, 40, 42).
Epp. Mixtae=Epistolae mixtae ex variis Europae locis ab anno 1537 ad 1556 scriptae. 5 vols. Madrid, 1898-1901 (12, 14, 17, 18, 20).
Exerc. Spir.=Exercitia spiritualia. Textus antiquissimi. Rome, 1969 (100).
Faber=Fabri Monumenta. Beati Petri Fabri, primi sacerdotis e Societate Iesu epistolae, Memoriale et processus. Madrid, 1914, reprinted 1972 (48).
Fontes doc.=Fontes documentales de S. Ignatio de Loyola. Rome, 1977 (115).
Fontes narr.=Fontes narrativi de Loyola et de Societatis Iesu initiis. 4 vols. Rome, 1943-1965 (66, 73, 85, 93).
Laines=Lainii Monumenta. Epistolae et acta Patris Jacobi Lainii secundi praepositi generalis Societatis Iesu. 8 vols. Madrid, 1912-1917 (44, 45, 47, 49, 50, 51, 53, 55).
Litt. Quad.=Litterae quadrimestres ex universis praeter Indiam et Brasiliam locis, in quibus aliqui de Societate Iesu versabantur. 7 vols. Madrid, 1894-1932 (4, 6, 8, 10, 59, 61, 62).
Mon. Ang.=Monumenta Angliae. 3 vols. Rome, 1992-2000 (142, 143, 151).
Mon. Ant. Flor.=Monumenta Antiquae Floridae, 1565-1572. Rome, 1946 (69).
Mon. Ant. Hung.=Monumenta Antiquae Hungariae. 4 vols. Rome, 1969-1987 (101, 112, 121, 131).
Mon. Bras.=Monumenta Brasiliae. 4 vols. Rome, 1956-1960 (79, 80, 81, 87).
Mon. Iap.=Monumenta Historica Iaponiae. 3 vols. Rome, 1975-1995 (111, 137, 148).
Mon. Mex.=Monumenta Mexicana. 8 vols. Rome, 1956-1991 (77, 84, 97, 104, 106, 114, 122, 139).
Mon. Nov. Franc.=Monumenta Novae Franciae. 9 vols. Rome, 1967-2003 (96, 116, 130, 135, 138, 144, 146, 149, 154).
Mon. paed.=Monumenta paedagogica. 7 vols. Rome, 1965-1992 (92, 107, 108, 124, 129, 140, 141).
Mon. Per.=Monumenta Peruana. 8 vols. Rome, 1956-1986 (75, 82, 88, 95, 102, 110, 120, 128).
Mon. Prax. Or.=Monumenta Proximi Orientis. 6 vols. Rome, 1989-2003 (136, 145, 147, 150, 152, 155).
Mon. Sin.=Monumenta Sinica. Rome, 2002 (153).
Mon. Xavier=Monumenta Xaveriana. 2 vols. Madrid 1899-1912 (16, 43).
Nadal=Epistolae P. Hieronymi Nadal Societatis Iesu ab anno 1546 ad 1577 (et alia scripta). 5 vols. Madrid-Rome, 1898-1962 (13, 15, 21, 27, 90).
Pol. Compl.=Polanci Complementa. Epistolae et commentaria P. Joannis Alphonsi de Polanco e Societate Jesu. 2 vols. Madrid, 1916-1917 (52, 54).
Regulae=Regulae Societatis Iesu. Rome, 1948 (71).
Ribadeneira=Ribadeneira. Patris Petri de Ribadeneira Societatis Iesu sacerdotis Confessiones, epistolae aliaeque scripta inedita. 2 vols. Madrid, 1920-1923 (58, 60).
Salmeron=Epistolae P. Alphonsi Salmeronis Societatis Iesu. 2 vols. Madrid, 1906-1907 (30, 32).
Xavier=Epistolae S. Franciscae Xaverii aliaeque eius scripta. 2 vols. Rome, 1944-1945 (67, 68).
Sommervogel=Carlos Sommervogel, Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus, 10 vols. Paris/Brussels, 1890-1909, rep. 1960.

ANNOTATIONS AND MEDITATIONS ON THE GOSPELS



Jerome Nadal, S.J.

Translated by Frederick A. Homann, S.J.

*With an introductory study
by Walter S. Melion*

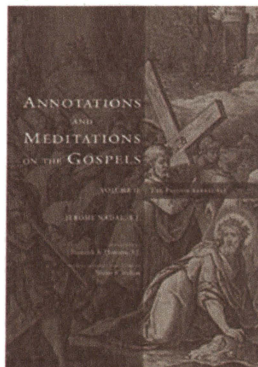
*Critical praise for Volumes 1 and 3
in this series:*

"Homann's translation seems smooth, accurate, and eminently readable. . . . Melion's essays . . . are in some ways akin to Nadal's own writings. His often dense texts challenge his readers yet wonderfully reward their persistence with a wealth of insights about the brilliance of Nadal's vision and the complementary power of art to stimulate devotion."

—Jeffrey Chipps Smith, *Catholic Historical Review*

"This first English translation of Jerome Nadal's Annotations and Meditations on the Gospels should attract the attention of researchers across a wide range of fields of Renaissance Studies. . . . it will also serve as an important primary source reference for many aspects of Renaissance Studies."

—Mark A. Lewis, S.J. *Renaissance Quarterly*



Vol. I, The Infancy Narratives

ISBN 0-916101-41-X (cloth) | \$39.95

23 illustrations in text and 153 images on CD-ROM

Vol. II, The Passion Narratives

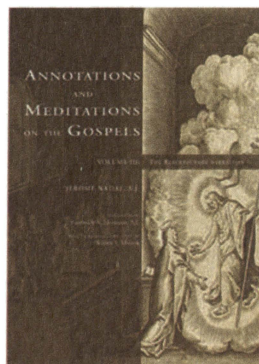
ISBN 0-916101-48-7 (cloth) | \$39.95

45 illustrations

Vol. III, The Resurrection Narratives

ISBN 0-916101-47-9 (cloth) | \$39.95

18 illustrations



SAINT JOSEPH'S UNIVERSITY PRESS

Phone: 610/660-3400 • Fax: 610/660-3410 • E-Mail: sjupress@sju.edu • www.sjupress.com